

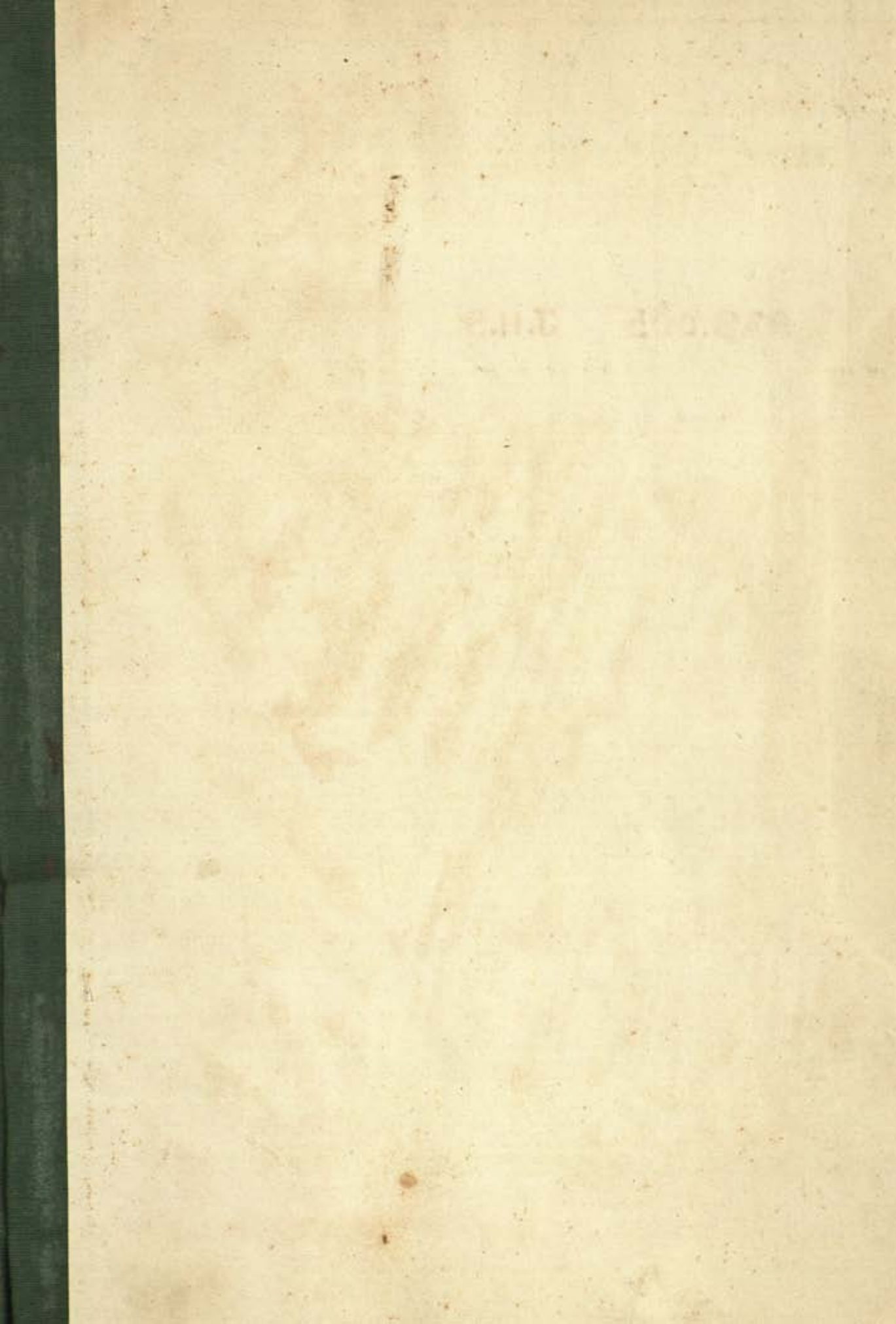
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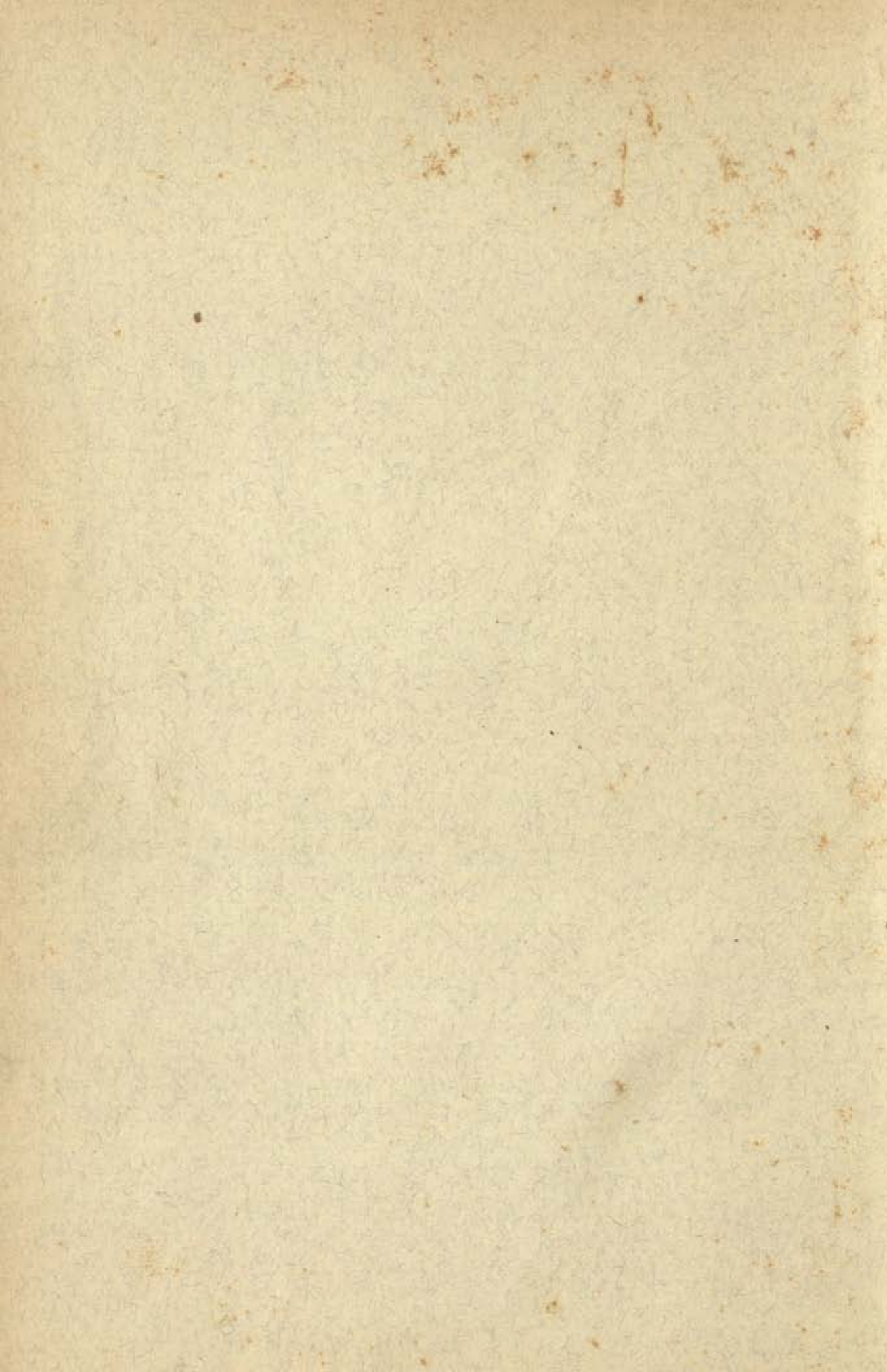
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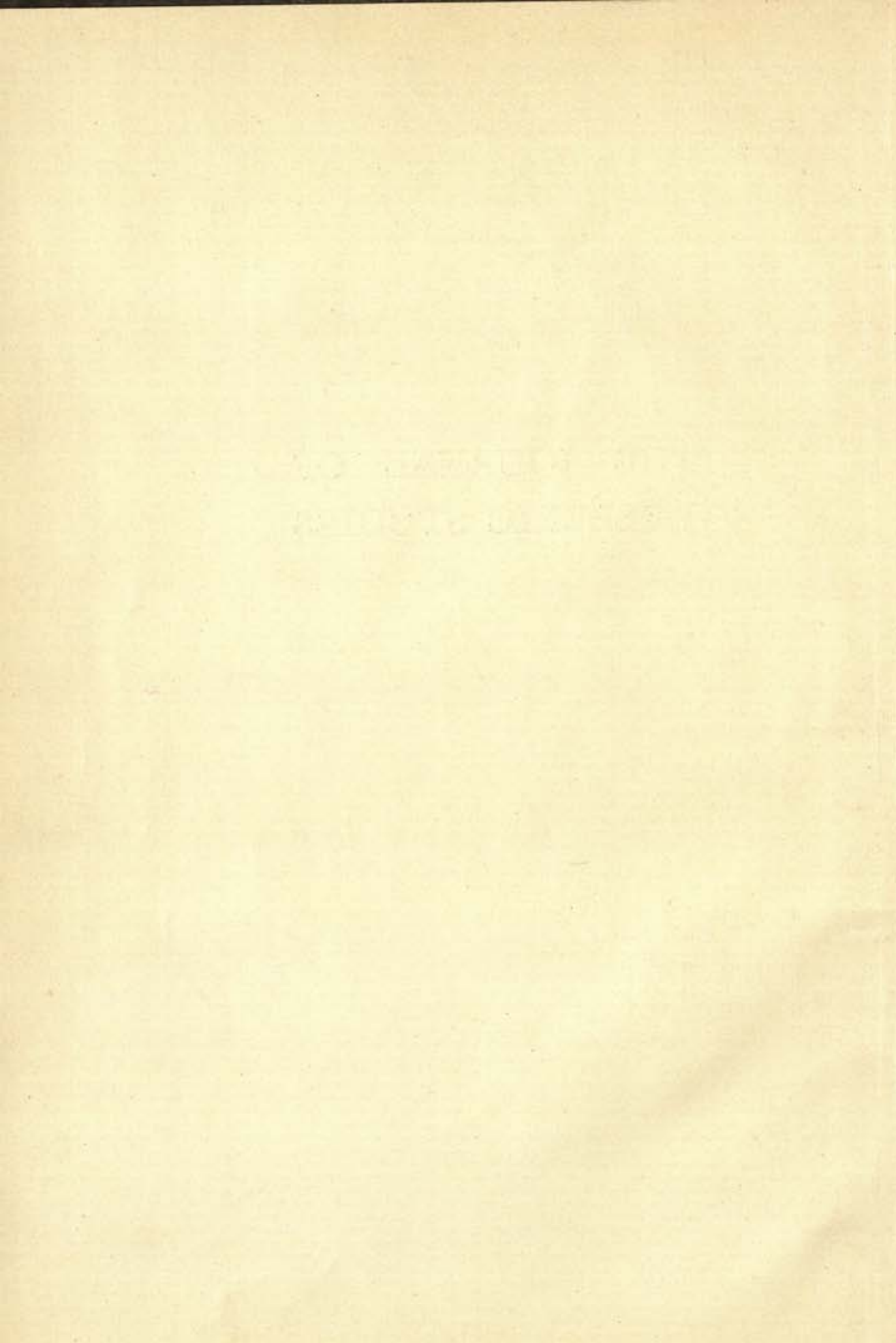


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 NEW YORK, The Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *New York, U.S.A.*
 NEW YORK, New York University Library, *University Heights, New York, U.S.A.*
 RIPON, The Lane Library, Ripon College, *Ripon, Wisconsin, U.S.A.*
 SCHENECTADY, The Union College Library, *Schenectady, New York, U.S.A.*
 SWEET BRIAR, Sweet Briar College Library, *Sweet Briar, Virginia, U.S.A.*
 WILLIAMSBURG, The Library, College of William & Mary, *Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.*

RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

(a) To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

(b) To collect books, drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

(c) To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present; he shall be *ex-officio* a member of all Committees. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Five Members of the Council, of whom at least one must be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman shall have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in May or June, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, Council, and Auditors shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of three years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. One-third of the Ordinary Members of the Council shall retire every year, and the Members so retiring shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least three weeks before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least two weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; any Member may compound for this subscription by a single payment of £15 15s. (or of £10 10s. if the compounder is over 50 years of age), entitling him to be a Member of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the *Journal* and other ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate not more than forty British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates:—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the end of the calendar year succeeding that in which the Student becomes qualified to take his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, on or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

December, 1937.

MEETINGS

OF THE SESSION 1936-37

1 The inaugural Meeting of the Session took place on November 3rd, 1936, when Sir Leonard Woolley gave an account of his 'Excavations in North Syria,' which he illustrated with admirable lantern-slides. He explained that the object which the Expedition had in view was the tracing of such contacts as might have existed between the Greek and Aegean civilisation and that of the Asiatic mainland, especially during the Minoan period. The sites had been prospected in advance, and the work was financed by private benefactors on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum and by the Ashmolean Museum; most of the season was spent at a small mound on the sea coast at the mouth of the Orontes, and ten days were given to an inland site, Atchana, in the Amk plain, for which a permit for *sondages* only had been accorded by the Government of Syria.

The coastal mound, Tal Sheikh Yusuf, proved to be the site of a Greek trading colony which was actively engaged in trade with the Greek islands and mainland from the ninth century B.C. until about 320 B.C., when the rivalry of the newly-founded port of Seleucia led to its abandonment; after the destruction of Seleucia the river port was reopened, and was used throughout the Byzantine period and later by the Crusaders. In the upper levels there were found fine examples of Byzantine glazed pottery, etc., and a representative series of coins, but the buildings had been completely destroyed. For the classical period the quarter of the town excavated gave the magazines of the importing merchants, rows of warehouses separated by narrow streets; the buildings had no architectural features, but were extremely rich in contents. Nine levels were found, all of more or less similar character. Throughout, the pottery imported was of the best quality produced at the time in the principal manufacturing centres of Greece. From about 520 to 320 Athens held a monopoly of the import trade, and throughout the whole period of the Persian wars was sending its luxury wares to Asia *via* the Orontes. Before that, the business was for the most part with the Greek islands;

Corinth sent but little, and in the sixth and seventh centuries Rhodes was the chief importer; there were very fine examples of late Rhodian geometric, 'bird bowls' and orientalising fabrics, together with plentiful specimens from the other islands and, side by side with these, local wares of similar character which it was not always easy to distinguish from the Greek imports. In the seventh and eighth levels the imported pottery was almost exclusively of Cypriote type, but there again, much that looked Cypriote was of local make, and examples occurred for which Cyprus itself offered no exact parallel. In the two lowest levels there was no Cypriote pottery at all, but a mass of geometric and sub-geometric pottery, much of which, although thoroughly Greek in appearance, presented striking analogies with known Asiatic wares. The excavation proved on the one hand that throughout the whole of the six centuries represented by the site—which was probably to be identified with the Posidium mentioned by Herodotus and later writers—direct intercourse existed between East and West, the Syrian harbour with its easy inland communications short-circuiting the long trade-routes through Asia Minor to the Ionian Coast cities which have been supposed to account for the orientalising influences in early Greek art; it further suggested that ceramic styles which had been regarded as purely Greek in character may have been in fact closely related to and even dependent upon types native to the Asiatic mainland.

Owing to the erosion of the mound by the Orontes, nothing much earlier than the eighth century B.C. was found on the Tal Sheikh Yusuf site; but a neighbouring hill, Sabounieh, which seemed to have been the town directly served by the harbour, produced Cypriote 'milk-bowls' and Mycenaean sherds. The inland site, Tal Atchana, lying some 40 miles from the sea, on the trade route running up the Orontes valley into the Amk plain, carried the connection farther back.

The *sondages* effected there were limited to two narrow trenches; they produced the ruins of an important building lying quite close

to the surface and covered only by a single stratum of later date. The top level gave Mycenaean potsherds; the floor of the main building was littered with painted pottery whose decoration finally established the connection of North Syria and Minoan Crete. The best illustration was given by a series of sherds from a single large vessel decorated in white on black with an elaborate design of papyrus-plants and double axes; many others had white rosettes on a black ground, some examples being in three colours, while others had bird and animal motives not found in Minoan ceramic art. The connection with Crete was indeed obvious, but connections with Asiatic sites farther to the East were not less certain, and the interaction of the two civilisations appeared to be very much more intricate than one could have expected: it remained for further work to show whether Minoan Crete had exercised a one-sided influence over territories to which its art was supposed to have been altogether strange, or whether certain elements in that art should be traced back to an origin in Asia.

The vote of thanks was moved from the Chair and endorsed with acclamation.

- 2 The Second General Meeting of the Society was held on February 2nd, 1937, when Mr. J. M. Cook read a paper with excellent slide-illustrations on 'Proto-Attic Pottery,' which is being published in *BSA* XXXV.

A vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. F. N. Pryce and seconded by Prof. B. Ashmole, and the meeting concluded with observations by the President.

- 3 At the Third General Meeting, held on May 4th, 1937, Mr. Anthony Steel read a paper, illustrated by lantern slides, on the 'Painted Churches of Cyprus.' Mr. Steel pointed out that the churches, some parochial, some monastic, varied in date from the twelfth century to the seventeenth, and were mostly arranged for the Greek Orthodox rite. The finest of them were concentrated in the wild hill-country of south-west Cyprus, and they were all very small.

As no church older than 1105 was known to survive and the period of Greek rule had ended in 1191, the phase of pure Byzantine style, touched perhaps by oriental influences, e.g. from Syria and Cappadocia, was a very short one. There was, however, much addition, alteration, rebuilding and even new building of Greek churches, especially in the mountains, over the three centuries of Lusignan rule which followed, although during that time Italian influences were increasingly at work. These

influences reached a climax under the Venetians (1489-1571), but after 1571 there was a gradual Greek renaissance, due to the Turkish hostility towards the Latins and their comparative tolerance of the Orthodox.

The only two Cypriot churches hitherto studied and published, both by Dr. W. H. Buckler (*Archaeologia* LXXXIII and *JHS* LIII), were those at Asinou (1105) and one of those (1511) near Galata: a few more, principally in Nicosia and Famagusta, had been sketched by C. Enlart in his *L'Art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre* (1899). Yet there were probably some twenty or thirty others still surviving, though rapidly diminishing in numbers from re-painting or neglect.

Ideally, all the surviving churches should have been scientifically photographed and surveyed on the lines of Dr. Buckler's publications. This, however, was impracticable in the present case: all that was possible was, firstly, a series of visits to all or nearly all the known or rumoured painted churches, whole or in ruins, with the object of taking enough sample photographs to give an idea of their contents; and, secondly, a limited concentration upon the best unpublished church discovered, which turned out to be that of the Panayia tou Arakou, near Lagoudhera.

It was hoped that, in spite of obvious defects, this plan might save the time of future workers, assist the preservation of any paintings in serious danger of destruction, and at the same time yield results of value to those students of comparative art history at the Courtauld Institute and elsewhere who were working on the relations between Graeco-Oriental and Italian Renaissance art.

At the conclusion of Mr. Steel's paper Dr. Buckler was invited to show some of his coloured slides of the paintings in the church at Asinou.

After observations by the President, Sir George Hill proposed a vote of thanks, which was carried with acclamation.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held 4 on June 29th, 1937, the President, Prof. J. L. Myres, occupying the Chair. In moving the adoption of the Annual Report, the President called attention to the losses the Society had sustained through the death of two Honorary Members, a member of Council and other old and valued supporters; he also paid a tribute to the work which Mr. George Garnett had done as Assistant Treasurer for so many years. Attention was also called to the recent election of Honorary Members, when Prof. J. Bidez, Prof. C. W. Blegen, Monsieur R. Dussaud and

Prof. G. P. Oikonomos had been elected. The motion was seconded by Dr. H. I. Bell, and on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

The resolution for the election and re-election of Vice-Presidents, Members of Council and Auditors as detailed in the Annual Report was moved by Lady Evans and seconded by Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins. It was carried unanimously.

In moving the adoption of the proposed Alterations of the Rules, the Hon. Secretary, Sir John Forsdyke, explained that it had been found desirable to revise the Rules and bring them more into conformity with the practice of other learned societies. The motion was seconded by the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. M. S. Thompson, and carried unanimously.

The Rules in their revised form appear on pp. xiii-xvi of the present issue.

The President then delivered his annual address, taking as his subject 'Visual Aids in Classical Teaching.'

Beginning with a review of earlier attempts to illustrate classical texts by means of ancient monuments and works of art, and an account of the 'Hellenic Association,' founded soon after 1890 by Thomas Field with the help of Herbert Awdry and others, the collections of which were dispersed on the dissolution of the Educational Museum of the Teachers Guild about 1907, Prof. Myres explained that through the personal interest of Walter Leaf in photography as well as in classical studies, the Hellenic Society had been a pioneer in this field: for his negatives, and those of Jane Harrison, one of the earliest popular lecturers on Greek art and antiquity, were the nucleus of the great collection which owed its present state mainly to the enthusiasm of the late Secretary and Librarian, Mr. Penoyre.

What the camera contributed to classical studies half a century ago, the cinema offered to-day, with the added enhancement of colour, for landscape and architectural subjects, and far wider facilities for popularisation, than the 'lantern-lecture' of the pioneers. Very little advanced work, however, had been done in the use of cinematography in the interpretation of Greek works of art, or even of the perennial background of Greek life. It was pointed out that the vocabulary of Greek craftsmanship and aesthetic criticism included such words as *ρυθμός*, *τόνος*, *έντασις*; the support of a column was not *στάσις* but *βάσις*; buildings and statues were meant not only to be *looked at* but to be *walked round*, displaying ever fresh but ever 'rhythmic' relations between whole and part; static immobile objects exercising functional aesthetic effects on ourselves. These the 'still-picture' necessarily failed to record. When the film-camera achieved the *λειά κίνησις* of the critical pedestrian, shifting its own standpoint in respect of an immobile *statua*, it would become possible to demonstrate fresh aspects of Hellenic beauty and creative skill.

It was a further question, how far cinematic art might be employed to render in 'moving picture' the gesture and pageantry of Greek frieze-compositions, which were certainly not conceived merely as petrified *tableaux vivants*, but had 'rhythm' and 'tone' in the literal Greek sense. Some of the invention and technique squandered hitherto on 'Silly Symphonies' might well be devoted to the interpretation of more 'classical' themes.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the President for his address, which was proposed by Prof. N. H. Baynes and carried with acclamation.

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1936.

<i>Liabilities.</i>			<i>Assets.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Debts Payable.....		971 3 0	By Cash in Hand—Bank	—	1½
„ Subscriptions paid in advance		53 10 6	Assistant Treasurer		
„ Endowment Fund		1859 12 0	Petty Cash	158 6 11	
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar, £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer, and £500 from the late Mr. G. A. Macmillan)					
„ Life Compositions and Donations—			Debts Receivable	158 7 0½	
Total at Jan. 1, 1936	2303 14 0		„ Investments	125 13 2	
Received during year	47 5 0		„ Library Premises Capital Account—	2725 0 0	
			Amount spent to date	5584 13 10	
			Less Donations received	4699 11 4	
				885 2 6	
Less carried to Income and Expenditure	2350 19 0		Transferred to Income and Expenditure		
Account—Members deceased	78 15 0		Account during past years	566 0 0	
				319 2 6	
Surplus at January 1, 1936		2272 4 0	Now transferred	23 0 0	
Add Balance from Income and Expendi-			Valuation of Stocks of Publications	296 2 6	
ture Account	77 5 11½		„ „ Library	450 0 0	
Surplus at December 31, 1936	235 7 3		„ „ Photographic Department ...	1500 0 0	
			„ Paper in hand for printing Journal	200 0 0	
				14 0 0	
				£5469 2 8½	

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY,
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
To Salaries.....	674 4 2	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Insurance.....	22 2 8	Arrears.....	15 4 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses.....	81 11 9	1936.....	1205 3 1
" Stationery.....	33 2 2½		1220 7 7
" Postage.....	63 19 5	Members' Entrance Fees.....	24 3 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members,		" Student Associates' Subscriptions.....	112 7 0
" Notices, &c.....	52 10 11	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library		Arrears.....	8 7 0
Premises, &c.....	343 3 4½	1936.....	318 1 11
Grants—			326 8 11
British School at Athens.....	75 0 0	Life Compositions brought into Revenue	
" " Rome.....	5 5 0	Account.....	78 15 0
Donation—British School at Athens, Jubilee		Dividends on Investments.....	116 16 1
Pension Insurance.....	80 5 0	Contributed by the Society for Promotion	
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies'	50 0 0	of Roman Studies.....	275 0 0
Account.....	13 10 6	" Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'.....	7 16 0
Balance from Library Account.....	594 8 9	" Sale of 'Ante Oculos'.....	8 0
	128 13 2	" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia,' less cost of binding	10 6 8
		Miscellaneous Receipts.....	10 1 0
		Donations towards current expenses.....	28 16 6
		" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo-	
		graphs Account.....	48 1 2
		" Balance from Library Premises Account ...	113 12 3
Balance.....	235 7 3		£2372 19 2
	£2372 19 2		

Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. LVI.....	453	15	4						
" Plates	43	3	0						
" Drawing and Engraving	75	10	8						
" Editing and Reviews	90	0	0						
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	143	8	4						
	<u>£805 17 4</u>								
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.				172	7	5			
" Hellenic Society				14	13	0			
" Receipts from Advertisements							187	0	5
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...							24	8	2
							594	8	9
	<u>£805 17 4</u>								

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	33	4	9			
" Slides for Hire	5	16	8			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	48	1	2			
	<u>£89 2 7</u>					
By Receipts from Sales and Hire.....				88	10	7
" " Sale of Catalogues, &c.						12 0
				<u>£89 2 7</u>		

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	67	2	2			
" Binding	43	9	9			
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library and Slides Departments less contributed by the Roman Society	24	15	0			
	<u>£135 6 11</u>					
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.				6	13	9
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						128 13 2
				<u>£135 6 11</u>		

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1936.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent	405	5	0			
Rates	125	8	3			
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expendi- ture for Year	23	0	0			
Interest on Debt on Library	2	14	6			
	<u>556 7 9</u>					
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	113	12	3			
	<u>£670 0 0</u>					
Contributions by the B.S.A. and B.S.R.				20	0	0
London Association of Accountants						650 0 0
				<u>£670 0 0</u>		

A CHARITABLE FOUNDATION OF A.D. 237.

A DETAILED report in English¹ and a brief mention in Latin² record the rediscovery in 1883 of the 'charter' of Orcistus by W. M. Ramsay and J. R. S. Sterrett. Not till 1886 was a complete copy secured, but in 1883 at Alikel, besides ascertaining where the original lay hidden, they found and copied, each in his own notebook,³ two other documents of which only the dating has been published.⁴ In his report Ramsay thus refers to them: 'we occupied ourselves . . . partly in copying a long inscription of 98 lines in length, half of which was more or less legible.'⁵ This inscription, comprising (A) a deed of gift, (B) a decree,⁶ both dated in 237, is here edited from the copies of 1883; no others are likely to exist, for the pedestal bearing the original text 'had been destroyed in search of treasure after we left.'⁷

Sir William Ramsay has kindly lent me those two notebooks; three pages from his and one from Sterrett's are reproduced below; for permission to use them, as well as for invaluable information and advice, I am indeed grateful. The following extracts from letters of his are essential for understanding the form in which the copies have been preserved. 'Sterrett's copy (of B) and mine (of A) were not completed and no comparison was made of our copies. The reason for this apparent carelessness was that the one main object of our visit to Alikel was to get the great inscription, the "Charter" of Orcistus. To that all other objects were secondary.' Again, the marks seen on several of Sterrett's letters (Fig. 1) refer to notes pencilled opposite by Ramsay; not being contemporary, these latter are not reproduced. 'I put those notes on Sterrett's book long afterwards. Many years elapsed from the day we closed down at a moment's notice in 1883 before I looked again at those notebooks.' Except for damage along the edges of the pedestal and to twenty-five lines on its front, 'the letters were in 1883 almost as clear and certain as when they were cut'; discrepancies in the copies are no doubt due to the stress under which the work was carried out.

Of document A Sterrett copied on one page 1-25 (Fig. 1), Ramsay on two pages 1-12 (not reproduced) and 26-49 (Fig. 2); of document B Sterrett copied on one page 1-27 (not reproduced), Ramsay on two pages 1-33 (Fig. 3) and 34-50 (Fig. 4). The four pages photographed furnish complete copies of both documents, while the two pages not reproduced have also supplied a few readings; that of Ramsay is cited as A¹ (i.e., A. 1-12), that of Sterrett as B¹ (i.e., B. 1-27).

The front of the pedestal bore A; one of the sides, somewhat narrower, bore B; with due reserve as to restoration, their texts were as follows:

¹ *Hermes*, xxii. 1887, pp. 310-314. The failure of Mordtmann's search for the 'charter' is described in his diary; cf. F. Babinger, *Anatolien* (1925), p. 363.

² By Mommsen, in his notes on *CIL* iii. 7000.

³ These books are exactly alike. Each measures 0.16 by 0.10 m. and consists of 41 leaves; the binding is glossy black 'American' cloth. In R.'s 25 leaves are inscribed and 16 blank; in S.'s 26 inscribed and 15 blank; the former contains copies of eight, and

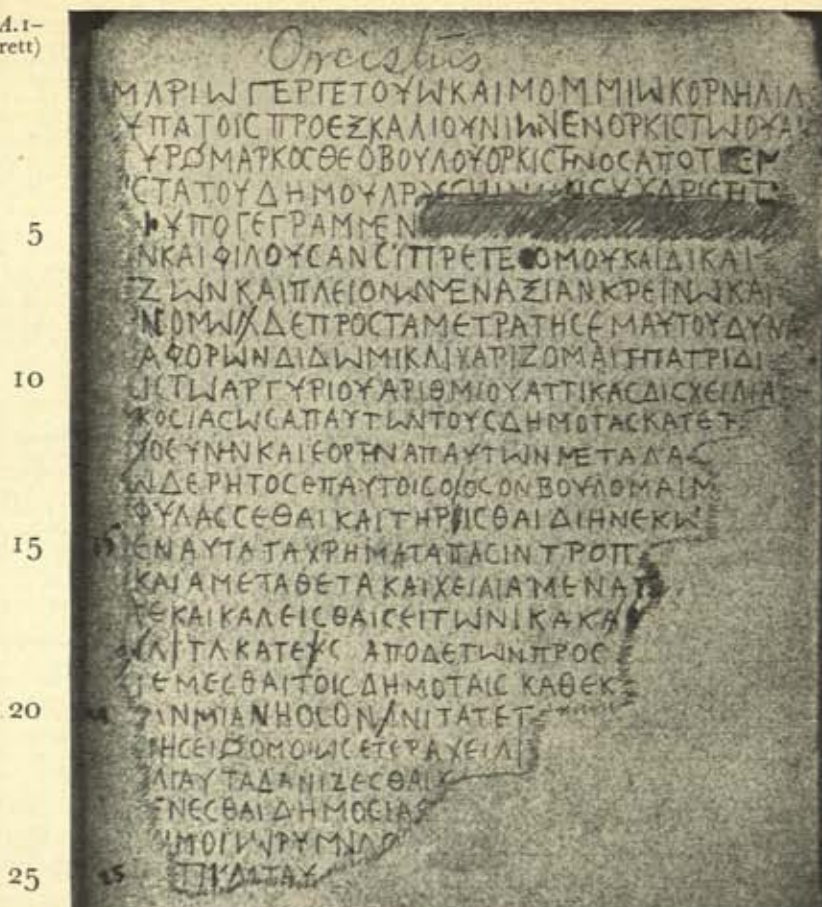
the latter of three inscriptions from Alikel besides those published here.

⁴ *Hermes*, loc. cit., p. 311; *CIL* iii. Supp., p. 1268, note on no. 7000, ii. 22; *IGR* iv. 549.

⁵ *Hermes*, loc. cit., p. 311.

⁶ Mentioned by Mommsen as 'decretum ibidem repertum a Ramsayo factum die 27 Maii a. 237'; *CIL* iii. Supp., p. 1268.

⁷ *Hermes*, loc. cit., p. 313.

FIG. 1.—A. 1—
25 (Sterrett)

A (Deed of gift).

- Μαρίῳ Περπετοῦῳ καὶ Μομίῳ Κορνηλία[νῶ]
 ὑπάτοις πρὸ ἕξ καλ. Ἰουνίων ἐν Ὀρκιστῶ, Οὐάρ[ιος]
 [Α]ὐρ. (leaf) Μᾶρκος Θεοβούλου Ὀρκιστηνὸς ἀποτί[θ]εμ[αι]
 [εἰς τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἀρχεῖ[α δόσι]ν εὐχαριστητ[ικὴν]
 5 [τῇ]ν ὑπογεγραμμέν[ην] Πατρίδα ἀμείβεσθαι τὴν θρέψα-
 [σα]ν καὶ φιλοῦσαν εὐπρεπέ[ς] ὁμοῦ καὶ δίκαι[ον νο-]
 [μί]ζων καὶ πλειόνων μὲν ἀξίαν κρείνω κα(τ)[ὰ δί-]
 [κῃ]ν, ὁμω(ς) δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέτρα τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ δυνά[με-]
 [ως] ἀφορῶν δίδωμι καὶ χαρίζομαι τῇ πατρίδι [μου]
 10 Ὀρ[κιστῶ] ἀργυρίου ἀριθμίου Ἀττικὰς δισχειλίας [πεν-]
 [τα]κοσίας ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς δημότας κατ' ἐτή[σιον Εὐ-]
 [δαι]μοσύνην καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀπα(ν)τ(ας) μεταλα[μβάνειν]
 [ἔστ]ω δὲ ῥητὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ(ρ)ος, ὃν βούλομαι μ[άλι-]
 [στα] φυλάσσει(σ)θαι καὶ τηρῆσθαι, διηνεκῶ[ς μένειν τὸ ὅπι-]
 15 [σθ]εν αὐτὰ τὰ χρήματα πᾶσιν τρόπ[οις] ἀσάλευ-
 [τα] καὶ ἀμετάθετα· καὶ χεῖλια μὲν ἀπ[οτάσσεισ-]
 [θαί] τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι σειτωνικὰ κα[ὶ δανίζε-]
 [σθ]αί αὐτὰ κατ' εὐθ[ύ], ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προσ[όδων] κατ' ἔτος
 20 [δια]γέμεσθαι τοῖς δημόταις καθ' ἑκ[αστον] ἄρτου λεί-
 [τρ]αν μίαν ἢ ὅσον ὦν(η)τὰ τετ[ραγμένα] ὁ γραμματεὺς δια-
 [κο]νήσει· (leaf) ὁμοίως ἕτερα χεῖλι[α πεντακόσια] ἀποταχθέν-
 [τα] καὶ αὐτὰ δανίζεσθαι κ[αὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσό-]
 [δων] γ[ενέ]σθαι δημοσίᾳ Ε[ὐδαιμοσύνης] ἡμέρᾳ ἐν
 25 [τῷ] δ[ημοσίῳ] (γ)υμνασ[ίῳ] δημοβοινίαν (?) - -]
 [. . .]τι καὶ τὰ υ[- - - -]

FIG. 2.
—A.
26-49
(Ram-
say)

30

35

40

45



30

35

40

45

[.] καθ[- - - -]
[.] ἱερὰν ἡμέραν
[. . . : τῶν] χρημάτων
[.] καὶ ὁ[π]ως ο[- - - -]
[.] ἐκαστ(ω) νέμειν
[.] πρ(ῶ)τον οὖν ἐ(κ)καλούμενον (?)
[.] ἡν(ω (leaf) μὴ ἐξέστω δ[ἐ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἀλλαγῆναι]
[τι ἢ] με[τα]τεθ[ῆ]ναι τὰ χ[ρ]ήματα, ἐπεὶ βούλομαι τὸν ἀλ-
[λάξαντα ἢ εἰς ἕτερον] μετα[θ]έντα πόρον ἀποτεῖσαι
[.] σας [- - - -]
[.] τ
[.] αἱ
[.]
[.] ἰδη[- - -] ἰδ[- - -]
[.] ασαι[- - -]
[.]
[.] ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ π[- - -]
[ἐπεκύρωσ] α τελεῖαν δόσιν [τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἢ δι-]
[ηνεκῶς γεγ] ἐνη(τ)αί τε καὶ γεν[ή]σεται κυρία. Οὐάριος
[Αὐρ. Μάρκος] τοῦτου ἀντίγραφ[ον ἐσφράγισα καὶ τῷ]
[γραμματεῖ] παρέδωκα τὴν δωρεάν κα[θ' ἃ] προ[γ]έγραπται καὶ τὸ ἀ[ν-]
[τίγρ] αφο(ν) ἀπε[θ]έ[μ]ην εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα. Ἀὐρ. Ἀντώνιος Ἑρμοκράτους
[πρῶτος ἀρχω] ν
[ἐσφ] ράγισα. Αὐρ. Δημήτριος β' τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχων ἐσφράγισα. Αὐρ.
[Ἀλέξανδρος
[Δη] μᾶ ἀρχων ἐσφράγισα. Αὐρ. Βασίλειον Ἀλεξάνδρου γραμματεὺς ὑπέγρα[ψα.]

B (Decree).

(leaf) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· (leaf)

- [ἐκ]κλησίας ἀχθείσης πανδήμου προ[κα-]
 [θ]εζομένης καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐπιψηφ[ι-]
 [ζο]μένου καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως Αὐρ. Βασ[σί-]
 5 [ων]ος Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔδοξε τῷ Ὀρκιστηνῶν δ[ήμῳ·]
 [ἐπ]ειδὴ Αὐρ. Μᾶρκος Θεοβούλου ἀνὴρ ἐκ πρ[ογό-]
 [νων] περὶ τὸν δῆμον φιλοτείμως ἀναστρ[εφό-]
 [με]νος καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἓνα πάντας εὐερ[γε-]
 [τῶν] κα(τ') οὐδένα καιρὸν παραλείπει τὸ συ[νφερούση]
 10 [γν]ώμη πάντα σεμνῶς καὶ δαφιλῶς ἐ[πανορθοῦσθαι]
 [τὰ ἐ]πείγοντα τῇ πατρίδι ὅπου γε καὶ τὰ[ς με-]
 [γίσ]τας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας μετὰ πάσ[ης ἐκ-]
 [τε]νείας ἐπιτελεῖ, (leaf) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολ[λάκις]
 [αὐ]τῷ κα[ὶ] πρὶν πα[ρὰ] πάντων μαρτυρεῖται ἐν [ταῖς]
 15 [τε] ἐκ[κλησι]αῖς καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς συλλόγοις [κατὰ τὰ ὑ-]
 [π'] αὐτοῦ καλῶς ἐκτελεσθέντα· καὶ νῦν προσ[φο-]
 [ρᾶ] ἀφειδε[ῖ] καὶ μᾶλλον τὸν δῆμον ἐπ[ὶ τοῖς]
 [ἑαυτοῦ ἐπ]αίνοις ἀμειβόμενος καὶ σ[ε]ιτωνικόν
 [ἀργύριον ἐδ]ωκεν εἰς τε νομάς καὶ ἱερομ[ηνί-]
 20 [ας δημοσί]ας ὥς καὶ κατ' ἔτος κρείττονα [τὴν Εὐ-]
 [δαιμοσύνης] ἑορτὴν βλέπεσθαι διὰ τῆς το[σαύ-]
 [της τῆσδ]ε δωρεᾶς φιλοτειμία(ς)· (leaf) ὅθεν δ[ιὰ]
 [τούτων μνήμ]ην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν καλῶ[ς ὑπ'] αὐτοῦ
 [πεπραγμέν]ων ἔκρινε κοινῇ καὶ δημοσ[ίᾳ ψήφῳ ὁ δῆ-]
 25 [μος τειμῆσ]αι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτ[άτῳ]
 [τόπῳ ἀν]δ[ρι]άντος ἀναστάσει μετὰ τ[ῆς αὐτῷ]
 [καθηκού]σης ἐπιγραφῆς, ὥς εἰς τὸ διη[νεκές]
 [κοινῇ τε καὶ] ἰδίᾳ τῇ[ς] τειμῆς ἀπολαύειν κ[αὶ]
 [παῖδας] αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνους αἰδίων [θεωροῦντας]
 30 [καὶ κατα]ξίαν τὴν τῆς πατ[ρί]δος εὐχαρ[ιστίαν·]
 [καὶ ἔδοξ]ε τῷ δῆμῳ τοὺς κατὰ ἔτος ἀρχοντ[ας]
 [διεγγύησι]ν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν παραλαμβαν[όν-]
 [των τὸ ἀργ]ύριον καὶ ἀσφαλί(ζ)εσθαι αὐτ[ὸ καὶ]
 [ὑποθήκ]αις, λαμβάνειν δὲ καὶ πίστει (χ)ε[ῖρι]ζειν αὐτὸ
 35 [τὸν γραμμα]τέα κατόχως τῇ [ρ]ητῇ προθεσίμ[ῃ ὥς]
 [ἀπολαύ]ειν τοῦ προειρημένου ἀργυρίου [τοὺς δη-]
 [μότας πάντ]ας. (leaf) ἐτελέσθ[η] τὸ ψήφισμα πρ[ὸ] τ[εσ-]
 [σάρων(?)]καλ. Ἰουνίῳ[ν] Μαρίῳ Περπετούῳ [καὶ]
 [Μομμίῳ] Κορνηλιανῷ ὑπάτοις. (leaf) Αὐρ. Ἀ[ντωνί-]
 40 [ος Ἑρμ]οκράτους πρῶτος ἀρχων ἐσφρά[γισα·]
 [Αὐρ. Δη]μήτριος β' τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχων ἐσφράγι-
 [σα. Αὐρ.] Ἀλέξανδρος Δημᾶ ἀρχων ἐσφράγι-
 [σα. Αὐρ. Βασσίων] Ἀλεξάνδρου γραμ[ματεὺς]
 [ὑπέγραψα(?)] Αὐρ.] Ἀκυλιανὸς Ἰουλιανοῦ [γραμ-]
 45 [ματο]φύλαξ ἔταξα. παρῆσαν Αὐρ. Ἀν[τῶ-]
 [νιος Ἑρμ]οκράτους πρῶτος ἀρχων, Αὐρ. Δημή-
 [τριος β'] τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχων, Αὐρ. Ἀσ[κληπιόδω-]
 [ρος(?)] Μαρίων[ος], Αὐρ. Κούιντος Ἀκύλου, Αὐρ. Λο[-]
 [- Ἀλε]ξάνδρου, Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης, [Αὐρ. Ἀλέξαν-]
 50 [δρος Δ]ημᾶ ἀρχων, Αὐρ. Μαρίων Ἀλε[ξάνδρου(?)]

FIG. 3.—B. 1-33 (Ramsay)

ΑΡΑΓΙΤΟΥΣ
 ΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΑΧΘΕΙΧΣΤΑΝΔΗΜΟΥΤΡΕ
 ΖΟΡΕΝΗΣΚΑΙΤΗΤΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΕΤΙΥΗΦ
 ΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣΛΥΡΒΑΣ
 5 ΧΑΙΣΙΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΔΟΞΕΤΩΡΚΙΣΤΗΛΩΔ
 ΕΙΔΗΑΥΡΜΑΡΚΟΣΘΕΒΟΥΛΟΝΑΡΕΚΤΙ
 ΠΕΡΙΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΦΙΛΕΙΜΩΣΑΝΑΣΤΡ
 ΝΟΣΚΑΙΚΟΙΜΚΑΝΕΝΑΠΑΝΤΑΣΕΥΕ
 ΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΛΑΚΑΙΡΟΥΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΤΕΤΟΥ
 10 ΜΗΠΑΝΤΑΣΕΝΩΣΚΑΙΔΑΥΙΛΩΣΕ
 ΤΕΙΠΝΤΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΟΤΙΟΥΓΕΚΑΙΤΑ
 ΤΑΡΧΑΣΚΑΤΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣΕΤΑΙΤΑΙ
 ΧΕΙΑΣΣΤ'ΕΛΕΙΘΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΥΤΟΠΟΛ
 ΖΗΚΑ ΡΑΠΑΚΩΝΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΙΤΑΙΕΙ
 15 ΣΑ ΙΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΚΟΙΝΟΙΣΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΙΣ
 ΚΕΚΕΛΕΣΘΕΝΤΑΚΑΙΝΥΝΤΡΟΙ
 ΙΚΑΙΜΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΕΠ
 ΑΙΝΟΙΣΑΡΕΙΒΟΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΙΣ
 20 ΩΚΕΝΕΙΣΤΕΝΟΜΑΣΚΑΙΠΕΡΩ
 ΩΣΚΑΙΚΑΥΣΤΟΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΑ
 ΕΟΡΕΝΜΕΠΕΣΘΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΣΤΟ
 ΕΩΡΕΑΣΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΙΑΘΘΕΝΣ
 ΑΚΑΙΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΚΑΛΩ
 ΝΕΚΤΙΝΕΚΟΙΝΗΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΙ
 25 ΑΙΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΕΝΩΠΙΣΗΜΟ
 [NH] ΗΑΠΟΣΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΜΕΤΑ
 ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΩΣΙΣΤΟΔΗ
 ΙΔΙΑΤΕΙΜΗΛΑΠΟΛΑΥΕΙΝΚ
 30 ΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝΟΥΑΙΔΙΚΩΣ
 ΤΑΝΤΕΤΕΠΑΤ ΔΟΞΕΥΧΑΡ
 ΕΤΙΔΗΜΩΟΥΣΚΑΤΑΕΤΟΔΑΡΧΩΝ
 ΠΤΑΙΕΙΘΑΙΤΩΝΠΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝ
 ΥΡΙΩΝΚΑΙΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΕΘΑΙΑΥΤ

TP
 YE
 CY
 CE
 TA
 AC
 OL
 IC
 DIC
 OC
 /E
 /WK
 /E
 [doubtful]
 [doubtful]

FIG. 4.—B. 34-50 (Ramsay)

35 ΚΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝΔΙΚΑΙΠΙΣΕΙΚΕ
 ΤΣΑΚΑΤΟΧΩΣΗΤΗΠΡΟΒΕΣΗ
 ΕΙΝΤΟΥΤΡΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ
 ΙΣΘΕΤΕΛΕΣΘΟΥΗΦΕΜΑΤΙ
 ΑΙΟΥΝΩ ΜΑΡΙΩΠΕΡΤΕΤΟΥ
 40 ΚΟΡΗΝΑΙΑΝΩΥΠΑΤΟΙΣΑΥΡΑ
 ΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΡΩΤΟΔΑΡΧΩΝΕΦΙ
 ΗΤΡΙΟΣΘΤΟΥΔΗΜΤΡΙΟΥΑΡΧΩΝΕΣ
 ΑΔΕΣΑΝΔΡΟΔΗΜΑΡΧΩΝΕΣ
 ΑΔΕΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΓΡΑΜ
 ΑΚΥΛΙΑΝΔΙΟΥΑΙΑΝΟΥ
 45 ΦΥΛΛΣΕΤΑΙΤΑΡΧΑΝΑΥΡΑΝ
 ΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΡΩΤΟΔΑΡΧΩΝΑΥΡΑ
 ΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΑΡΧΩΝΑΥΡΑ
 ΟΔΑΥΡΚΟΝΤΟΔΑΚΥΛΟΥΑΥΡΑ
 ΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΑΥΡΑΚΛΗΤΙΑΔΗΣ
 50 ΗΜΑΡΧΩΝΑΥΡΜΑΡΙΩΝΑΛΕ

/WT

A (Deed of Gift).

'In the year of the consulship of Marius Perpetuus and Mummius Cornelianus, the sixth before the calends of June at Orcistus, I, Varius Aurelius Marcus son of Theobulus, townsman of Orcistus, deposit among the records as mark of my gratitude the deed of gift hereinafter written :

'Deeming it fitting as well as just to requite the native town that bred and loves me, I consider her by right entitled to a greater return, yet having regard to my own resources I give and bestow upon my native town Orcistus, in money of account, two thousand five hundred Attic drachmas, so that through this fund on Happiness-day in every year my fellow-townsmen may all share in a festival. They must conform to the express rule, which I desire shall above all be guarded and preserved, that for the future this money shall in every way perpetually remain undiminished and undiverted to other uses. One thousand drachmas are to be set apart, to be named 'corn-purchase fund' and to be lent out at interest forthwith ; and from the revenue there shall be distributed annually to each of our fellow-townsmen one pound of bread or however much the town-clerk shall serve out from purchases made as prescribed. In like manner the other one thousand five hundred drachmas are also to be set apart and lent out at interest, and out of the revenue there shall be held on Happiness-day in our town gymnasium a feast for all the people. . . .

(7 lines illegible)

'No sort of alteration in or diversion of this fund shall be allowed, for I desire that anyone altering or diverting it to some other endowment shall pay . . .

(8 lines illegible)

'I have ratified as complete the above-written deed of gift, which has become and in perpetuity shall be valid.

I, Varius Aurelius Marcus, have sealed a copy of this and have paid over to the town-clerk my donation as above written and have deposited the copy among the records. I, Aurelius Antonius son of Hermocrates, chief archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Demetrius son of Demetrius the son of Demetrius, archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Alexander son of Demas, archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Bassion son of Alexander, town-clerk, have signed it.'

B (Decree).

'For good luck ! At a general assembly of the whole people, the Elders also present on the front benches, on motion put by the town-clerk Aurelius Bassion son of Alexander, it was resolved by the People of the Orcistenes :

'Whereas Aurelius Marcus son of Theobulus is a man by family tradition munificent to the people and a benefactor to each and all, who on no occasion ever fails with public spirit nobly and amply to relieve the needs pressing upon his native town, where moreover he discharges with due diligence the highest offices and public duties ; and hence often prior to this at our assemblies and public meetings acknowledgments have been made to him corresponding to the kindnesses that he has done ; and now with unstinting generosity more than requiting the people for their praises of him, he has further given for public distributions and festivities a corn-purchase fund, so that through the munificence of this great gift the festival of Happiness-day will year by

year make a braver show; Wherefore the People, mindful of these and of his other acts of kindness, have by general and popular vote decreed the erection in his honour on the most conspicuous spot of a statue with suitable inscription, so that his children and descendants may jointly and severally enjoy this honour in perpetuity by contemplating the gratitude of his native town enduringly and worthily expressed.

‘It was also resolved by the People: that the archons of the year shall cause sureties to be given them by borrowers from that fund and shall further secure it by mortgages, and that the town-clerk shall receive and with good faith administer it, subject to the prescribed time-limit, in order that the fund aforementioned may be enjoyed by all our townsmen.

‘The decree was passed on the fourth (?) before the calends of June in the year of the consulship of Marius Perpetuus and Mummius Cornelianus. I, Aurelius Antonius son of Hermocrates, chief archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Demetrius son of Demetrius the son of Demetrius, archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Alexander son of Demas, archon, have sealed it. I, Aurelius Bassion son of Alexander, town-clerk, have signed it (?). I, Aurelius Aquilianus son of Julianus, keeper of the records, have filed it. Present: Aurelius Antonius son of Hermocrates, chief archon; Aurelius Demetrius son of Demetrius the son of Demetrius, archon; Aurelius Asclepiodorus (?) son of Marion (?); Aurelius Quintus son of Aquilas; Aurelius Lo— son of Alexander; Aurelius Asclepiades; Aurelius Alexander son of Demas, archon; Aurelius Marion son of Alexander (?).’

Textual Notes:—A. L. 1: A¹: In ΜΑΡΙΩ and at end, the alpha complete. L. 2: A¹: The same vertical stroke after ΟΥΑ. L. 3: A¹: In ΑΠΟΤΙ[θ]ΕΜ[α], no l, but M entire. L. 4: A¹: At beginning, no trace of l; ΑΡΧΕΙ complete; after it, all blank. L. 5: A¹: At beginning, no trace of N; after ΜΕΝ all blank. L. 6: A¹: At end, no l. L. 7: A¹: Instead of ΜΕΝ, ΑΝ. L. 8: A¹: After ΟΜΩ, a blank of one letter. L. 10: A¹: At beginning, no trace of K; at end, ΧΕΙΛΙΑC. L. 11: A¹: At end, TH in ligature, with r. bar of H missing, as here. L. 12: A¹: At beginning, no M; after ΕΟΡΘΗΝ, all blank.

B. L. 1: B¹: On each side, a ‘leaf.’ L. 2: B¹: At end, ΑΙΜΟΥΤΙΡΟ, with ΠΡ in ligature. L. 3: B¹: Ε at beginning complete; in τῆς, TH in ligature. L. 4: B¹: In Αὐρ. A complete. L. 5: B¹: First O almost entire; both Ε’s in ἑορτῆς. L. 6: B¹: ΟΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ; at end, ΠΡ in ligature. L. 7: B¹: In φιλοτέλειος, O complete. L. 8: B¹: In πάντας only traces of ΑΝ; at end ΕΥΕΙ. L. 9: B¹: At beginning, both arms of K; in οὐδένα, ΟΥ repeated. L. 10: B¹: Does not show the r. half of W in ligature with M. L. 11: B¹: After ΠΕΙΓΟΝΤΑ, traces of TH in ligature. L. 12: B¹: In ἀρχάς, no C. L. 13: B¹: At beginning, NE in ligature, ἑπιτελεῖ complete. L. 14: B¹: At beginning, TWK in ligature, then A, then four ‘or 5’ dots. L. 15: B¹: At beginning, Cl, then four ‘or 5’ dots. L. 16: B¹: In πρὸς, ΠΡ in ligature. L. 17: B¹: Before the K, a dot. L. 18: B¹: At end, Ε. L. 20: B¹: At beginning, C, then WC. L. 22: B¹: At beginning, lower half of C; at end, an indeterminate letter, as here, with note: ‘leaf’ or ‘Δ.’ L. 23: B¹: At beginning, HNK in ligature. L. 24: B¹: In ΔΗΜΟC, HM in ligature. L. 25: B¹: In ΕΠΙCΗΜΟC, the C missing, the HM in ligature. L. 26: B¹: At beginning, VHA; in μετὰ ME in ligature; at end, T complete. L. 27: B¹: At beginning CHC; after ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗ, all blank. Except in points noted the texts tally, A¹ with A, B¹ with B.

NOTES ON A.

L. 2: The accentuation of Ὀρκίστω (CIL iii. p. 1268; IGR iv. 549) disregards, as Ramsay points out, that given in our earliest source: Mansi vi. 573, 981, 1088 (A.D. 451). With Ὀρκιστός compare Βηρυτός, Σηστός, Λυγκηστός. The *nomen* Οὐάρ[ιος] is more probable than Οὐάρ[ος], a *cognomen*; in the late second and the early third centuries, a second *nomen* sometimes preceded Aurelius.⁸

L. 4: [δόσι]ν; This term, appropriate and exactly filling the lacuna, occurs as ‘deed of gift’

⁸ E.g. PIR² i. 24, 150, M. Aelius Aurelius Theo; ii. 183, 809, Ti. Claudius Aurelius Telemachus; PIR ii. 170, 125, L. Iulius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antonius. ‘Varius’ precedes another *nomen* in PIR iii. 386, 188: C. Varius Iulius Proculus; it is found at Apamea: L. Varius Maximus; CIL iii. 7055. In B. 6 the name Οὐάρ[ιος] is omitted. So likewise the name of Marcus Ulpius Apuleius Eurycles

is shortened to Ulpius Eurycles (OGI 506; Forsch. in Eph. ii. 23); that of Gaius Iulius Quadratus Bassus to Iulius Bassus (Sber. Bayer. Ak. 1934, 3, p. 9); that of Gaius Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus to Iulius Quadratus (OGI 544); other examples of abbreviated nomenclature in R. de Phil. xxxvii. 1913, pp. 308, 315.

in *IG ix. 1, 694. 140*: γενέσθω δὲ μὴδὲν ὑπεναντίου τῷ δόγματι μηδὲ τῷ δόσει. Also in *Dura Perg. 21* (A.D. 87), *Z. Sav. St. Rom. Abt. 56, 1936, p. 102*, where Welles summarises three deeds of gift, *P. Grenf. ii. 68, P. Oxy. 273* and *P. Ryl. ii. 155*; he shows the *dosis* to be a rare form of document.

Ll. 5-6: The general sense is obvious; restoration *ex. gr.* With the phrasing compare the similar Latin bequest of *CIL iii. 6998* (= Dessau, *ILS 7196* = *MAMA v. 202*).⁹

L. 7: The last I must, as in B. 9, be an imperfect T, since κα(τ)[ἀ δίκη]ν is needed for antithesis.

L. 9: The donation most resembling ours in form is the letter to Ariassos of the high-priest Dioteimos, who uses the same phrasing as here; *IGR iii. 422*: εἰδ(ω)μι δὲ καὶ χ(α)ρίζομαι τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι μου.

L. 10: ἀριθμῶς evidently means 'of account' (i.e. 'reckoned only'); J. G. Milne and E. S. G. Robinson kindly inform me that the drachma was not then current. This epithet was also applicable to a depreciated currency, for much later in Egypt the *nomisma* was at its face value ἀριθμῶς, at its real value ἐχόμενος ('accepted'); cf. H. I. Bell's explanation, *P. Lond. iii. p. 85*. Gifts or bequests of Ἀττικαὶ (δραχμαὶ) are common in Asia at this period; cf. Keil-Premmerstein, i. 101; ii. 76; iii. 55, and were known even in Egypt (cf. *P. Oxy. 705*; A.D. 202), where their value was four times that of the Egyptian drachma; Mitteis-Wilcken, *Chrest. i. 2, p. 181*, note 46.

L. 11: δημότας. Note the use, as in 19 below, of this term instead of πολίτας; cf. note to B. 3. *ETH* suggests ἐτή[σιον], since κατ' ἐτή is inadmissible. Thus the only supplement possible seems to be [Εὐδο]μοσύνην, the festival-day in the month *Panemos* (May 24-June 22) known from *IGR iv. 661. 5*; cf. Cumont, *Cat. Musée du Cinquantenaire* (1913), note to no. 133. 5. Appearing there as ἡμέρα Εὐδομοσύνης, it is here Εὐδομοσύνη; cf. *IG xii. 5, 946. 11* (Tenos, second century A.D.): τῇ Καταστεφανώσει = 'on Crowning-day.'

L. 12: ΑΠΑΥΤΩΝ is not merely a dittograph from 11, but also doubtless an error for ΑΠΑ(Ν)Τ(Α)C; cf. B. 36-7.

L. 13: On the page opposite R. has rightly written, of the I in ΟΙΟC, 'possibly P.' In third-century documents ὁρος often means, as here, 'rule' or 'condition'; Preisigke, *WB s.v. ὁρος* 3.

L. 14: With τηρεῖσθαι (the ε erased by S.), cf. δανίζεσθαι (22), also the spelling in *MAMA iv. 297. 7, 13*. [τὸ δανίζε]ν (Calder) gives exactly the meaning required.

L. 15: For the phrase [ἀσάλευτα] καὶ ἀμετάθετα, cf. Petersen-von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, p. 105, E. 10* (= Laum, *Stift. ii. 143*); *I. v. Magnesia 116. 26*.

L. 16: ἀπ[ο]τάσσεισθαι seems certain; cf. *IG xii. 7, 515. 91, 106* (Amorgos); *BCH xlv. 1922, p. 397, no. 2. 11* (Mylasa). Forgetting the Ἀττικαὶ (10) and thinking of χρήματα, (15) the donor puts χεῖλια in lieu of χεῖλιας.

L. 17: καλεῖσθαι σειτωνικά; the fund of 1000 *attikai* was doubtless thus 'named' in order to keep alive in public memory the object for which it was earmarked; cf. *I. v. Magn. 116. 21-4*: ἀργύριον διανέμειν τὸν γραμματῆ ἱππομαζόντα τὴν διανομὴν γυμνασιαρχικὴν: the name commemorated the grants from gymnasium-funds. For χρήματα σειτωνικά, cf. *CIG 3422. 20*; cf. *CIL iii. 6998*: 'uti . . . in sitonico tribuant' (Nacoleia).

L. 18: After the obvious [δανίζεσθ]αι, κατ' εὐθ[ύ] gives a natural reading; cf. *IG xii. 7, 237. 24*: καὶ ἐγδανεισθήτω π[αρα]χρή[μα]. The fixed date in May-June (A. 12) made promptness essential; this deed of May 27 requires that the earning of interest shall begin at once (cf. B. 35).

Ll. 18-20: The apparent simplicity of this passage may mislead; at first in 19-20 the restoration for [ἡμέ]ραν μίαν¹⁰ appears certain, for a revenue of 60-90 drachmas could hardly have sufficed for more than one day's corn-supply; cf. *BCH xi. 1887, p. 399, no. E. 9-14* (= Laum, ii. 72): ἐντέλλομαι αὐτῷ . . . [ἐ]λαίσθησαν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μου πατρίδι Ἀτταλίδῃ καθ' ἑαστον ἔτος ἡμέραν μίαν; *IG xii. 7, 515. 68. 9*: παρεχέτωσαν δὲ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πραγμάτων ἀμοτέρως τὰς ἡμέρας. Our clause (18-20) might then have been: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν προσ[όδων] σείτων[[δαν]ίμεισθαι τοῖς δημόταις καθ' ἑκ[αστον] ἔτος ἡμέ[[ρ]αν μίαν. . . . But an indefinite 'one-day ration' is not suitable for doles, nor does it figure in any of the surviving Roman *divisiones*; and since definiteness seems essential, [ἡμέ]ρ[[α]ν] must be preferred to [ἡμέ]ρ[[α]ν]. Bread was then sold by the *leitira*,¹¹ and the convenience of the one-pound ration is illustrated in a dole of bread at Ferentinum.¹² If at Orcistus in 237 the one-pound loaf cost approximately three obols—as it did at Ephesus about 220¹³—and if annual interest was at nine per cent.,¹⁴ the loaves procurable with an income of 90 drachmas (= 540 obols) would have been one hundred and eighty.¹⁵ If we assume WN and HT in ligature ὠν(η)τά seems the obvious original; cf. *IG xii. 7, 515. 67*: ὠν(η)τά σίτων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυρίου.

⁹ 'Civitati Nacolensium patriae meae amantissimae quamvis p[ro]lu]rum debeam, pro mediocritate tamen peculioli mei dari volo HS CC n. ea condicione, etc.'

¹⁰ It is the accusative of duration; Kühner-Gerth, *Gram. ii. p. 314 B*.

¹¹ *Forsch. in Eph. iii. p. 10*.

¹² *CIL x. 5853. 12*: crustuli p(ondo libra) I, mulsi hemina.

¹³ *Forsch. in Eph. iii. p. 103*.

¹⁴ Cf. *IBM iii. p. 137*.

¹⁵ A conceivable but improbable reading (19-20)

is καθ' ἑκ[αστον] σείτων ἡμέ[[ρ]αν] μίαν. In *IG xii. 7, 515. 73* the choenix and half-choenix of corn are doled out; could not here the hemina (= quarter-choenix) have been so? That instance is from the second century B.C., and from our period, over three centuries later, no similar case appears to be known. Our dole was therefore almost certainly the contemporary *panis* or *crustulum*; cf. *CIL ix. 3954. 5* (Alba Fucens); ix. 4215. 6 (Amiternum); x. 3699. 4 (Cumae, 251 A.D.); x. 5796. 8 (Vesulae); xiv. 119. 9 (Ostia); xiv. 3581. 11 (Tibur).

L. 21: Here begin the regulations as to the disposal of the rest of the gift, 1500 drachmas; from this line down to 44 so much is missing that restoration becomes difficult or impossible. E.g., we might read χεῖλι[α ἀποτάσσεται] [τε κ]αὶ αὐτὰ κτλ. But in that case the 1500 dr. would have constituted two funds, of 1000 and 500 respectively, and with so small a total income such a subdivision seems improbable.

L. 23: The supplement Εὐδομοσύνης ἡμέρας appears necessary (cf. 11) because omitted in the regulations relative to the 1000 dr. (16-21).

L. 24: The mention of the *gymnasium* makes it likely that a δημοδοκία was to be held there; cf. IG xii. 7, 515. 60: ἡ δὲ δημοδοκία γενέσθω ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ.

Ll. 32-4: Evidently contained prohibitions and minatory clauses, like those of IBM 481*. 315 f. Supplements *ex. gr.*

Ll. 43-4: Apparently a ratification similar to IBM 481*. 326-30.

L. 45: At 42, it would seem, the *dosis* ended; with τοῦτου begin the declarations by the donor that he has deposited an authentic copy in the public registry and has paid over the amount given (δορεῖα) to the town-clerk Aur. Bassion (B. 35). Down to and including this, the average length of the lines has been 35-42 letters, whereas the next line contained about 48 letters, and in lines 47-49 there were respectively 60, 61 and 56; the four lines below this must have been carved on the wider pedestal-base. Restoration is *ex. gr.*; the donor may have authenticated the register-copy by signing, not (as here assumed) by sealing.

L. 47: Here begin the sealed attestations of the three archons (cf. B. 46-50) to the due performance of the formalities specified in 45-47, including the payment, which doubtless was in cash (cf. 10 above). The same mode of attestation is found in Egypt (A.D. 153), except that there the witnesses are seven, as required by Roman law.¹⁶

L. 48: The γραμματεὺς Bassion (B. 4, 43) is the only man who does not seal, but signs, probably because in virtue of his office (B. 35) he had received the 2500 dr.; cf. Otto's remarks on 'quittierend' signature.¹⁷

NOTES ON B.

L. 3: γερούσις. The existence of this body, already known in conjunction with the *demos*,¹⁸ is no proof that Orcistus enjoyed full city status; a *gerousia*, acting as here in public assembly with 'all the other *kometai*,'¹⁹ appears at Kastollos, a *kome* of Philadelphia. In that instance, hitherto unique, of a jointly legislating *gerousia*, its powers seem, as they do here, like those exercised in a city by the *boule*.²⁰ Finding here such a *gerousia*, and no mention of a *boule*, we may safely regard the latter as having been in 237 non-existent at Orcistus. And since possession of a *boule* was an essential feature of the typical city constitution,²¹ it is clear that in 237 Orcistus was not a city; she had the semi-municipal organisation of one of those smaller communities variously known as *κώμη*, or *κατοικία*, or *χωρίον*; the term *demos* sometimes occurs, as here (B. 5), in reference to one of them.²² It follows that Orcistus was then, as she complains in 331, tributary to Nacoleia. It follows also that Mommsen's comment on the inscription preserving that complaint (CIL iii. 352, p. 67), 'Videtur igitur Orcistus saeculo tertio . . . civitatem amisisse ut Nacoliae . . . attribueretur,'—a view which he did not change when editing Ramsay's complete text (CIL iii. 7000)—is erroneous. A town not enjoying the rights of *civitas* in 237 can hardly have acquired them later and again have lacked them in 331.

L. 4: γραμματεὺς; cf. *supra*, note on A. 49.

L. 9: κα(τ'); for this emendation of ΚΑΙ, cf. JHS liv. 1934, p. 141. 19: μηδέποτε λειπομένη κατὰ μηδὲν[α κ]αὶρόν. . . For συ[ν]ελευσίῃ cf. Syll.³ 591. 39: ἐπιστολὴν . . . συμφέρουσαν, *ibid.* 569. 17: συνελέουσιν - - διοίκησιν ποιησάμενος.

L. 10: ἐ[πανορθοῦσθαι]; cf. OGI 669. 6: τὰ ἐπείγοντα - - ἐπανορθοῦμενος.

L. 14: [πρὶν]; required for the antithesis to νῦν (16).

L. 16: προσ[φορᾷ ἀφειδῆ] seems to render *exempli gratia* the gist of the sentence.

Ll. 18-19: σ[υν]ελευσίαν ἀργύριον; cf. the references below, 33, 36.

Ll. 20-21: [τῆς Εὐδομοσύνης]; indicated by the mention of the festival in A. 12.

L. 26: [ἐν]δ[ρ]ι[α]ντος; the obvious emendation.

L. 29: [θεωροῦντας]; cf. BCH xiii. 1889, p. 357. 33: οἱ τε φιλάγαθοι . . . θεωροῦντες τὴν τοῦ πλήθους εὐχαριστίαν. I. v. Priene, 112. 128: οἱ λοιποὶ θεωροῦντες τὴν τοῦ πλήθους εὐνοίαν.

¹⁶ *Aegyptus* xii. 1932, p. 130; cf. *ibid.* xiii. 1933, p. 253; *Arch. f. Paphg.* xi. 1933, p. 129. Sealing by witnesses also in Bruns, *Font.*, 119. 19 (ἰσφράγισαν, σφραγίσται) and 193.

¹⁷ *Arch. f. Paphg.* vi. 1920, p. 311, note 2.

¹⁸ *CIG* 3822 b. Cf. Keil-v. Premerstein, 2 *Reise*, no. 223; they suggest that the *gerusia* may be a relic of city status previously held and lost; cf. *RE* xi. 11 (Oertel).

¹⁹ *OGI* 488: τῆς γερούσις καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κομητῶν πάντων.

²⁰ *ibid.*, note 3: 'ut (gerusia) senatui (βουλῇ) civitatis responderet.'

²¹ Cf. the grant of city status to Tymandus (Bruns, *Font.*, 34 = Dessau, *ILS* 6090 = *MAMA* iv. 236); 'decurionum copiam' (l. 14) and 'ius coeundi in curiam' are emphasised. The dedication to Marcus Aurelius, *CIG* 3822 b², is not by *boule* and *demos*, but by the Ὀρκιστῆνοι; cf. *MAMA* v. 125, 208, 213.

²² E.g., Panamara, with its 'quasistädtische Verfassung,' had as chief magistrate a *demarchos*; *RE* Supp. iv. 966 (Swoboda).

Ll. 32-34: The supplements [διεγγύησι]ν, [ὑποθήκ]αις, (χ)ε[ιρί]ζειν are imposed by the context. In the rules for investment usually prescribed by such decrees as this sureties (εγγυοί) and mortgages (ὑποθήκαι) are often mentioned; both were commonly in use for the safeguarding of loans, especially of those from public funds; ²³ and ποιείσθαι (32) requires διεγγύησιν; cf. *Berl. Sber.* 1904, p. 925. 51 (= *Hermes*, xxxix. 1904, p. 605): τὴν δὲ διεγγύησιν ποιείσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ χειροτονηθέντες; J. Patsch, *Gr. Bürgschaftsr.* pp. 95, 113. For the 'handling' of such funds by officials χειρίζειν was the technical term; cf. *IG ix.* 1, 694. 89, 97, 101: οἱ χειρίζοντες τὸ ἀργύριον; *I. v. Magn.* 66. 9-10: δότωσαν οἱ ταμίαι ἀφ' ὧν χειρίζουσι προσόδων.

L. 35: προθεσμία; cf. note to A. 18. The 'time-limit' is laid down in A. 11-12; if the town-clerk was to meet the cost of the 'Happiness' festivities in May-June of the next year, he needed to invest without delay.

Ll. 36-37: [ἀπολαύ]ειν and [δημότας πάντ]ας—cf. A. 12: ἀπα(ν)τ(ας)—are needed to balance 28-29 above; there the benefits go to the donor's descendants in particular, here to his fellow-townsmen in general.

L. 38: [τρισάρων(?)] ; the date can scarcely have been that given in *CIL iii.* p. 1268, because ξξ is too short a word; our supplement seems best to fit 37-38, but πέντε or τριῶν would also have been possible figures. The public meeting to ratify the donation may well have met two days after that had been made.

Ll. 39-45: Cf. A. 47-49; the certification of this document is exactly similar; the only addition here is the recorder's note: ἔταξα. For a recording endorsement like this, cf. *P. Mich.* iii. 188. 27 and 195. 29 (120-1 A.D.): ἐντέτακ(ται) δι(ὰ) το(ῦ) ἐν Β. γρα(φεί)ου; *P. Ryl.* ii. 155. 24.

Ll. 45-50: The eight witnesses, five of whom neither signed nor sealed, seem to have had their names entered by the recorder Aquilianus; the presence of these five, who had presumably attended the town-meeting, vouches for the veracity of the three archons.²⁴

Among the names Ἐρμοκράτης and Μαρίων were borne fifty years earlier by leading men of Orcistus; cf. *CIG* 3822 b² (p. 1052), 8, 9, 13. Ramsay has restored in 47-8 the name of a possible son to the Marion, as Antonius (A. 47, B. 39, 45) probably was to the Hermocrates of that text.

Closely resembling our document A in form are the two deeds of gift fully set out in the Ephesian inscription of Salutaris: *IBM iv.* 481*. 134-332, 447-549; though described as an 'instruction' (*diataxis*) because the gifts with which it deals had previously been handed over, each is essentially a *dosis* like ours. Next to these, our deed seems so far to be the best example of its class; like them, it has consular dating (cf. *Forsch. in Eph.* ii. p. 143); in the completeness of its appendices (A. 43-9) it excels them; to them is due the restoration, necessarily conjectural, of A. 32-4, 43-6.

Among the many questions on which dated evidence here emerges three especially stand out, the scope of the first and second mainly legal, that of the third social and economic: (1) the position of Orcistus as a township not possessing city status; (2) the procedure for creating such a charitable foundation as ours; (3) its amount, rules and objects. No discussion is here attempted of these and other problems arising out of our documents; this paper aims only to make available for further study that 'long inscription' which Ramsay and Sterrett so fortunately saved.²⁵

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²³ Cf. Thalheim, *Hermes* xxxix. 1904, p. 610: 'Neben die Hypothek treten zur Sicherheit immer noch Bürgen, für jedes Darlehn einer.' Constant resort by a private investor to both methods of securing money lent is found in *REG xix.* 1906, p. 235 (*Aphrodisias*).

²⁴ On the formalities of registration, cf. E. Weiss, *Gr. Privatr.* pp. 412 f.

²⁵ Much gratitude for valuable criticism I owe to

W. M. Calder and A. Cameron, but my heaviest debt is to the *grammatophylax* who rescued the Orcistus 'charter.' Having preserved our texts also, he it is who in fact publishes them; his *archeia*, including notes and drafts of restoration, alone make publication possible. For what has thus been received special grace must be said, yet that is far from enough.

THE MYSTERIES AND THE ORESTEIA

As long ago as 1893, Dieterich, in a famous article on the 'initiation' scene in Aristophanes' *Clouds*,¹ pointed out that there are a great many echoes of ritual hidden in ordinary works of Greek literature, especially in comedy and tragedy. His hint was followed up in 1900 by F. Adami,² whose paper remains a storehouse of such echoes, but who has by no means exhausted the subject.³ G. Thomson's article in a recent issue of this *Journal*⁴ collects a number of instances in the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus in which similar echoes can be heard. The purpose of the present contribution is partly to criticise the interpretation put by Thomson on certain of the references to mystic rites which Headlam and he have noted, and partly to attempt to carry the search a stage farther.

The point in Thomson's valuable paper on which most doubt will be raised in his readers' minds is his tendency to attribute to the Eleusinia all allusions to mysteries in the *Oresteia*. In his zeal for the exclusive glory of Eleusis, he assumes that its mysteries involved both rites and doctrines which the general consensus of scholars has denied to them. In one place he dismisses this general agreement by lumping modern authorities together as 'archaeologists' (p. 22, n. 13), a title which most of them, probably, would humbly deprecate. His procedure raises an important problem in method, and for this reason I may be excused for discussing some of his conclusions. It is regrettable that uncertainty should be re-introduced into a subject, in itself obscure enough, upon which criticism and cautious methods seemed to have secured a fair measure of agreement.

Perhaps the most urgent case for such caution is provided by his quotation (p. 22) from the *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* of Firmicus Maternus.⁵ This quotation is introduced in order to prove that the phrase ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων in Aeschylus and similar phrases such as ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν in Plato are derived from the language not merely of mysteries in general, but of the Eleusinia in particular. Now, Firmicus gives us no indication of the source from which he is drawing in the passage in question; and, what is more important, the character of the rite there described, which clearly re-enacts the resurrection of a dead god, is entirely foreign to anything we know of Eleusis. It has been usually taken to belong to the

¹ *RhMus* XLVIII. pp. 275 f.; reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 117 f. The reference is to the last paragraph of the article.

² *De Poetis Scaenicis Graecis Hymnorum Sacrorum Imitatoribus: Classische Philologie*, Supplementband XXVI. pp. 244 f.

³ For a pretty example recently brought to light cp. Wünsch's comparison (Kern, P-W, XVI. col. 1239) between the opening lines of the second

strophe in the parodos of Eur. *Supp.*: ἔταρες καὶ σὺ ποτ' ὦ πότνια κόρον, and the famous Eleusinian formula quoted by Hippolytus (*Philos.* V. 8, 40): ἱερὸν ἔταρε πότνια κόρον Βριμῶ Βριμόν. This echo incidentally guarantees the veracity of Hippolytus as against the scepticism of Wilamowitz (*Glaube der Hellenen* I p. 175, n. 4).

⁴ *JHS* 1935, lv. pp. 20 f.

⁵ C. xxii.

cult of Attis⁶ or that of Dionysos.⁷ This is surely a case where Lobeck's protest⁸ is very much to the point: 'Quae tandem ratio est ad Eleusiniōs transferre quae de Orpheo dicta sunt, et quum Firmicus nullum genus mysteriorum nominatim designaverit, veteratorie Eleusinia substituere?' Apart from this unwarrantable attribution, the conclusions drawn later in Thomson's article⁹ as to echoes of this or a similar rite in the *Oresteia* may be all quite sound.

A less serious point is the attribution to Eleusis of all known formulas for indicating the secrecy of the mysteries. It is very valuable indeed to have these formulas collected as they are in Thomson's article (pp. 20-21). But I would suggest that the three phrases σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ, βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση, and κλῆς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ be kept apart, inasmuch as the last is the only one which is guaranteed as Eleusinian,¹⁰ while the second is Pythagorean¹¹ and the first is so general that it may apply to any mystery-cult whatever. In the same way, Thomson's own quotations show that the formula θύρας δ' ἐπιθεσθε βέβηλοι is of Orphic and not Eleusinian origin. This matter is important only because of the method involved; the mystic origin of all these phrases is in any case proved.

All through Thomson's article there runs the suggestion not merely that the Orphic and Eleusinian conceptions of the after-life were identical, but even that the former were derived from the latter. This derivation is most explicitly suggested in the last note, on p. 34. The subject is one of much difficulty, on which widely varying opinions are still held; but I venture the judgment that nobody who weighs the uncertain evidence with any care will go so far as Thomson does. The question may be divided into two: that of the judgment after death, and that of the subsequent rewards and punishments meted out to the dead. On the first, Thomson has brought forward no new evidence to alter Guthrie's opinion¹² that the origin of the idea is to be found in vague popular belief. His suggestion that the ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι were of Eleusinian origin rests upon the statement in the speech against Andocides included among the works of Lysias¹³ that the Eumolpidae gave judgments in accordance with these laws. As against this, his own quotation from the *Antigone*¹⁴: κούδεις οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου ῥάνη, is enough to show that these general precepts were not in the least peculiar to Eleusis.¹⁵ His citation (p. 34, n. 68) of the

⁶ Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, p. 131; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*,² pp. 174, 217; de Labriolle, *Littérature Latine Chrétienne*, p. 313.

⁷ Wilamowitz, *Glaube*, II. p. 381: 'es kann wohl nur Dionysos sein.'

⁸ *Aglaophamus*, p. 187.

⁹ p. 26. I would except the identification in note 34 of Firmicus' *nocte quadam* with the νύκτες Ἐλευσινίαι. Nocturnal celebrations were common to all mystery-cults. The same criticism applies to the preceding note 32; the use of the veil was common in both the mysteries and the marriage-rite, and the phrase νυγῶμου νύμφης δίκην (*Ag.* 1178) has nothing specifically mystical about it.

¹⁰ Sophocles, *O.C.* 1052-1053.

¹¹ Philostratus, *Apoll.* vi. 11. It is rash to equate Pythagorean with Eleusinian. Pythagoreanism is rather akin to the Orphic-Dionysiac cults (Herod. 2. 81).

¹² *Orpheus*, p. 153, quoted on p. 34, n. 68.

¹³ Quoted by Thomson, p. 30: τοῖς ἀγράφοις (νόμοις) καθ' οὓς Εὐμολπίδαι ἐξηγοῦνται.

¹⁴ l. 457.

¹⁵ There was at a late date an Eleusinian version of them: Xenocrates ap. Porphyry *de Abstemio* IV, 22: φασὶ καὶ Τριπτόλεμον Ἀθηναίοις νομοθεῆσαι καὶ τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦ τρεῖς εἶναι Ξενοκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος λέγει διαμένειν Ἐλευσίνι τοῦσδε· γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὶ καρποὶ ἀγάλλειν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι.

passage in the *Cataplus* of Lucian brings in to support the idea of an Eleusinian judgment what is obviously only a literary reminiscence; Rhadamanthys is not Eleusinian, and the Erinyes Tisiphone is more probably an Orphic invention.¹⁶

The second question, relating to rewards and punishments after death, is perhaps more delicate to deal with, but here again I think there is no real warrant for Thomson's sweeping attributions to Eleusinian doctrine of all references to this subject. It is well to insist as a preliminary that we have almost no evidence at all about Eleusinian doctrine. The essential character of the Eleusinian mysteries lay in the fact that something was *shown* to the initiates. There is really nothing to indicate that Eleusinian teaching on the fate of the soul after death ever developed much farther than is implied by the words of the Hymn to Demeter (ll. 480 f.):

ὄλβιος ὃς τὰδ' ὀπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων.
ὃς δ' ἀτελής ἱερῶν, ὃς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐποθ' ὁμοίην
αἴσαν ἔχει, φθίμενός περ, ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡρόεντι.

The texts employed for his purpose by Thomson fall into two main classes. The more important are provided by many allusions in Plato and by the parodos in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Plato undoubtedly uses language which can be attributed to any mystery-cult. Many of the ideas about the fate of the soul which we meet with in the *Republic* and the *Phaedo* belong to mysteries in general. Such is the case with the repeated contrast between the light in which the initiated enjoy their bliss and the darkness to which all others are condemned. Such again is the case with terms such as πλάνη and πορεία, ἀναφυγή κακῶν, σωτηρία, and the like. These are not peculiar to any one mystery; they belong to the general mystic 'atmosphere.' On the other hand, whenever Plato particularises, he makes it clear that he is referring, not to Eleusinian, but to Orphic or similar doctrines. Perhaps the surest case of this kind is provided by Thomson's quotations from the *Phaedo* on p. 25. There can be nothing more certain than that the phrase ὡς περ δεσμωτηρίων (*Phaedo*, 114 C, 1) would at once suggest Orphic teaching to its hearers. Plato himself makes this plain in a famous passage in the *Cratylus*¹⁷ in which this doctrine of the body as a prison is attributed to οἱ ἄμφ' Ὀρφέα. With it naturally must go all the rest of the description of the soul's wandering, and the σχίσεις καὶ τρίοδοι of the *Phaedo*. There is no positive evidence of any such doctrine at Eleusis.

Little, if anything, less definite is Plato's own evidence with regard to the provenance of the doctrines set forth about rewards and punishments in the second book of the *Republic*.¹⁸ He ascribes them to ἀγύρται καὶ

¹⁶ Orphic *Argonautica*, l. 198, *Hymn. Orph.* (Abel), LXIX. l. 2. In any case there is no evidence that the group of three Erinyes, implied by the name Tisiphone, is early.

¹⁷ *Cratylus*, 400 C.: δοκοῦσι μίντοι μοι μάλιστα θέσθαι οἱ ἄμφ' Ὀρφέα τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς δίκην διδούσης τῆς ψυχῆς ὧν δὴ ἐνεκα δίδωσι· τοῦτον δὲ περίβολον ἔχειν, ἵνα σώζηται, δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα. This passage incidentally

shows that Plato regarded the idea of a judgment as Orphic. Cp. Guthrie, *Orpheus*, p. 157. Thomson (p. 25, n. 24) says, as against Guthrie, that the reference in the *Phaedo* (108a) is to Eleusinian ritual, not to the Orphic tablets. He has Plato himself, as well as Guthrie, against him.

¹⁸ *Rep.* 363 C-366 B. Cp. Thomson p. 23, n. 14, *ad fin.* It is not at all certain that ὁ οὗτος αὐτοῦ

μάντεις who hawk from door to door books attributed to Musaeus and Orpheus. Now we hear of no such persons as in any way connected with Eleusis, whereas the authors of their books entitle them surely to be called Orphic, if anyone can be so called. Here, again, it is not entirely out of the question that Eleusinian initiates shared in the beliefs inculcated by the Orphic books; but that gives us no right to call such beliefs Eleusinian. Plato's words surely prove that the Orphics had some sort of definite teaching about the next world, whereas the mysteries at Eleusis taught nothing; they only showed something.

In the passage from the *Republic* above cited, Plato says that Musaeus and his son depict τοὺς ἀνοσίους καὶ ἀδίκους as sunk, in Hades after death, ἐς πηλὸν τινα, or as being compelled to carry water in a sieve. If the origin of these ideas be not sufficiently guaranteed by the context of the *Republic*, a further guarantee is provided by a passage in the *Gorgias*¹⁹ in which a closely similar doctrine is attributed to κομψὸς ἀνὴρ, Σικελικός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός. There can be no question of this attribution implying an Eleusinian origin, whereas Orphism was at least as rife in South Italy and Sicily as it was in Attica. This brings us to the well-known passage²⁰ in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, of which Thomson makes full use. There the wicked are seen immersed in 'much mud and ever-flowing ordure' (βόρβορον πολὺν καὶ σκῶρ αἰίνων). It is regularly assumed that in the *Frogs* all references to the mysteries have to do with Eleusis. This view, however, is beset by insuperable difficulties.²¹ The most that can be said is that if this picture of the infernal regions was known to the Eleusinian initiates—as it doubtless was—they got it from Orphic teaching,²² or else, less probably in my opinion, that both Orphics and Eleusinian initiates were drawing upon widespread popular ideas. That much of the colouring of this mystic Hades was ultimately derived from folklore there can be little doubt. This is the case, for example, with the figure of Empusa and others like her, with the stone of withering, and with the sieve. In any event there is no justification for saying, as Thomson does (p. 33, n. 62), that 'the βόρβορος τῶν ἀμυήτων was an Eleusinian, as well as an Orphic, conception,' with the implication that it actually formed part of Eleusinian teaching. Plato's references surely prove that Guthrie is absolutely right in describing the βόρβορος as 'a peculiarly Orphic form of punishment.'²³

in *Rep.* 363 C means the Eleusinian Eumolpus. Eusebius (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, p. 6, test. 18) makes Musaeus son of Eumolpus. Both were in any case Orphic figures, whereas Orpheus was not Eleusinian.

¹⁹ *Gorgias*, 493 B.

²⁰ *Frogs*, ll. 145–151. Thomson, p. 33.

²¹ I have tried to show (*Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, 1935, Vol. XLII. Section C. no. 10) that the rites parodied by the Chorus of *mystae* in the *Frogs* are really those of the Lenaea, at which the play was produced. On Orphic elements in the *Frogs* see Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 72; Maas, *Orpheus*, pp. 112 f.

²² So thinks Dieterich, *l.c.* I believe that it is unnecessary to assume any contamination of Eleusinian and Orphic in *Eleusis itself*. If the rites parodied

in the *Frogs* were those of the Lenaea, their partly Eleusinian character is explained by the connexion between Eleusis and the latter. When Plato in the *Phaedo* (69 c) speaks of βόρβορος in Hades, the context, with its immediate reference to the proverb ναυπηγοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, παῦροι δὲ τε βάκχοι, makes it certain that just as in the case of πηλὸς τις in *Republic* II he is talking about the Orphics. The note of Olympiodorus (Kern, O.F. p. 248, no. 235) confirms this: παρωδεῖ ἔπος Ὀρφικόν.

²³ *Orpheus*, p. 160. Cp. Thomson's note above cited. Maas (*Orpheus*, pp. 113 f.) agrees with Thomson's view, but his arguments really point to common popular acquaintance with ideas which the Orphics had made into some sort of system.

The second class of texts employed by Mr. Thomson is less important. When closely examined this class narrows itself down to three passages: one from Pausanias,²⁴ one from the 'Sophist' Aristides,²⁵ and one from Lucian.²⁶ All three belong to the second century A.D., are vague in character, and can best be explained as literary reminiscences. The passage from Pausanias is part of the famous description²⁷ of Polygnotus' painting in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi. In one part of this painting were included four figures, one of them an old woman who pours water into a *πίθος* from a broken jar. Of these figures Pausanias says: *ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων ὅποσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἤκει τοσούτῳ ἦγον ἐντιμότερον ὅσῳ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιπροσθεν ἡρώων.* The whole phrasing of this sentence shows clearly that Pausanias and his informant were merely guessing. There is evidently some connexion between this scene and the doctrine which Plato²⁸ attributes to κομφὸς ἀνὴρ, Σικελικός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός. It is to be noted that Pausanias mentions Eleusis only in connexion with this group of figures. There is no warrant for Thomson's suggestion (p. 33, n. 59) that the picture of the demon Eurynomus had anything whatever to do with Eleusis.²⁹

The passage quoted from Aristides, with its phrase *καὶ οὐκ ἐν σκότῳ τε καὶ βορβόρῳ κεισομένους*, & δὴ τοὺς ἀμυήτους ἀναμένειν, is an obvious reminiscence of the *Phaedo*, which he mistakenly applies to Eleusis. There is no reason to think, either that Aristides was ever himself initiated at Eleusis, or that he possessed any intimate knowledge of Eleusinian beliefs even for his own day, much less for six centuries earlier.³⁰ The passage from Lucian³¹ quoted by Thomson implies that some doctrine of judgment was taught at Eleusis, but here again the source is almost certainly literary, if not Orphic.

In making these remarks, the length of which is rendered necessary by the rather complicated nature of the subject, I do not at all mean to impugn the conclusion that there are echoes of mystic language in the *Oresteia*, which conclusion I regard as the most valuable part of Thomson's paper. Not everyone will go so far as he does (p. 30) in speaking of Clytemnestra's 'blasphemous audacity' when she addresses Cassandra in words which may *perhaps* have recalled to her hearers the exclusion of barbarians from the Eleusinia. If we content ourselves with describing the echoes he has pointed out as simply mystic in general, without entering into the difficult and unnecessary question of their source, we shall run less risk of confusion.

²⁴ Thomson, p. 33, n. 59.

²⁵ Thomson, p. 22.

²⁶ Thomson, p. 25, n. 24.

²⁷ Pausan., X. 31.

²⁸ *Gorgias*, 493 A. See Rohde, *Psyche*, Eng. tr., pp. 586 f., for a discussion of the connexion. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, pp. 47, 67 f., also deals with this passage.

²⁹ Wilamowitz (*Glaube*, II. p. 183) may be right in thinking that Polygnotus drew for this picture on ideas native to Thasos or Paros, where mysteries were ancient.

³⁰ Dieterich indeed (*Nekyia*, p. 75, n. 2) thinks

that 'in später Zeit fand ja auch das Orphische in Eleusis Eingang,' and cites this text from Aristides as evidence. On Aristides and Eleusis see Kern, P-W, XVI. col. 1257.

³¹ *Cataplus*, 22. See above. This is the only passage in Lucian's works which definitely ascribes such ideas to Eleusis. The *Menippus* is clearly based on literary sources, mostly Plato, although in one place (476 f.), where he speaks of how rich and poor are alike in Hades, there is an echo of the *Eumenides*, ll. 368 f.

He is quite certainly right in associating the Erinyes with the mystic Hades,³² and it is on this point that I wish to try to develop his argument.

In the *Eumenides*³³ Apollo himself is made at once to state where the Erinyes have come from: ἐπεὶ κακὸν σκότον νέμονται, Τάρταρον θ' ὑπὸ χθονός. In their first song after rediscovering their victim at Athens³⁴ they describe their functions in language which reminds us closely of the demon Eurynomus in Polygnotus' picture. They suck the blood of the living victim, and having drained him dry bring him 'below,' i.e. to their dwelling-place in Tartarus. There he will see other sinners³⁵ who have violated the ἀγραφοὶ νόμοι³⁶ being fittingly punished, for they have been judged by Hades himself, who judges all the dead and records their deeds with unerring accuracy.³⁷

It has long been recognised (see the annotations of Blass and Mazon *ad loc.*) that in a later passage, in their Binding-Song,³⁸ they speak of their dwelling-place in language which closely recalls the βόρβορος and πηλός of Aristophanes and Plato. In the same song their description of their ὕμνος δέσμιος as αὐτὸν βροτοῖς (l. 333), like their use of the word ἀλιτῶν (l. 316), inevitably recalls the terminology of the mystic doctrines. The same effect is produced by their distinction (ll. 312 f.) between sinners and

τοὺς μὲν καθαρῶς,
καθαρὰς χεῖρας προνέμοντας.

Again at l. 301, where they threaten Orestes that the protection of Apollo and Athena will avail him nothing

ὥστε μὴ οὐ παρημελημένον
ἔρρειν, τὸ χαίρειν μὴ μαθόνθ' ὅπου φρενῶν,

we are surely meant to recall the joy of the pure and the initiated as described for us by Pindar in his second Olympian Ode and by Aristophanes in the *Frogs*. The Χάριτες are almost the heavenly counterparts of the hellish Erinyes.³⁹ In the next line (302) Orestes is described as they

³² Not 'Eleusinian,' as in the last sentence of his paper.

³³ l. 72. My references are to Wilamowitz's *ed. minor*.

³⁴ ll. 264 f.: δεῖ σ' ἀπὸ ζῶντος βορεῖν | ἐρυθρὸν ἐκ μελέων πύλων . . . καὶ ζῶντα σ' ἰσχνάνας ἀπάξομαι κάτω.

³⁵ ὅψει δὲ κ' εἰ τις ἄλλος ἦλθεν βροτῶν

ἢ θεὸν ἢ ξένον τιν' ἀσεβῶν

ἢ τοκίας φίλους

ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια.

³⁶ Cp. Thomson, p. 33. The resemblance between the passage just quoted and the list in *Ar. Ran.* (145-151) is very striking. The discrepancies, however, between these and other mentions of the 'unwritten laws' are enough to show that these laws were never strictly formulated.

³⁷ μέγας γὰρ Ἄδης ἐστὶν εὐθύνος βροτῶν ἔνερθε χθονός. There can be no doubt that the same judgment is also referred to in *Supplices*, 230 f.: κακέϊ δικάζει τὰμπλακῆμασ', ὡς λόγος, Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας, and is identical

with the judgment in Pindar, *Ol.* II. 65: ἀλιτρά κατὰ γὰρ δικάζει τις ἐχθρῶ λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκη. Note in *Eumenides* 35 εἰ τις ἦλθεν and in Pindar ἀλιτρά. It seems perfectly safe to assume that the λόγος is some non-Eleusinian mystic doctrine and that Ζεὺς ἄλλος, Ἄδης and τις are all to be identified with the Dionysiac-Orphic Ζεὺς χθόνιος.

³⁸ l. 387. ἀτιμ' ἀτίετα διόμηναι

λάχη θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ' ἀνηλίων

λάμπη, δυσοδοπαίπαλα δερκομένοισι

καὶ δυσσομάτοις δμοῖς.

For λάμπη (l. 389) Wieseler reads λάπη. The change seems unnecessary, as either word means 'slime.' (Cp. L. & S. s.v. λάπη). Hermann's 'sunless light' is poetical but pointless, and the meaning 'light' is much less well-attested than 'slime.' Note that the Erinyes are children of Night, who is very prominent in Orphic cosmogonies as early as Aristophanes' parody of one in the *Birds*.

³⁹ Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 335; Eurip., *Bacchae*, 414.

hope to make him: ἀναιμάκτον, βόσκημα δαιμόνων, σκιά. The word σκιά clearly connotes *death*. The victim of the Furies is doomed to a living death (l. 305): καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμοῦ σφαγείς. In other words, what happens to Orestes on earth in the play is what usually happens to offenders in the other world;⁴⁰ and here, as elsewhere when there is question of infernal punishments, no difference is made between those who are guilty of some crime and those who are simply uninitiated, ἀμύητοι. The fate which awaits Orestes in life is not dissimilar to that which in Plato⁴¹ is threatened against those who refuse to undergo the purifications of the Orphics; and there is a clear reason for this, because, as Plato tells us, the Orphics offered their purifications as a means for avoiding in the next world the penalties that await crimes committed in this.

This constant analogy between the pursuit of Orestes by the Erinyes and the punishment of the sinner after death explains, I believe, one of the most puzzling points in the play. It is obvious, of course, that Aeschylus deliberately reduces the rôle of Apollo from that which the god at one time had in the story (in Stesichorus, for example) to that of a mere advocate before the higher court of Athena. In the earliest versions of the story, the pursuit of Orestes must have ended with his purification at Delphi. Aeschylus sends him farther, from Delphi to Athens; even though Apollo purifies him, he cannot set him altogether free until the Areopagus has judged. But we should expect at least that his wanderings should cease with his purification, and that he should go straight from Delphi to Athena's temple. In the *Choephoroi* (l. 1042) he has already described himself as ἀλήτης, and we naturally assume that he has been pursued over long distances before he reaches Delphi and safety. His journey to Athens should in comparison be direct and simple.

Yet three times in the *Eumenides* this journey is referred to in language which implies that it is long and difficult, over sea and land. On Apollo's first appearance, while assuring Orestes of his protection, he at the same time bids him fly (ll. 75 f.):

ὁμῶς δὲ φεύγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένῃ.
ἐλῶσι γάρ σε καὶ δι' ἡπείρου μακρᾶς
βιβῶντ' ἂν αἰεὶ τὴν πλανοσσιβῆ χθόνα
ὑπὲρ τε πόντον καὶ περιρρύτας πόλεις.

Again, when the scene opens before Athena's temple, Orestes prays to the Goddess for protection as one already purified, and as one who has gone through a long pilgrimage (l. 240):

ὁμοῖα χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκπερῶν.

⁴⁰ Compare Lucian *Menipp.* 474 f., where at least one feature (the abolition of all distinction between the great and the humble) has its parallel in *Eum.* 368: δόξαι δ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ μάλ' ὅπ' αἰθέρι σμναὶ τακόμεναι κατὰ γῆς μινύθουσιν ἄτιμοι.

Not only the *prospective* fate of Orestes, but his condition as pursued by the Furies, is a living death, for, as Apollo emphasises, their visitation of the living

world is a monstrous horror.

⁴¹ Rep. II. 365 A: μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεῖνὰ περιμένει. The θυσίαι are identical with Orphic rites (ὡς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν). And this is again the significance of θυσίων, which is better attested than δσιών, in *Phaedo*, 108 a (cp. Burnet's note). It has nothing to do with Hecate.

A little later (ll. 249–251) the Erinyes who have pursued him describe their wanderings on his track:

χθονὸς γὰρ πᾶς πεποίμανται τόπος
 ὑπὲρ τε πόντον ἀπτεροῖς ποτήμασιν
 ἦλθον διώκουσ' οὐδὲν ὑστέρᾳ νεώς.

Now, the flight from Delphi to Athens should neither take a long time nor should it normally involve a long journey over the sea. In ancient times the regular way to come would surely be overland, by the road laid down by the κελυθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, spoken of at l. 13—the Athenian sacred way by which θεωρίαι went to Delphi. Even if we suppose a journey by the modern route from Itea, crossing the Isthmus at Corinth or Megara, such a journey could hardly have been described as covering a long stretch of land. On the other hand, if Aeschylus implies an exile like that of Alcmeon,⁴² then such an exile should naturally end with the purification at Delphi.⁴³ The emphasis placed on the wanderings, like the whole treatment of the Delphic purification, can have only one object—to magnify the importance of Athena's court and the finality of its verdict.

If Aeschylus all along has in mind an analogy between Orestes as destined victim of the Erinyes and the uninitiated in Hades, then the wanderings between Delphi and Athens take their proper place in his design. They are the equivalent of the πορείαι, πλάναι, πόννοι of the *Phaedo* and other texts which speak of the wandering of the soul. In his speech to Orestes (ll. 78–79) Apollo actually refers to them as πόνον, and Thomson has emphasised the significance of the phrase ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων which we meet at the end of the same speech (l. 83). In the lines I have already quoted, we get the word πλάνη in a very slight disguise (l. 76: πλανοστιβῆ χθόνα). As Thomson has sufficiently shown (pp. 21, 25), this idea of the long wanderings of the unpurified soul is a commonplace in mystic literature. I may repeat here that Plato (*Phaedo*, 107d–108c) makes much use of it, and especially signalises the long duration of the ordeal (πολὺν χρόνον ἐπτοημένη).

This idea may well have been common to the Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries, but once more it was the Orphics who made it part of an elaborate doctrine, which involved their peculiar notion of a κύκλος γενέσεως.⁴⁴ Akin to this doctrine was the Pythagorean one of the soul's ὁδός or κέλευθος, and the variant of this which we find in Pindar.⁴⁵ A similar doctrine is forcibly set forth in the famous fragment of Empe-

⁴² Thuc. II. 102. Cp. Plut. *de exil.* 9, p. 602 d: ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον (Ἀλκμήωνα) εἰκάσω πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ στάσεις καὶ συκοφαντίας ἱριυάδειν ἐλθεῖν.

Note that in Eur. *Medea*, when Aegeus appears at Corinth after having visited Delphi, Medea asks him: οὐδ' ὥς τί χρῆζων τί νυξ ναυστολὴς χθόνα; (l. 682). Aegeus has a special reason for taking the route he has: he is going to Troezen.

⁴³ This point was clearly seen by K. O. Müller (*Eumenides*, Eng. trans., 1853, pp. 132–133), but he had no real explanation of it to offer. His idea

(*ibid.*, p. 131) that the flight of Orestes after his purification is supposed to bring him to Rhegium and elsewhere, attributes to the Athenians of Aeschylus' time the same mythological material as has come down to us.

⁴⁴ Cp. Proclus in Plat. *Tim.* 42, c.d., quoted by Kern, *Orph. Frag.* p. 244, no. 229: πᾶσαν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν εὐδαιμόνα περιάγουσα ζωὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν γένεσιν πλάνης, and the rest of the passage.

⁴⁵ *Ol.* II. 75: ἔπειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύραν.

docles,⁴⁶ in which the δαίμονες who have sinned are compelled τρίς μὲν μυρίας ὥρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάλησθαι. Here we meet, I think for the first time, the notion that the wandering spirits are thrown back and forth between sea and land:

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει
πόντος δ' ἔς χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπτυσσε κ.τ.λ.

The comparison of the soul's quest for a blessed immortality to a sea-voyage becomes more frequent in later literature, although its origin is probably to be sought in very ancient Egyptian beliefs.⁴⁷ In all probability the comparison lies behind a beautiful passage in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (ll. 902 f.):

εὐδαίμων μὲν, ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσης
ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ' ἔκικεν·
εὐδαίμων δ', ὃς ὑπερθε μόχθων
ἔγένεθ'· ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἕτερον
ὀλβῳ καὶ δυνάμει παρῆλθεν,

where the μόχθοι are evidently the same as the πόννοι, πορείαι, πλάναι of the *Phaedo*. It is perhaps most strikingly expressed in a passage from the *Florilegium* of Vettius Valens, a 'neo-Pythagorean' astrologer of the second century A.D.,⁴⁸ in which he describes his own mystic experience in striving to attain ὁμίλησις τῷ θεῷ: πελαγοδρομήσας οὖν καὶ πολλὴν γῆν διοδεύσας, κλιμάτων τε καὶ ἔθνων κατόπτῃς γενόμενος, πολυχρονίᾳ πείρα καὶ πόννοις συνεμφυρεῖς.⁴⁹

When Orestes arrives in Athens and comes face to face with the Goddess, he loses no time in assuring her of his purity (ll. 277 f.):

ἐγὼ διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς ἐπίσταμαι
πολλοὺς καθαρμούς καὶ λέγειν ὅπου δίκη
σίγαῖν θ' ὁμοίως.⁵⁰

The ritual associations of his language have been so well brought out by Thomson that it is unnecessary for me to dwell any further on them. He emphasises his purity once more a few lines farther on (l. 287):

καὶ νῦν ἄφ' ἄγνου στόματος εὐφήμως καλῶ κ.τ.λ.

⁴⁶ Burnet, *E. Gr. Phil.*² p. 222, no. 115; Ritter-Preller,⁹ p. 151, beginning ἔστιν Ἀνάγκης χρῆμα κ.τ.λ.

⁴⁷ Cp. Nilsson, *Min-Myc. Rel.* pp. 344 f.; Cumont, *After-life in Roman Paganism*, pp. 154-155. In later times the voyage is through the aether and the Islands of the Blest are the sun and moon.

⁴⁸ Ed. Kroll p. 330, l. 14. For this quotation I am indebted to Festugière, *L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*, Paris, 1932, p. 124, note 3. As is there remarked, the Cynic comparison of the wise man with Odysseus, and the περὶ τῆς ἐς σοφίαν πορείας of the Epicurean Metrodorus of Lampsacus, both derive from the same source. Plato (or rather

the Socrates of the *Clouds*) had made the analogy with the philosopher's quest a commonplace.

⁴⁹ In all probability the sacred legend of the wanderings of Dionysos had something to do with the origin of this doctrine. Cp. Eur. *Bacchae*, *passim*, and Aristoph. *Frogs*, ll. 400-401: καὶ δειξὼν ὡς ἄνυ πόνου πολλὴν ὁδὸν περαινέεις. Note how in the passage from Vettius Valens all the motives recur—sea and land, long lapse of time, πόνος, and the semi-mystic term κατόπτῃς, which recalls the περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον of Socrates in the *Clouds* (l. 225).

⁵⁰ Cp. Thomson, p. 20. I should prefer to keep καθαρμούς and at most to read πολλοῖς for πολλοῦς.

The whole speech is distinctly reminiscent of the formulas intended to be recited by the Orphic initiate before Persephone: ⁵¹

ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ χθονίων βασιλεία.

The resemblance is made all the stronger by the presence of Hermes in the play; indeed it is the only way to account for that presence. As Orestes is departing from Delphi to begin his wanderings (l. 89), Apollo bids Hermes accompany him, with these words:

Ἐρμῇ, φύλασσε, κάρτα δ' ὦν ἐπώνυμος πομπαῖος ἴσθι.

At first sight the epithet πομπαῖος seems to be a very ordinary epithet for Hermes, who is called ὁ πέμπων in a general sense by Sophocles, for example. ⁵² It is all the more striking to find that the only other case where the adjective πομπαῖος is applied to Hermes is a passage where he is simultaneously invoked as χθόνιος (Sophocles, *Ajax*, 832):

καλῶ δ' ἄμα
πομπαῖον Ἐρμῆν χθόνιον εὖ με κοιμίσαι.

In that passage he is called on to conduct the soul of Ajax to its resting-place in Hades. This renders the conclusion very tempting, to say the least of it, that in the *Eumenides* the epithet πομπαῖος is deliberately chosen as ambiguous. On the one hand, it suggests the ordinary function of Hermes as guide of the living. On the other, it recalls to the audience the fact that Orestes is no ordinary mortal, but, as the Erinyes later on describe him, a living corpse. In that character it is fitting that he should be guided by a god whose epithet suggests ψυχοπομπός, the Chthonic Hermes, guide of souls, who was particularly prominent in the mystic Other-world. His presence surely clinches the analogy between the πόνος of Orestes and the πλάνη of the soul seeking rest.

If this analogy holds good, the poet's conception of his plot was even bolder than is usually thought, and his meaning richer and deeper. Not alone does he substitute a new for an old moral law, a new legal procedure for an ancient semi-magical sanction, the law-court of Athena for the primitive rite of Apollo, the revered Goddesses of the Areopagus for the dreadful phantasms of an older dispensation; he also suggests that there is an analogy between Athena's court, with its judgment by democratic procedure, and the awful, irrevocable doom pronounced by the 'Other Zeus' of the underworld. Just as the initiate is 'saved' by producing his mystic symbol of initiation, ⁵³ so Orestes is saved by virtue of his purification at Apollo's hands. It is to be noted that in neither case does purification

⁵¹ Gold leaf from Thuri, Kern, *Orph. Frag.*, p. 106, 32, IV. C. The same formula is many times repeated.

⁵² *Philoct.* 133. As πομπός, however, he is guide of the dead: Soph. *O.C.* l. 1548: τῆς γὰρ μ' ἄγει Ἐρμῆς ὁ πομπός ἢ τε νεκρὰ θεός. Also in *Hymn. Orph.*, 57, 6 (Abel, p. 88).

⁵³ Cp. Plutarch, *Consol. ad Uxor.* 10: καὶ μὴν ἅ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις . . . ὥς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακῶν οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἔστιν, οἶδα δὲ καλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος, καὶ τὰ μυστικά σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργισμῶν. The σωτηρία so common in mystic language is equivalent to ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων: Thomson, p. 22.

immediately confer the longed-for σωτηρία; it merely gives, both to the mystic and to Orestes, knowledge of the right *way* which leads to the judgment-seat, and the assurance of a favourable judgment.⁵⁴ The effects of that judgment on Orestes again remind us of mystic ideas. He comes to his trial a living dead man; he leaves it reborn (l. 757), declaring himself 'an Argive again' and thanking Athena, Loxias and Zeus in a speech which three times in eight lines has a reference to σωτηρία. The notion that initiation in the mysteries was equivalent to rebirth was a widespread one.⁵⁵ The contrast between Orestes' state before and after his trial seems clearly intended to suggest it. I believe that the ordinary Athenian in 458 B.C. was capable of seeing all through the *Eumenides* the majestic comparison between the institutions of his city and the eternal economy of the κόσμος which is implied in the echoes of mystic terminology here pointed out.

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⁵⁴ Compare Orestes' words (*Eum.*, ll. 278-279): ἐν δὲ τῷδε πράγματι φωνεῖν ἐτάχθην πρὸς σοφοῦ διδασκάλου, and the speech of Apollo giving him his directions, with the instructions on the gold plate from Petelia (Kern, *Orph. Frag.*, p. 104, no. 32 a) and with the similar document from Thurii (*ibid.*, p. 108, no. 32 f.) which ends χαῖρε, χαῖρε, θεῖάν ὁδοιπορῶν λειμῶνάς τε ἱερούς καὶ ἄλσος Φερσεφονείας. In

both cases the idea that purification gives some sort of *knowledge* is apparent.

⁵⁵ Cp. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 160. Lagrange, with whom Nilsson is inclined to agree, denies rebirth for Eleusis: Nilsson, *Die Eleusinischen Gottheiten*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXXII. 1935, p. 122, n. 2.

AN ETRUSCAN IMITATION OF AN ATTIC CUP

[PLATES I-II.]

RODIN bought many antiques in his life, and these are now preserved in the Rodin Museum in Paris. They are not very well known, but they include a few fine pieces well worth seeing and studying. Some seventy ancient vases are on exhibition, and do not seem ever to have been published or described, apart from stray mentions in sale catalogues.

A few years ago I became interested in the collection, and noticed a very curious red-figured cup, which I shall describe.¹

Pl. I. Rodin Museum inv. Tc. 980 (formerly inv. 1943). Diameter 23.2 centimetres. The present height is 9.5 centimetres, but the foot is alien: it comes from a little-master cup. The handles belong: the ends of them are rounded, not squared as in late cups.

I: two satyrs. The left-hand one totters forward in a dancing movement, carrying a large wineskin on his back. He grasps the upper end with his left hand, just above his head, to prevent it sliding down. The right arm is lowered, with the fingers of the hand raised. His tail does not show, and his left leg is almost entirely hidden behind the krater on which his companion is seated; a bit of the calf appears to the left of the base. The second satyr, who wears a wreath of ivy, is sitting on the foot of a large calyx-krater which has been turned upside down; streaks on the uneven ground represent the remains of the wine: the feast is over. He stretches out his legs and arms and seizes the chin of his companion so as not to lose his balance. Both heads are nearly frontal, slightly three-quartered. The hair on the chest is brown, so are most of the inner markings, and a few other details. The nipples are black dots. The nostrils of the right-hand satyr are indicated in brown, and he has two brown wrinkles on his forehead. The inscription $\lambda\alpha\mu\iota\gamma\gamma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\gamma\alpha$, in faded letters, probably once red, runs retrograde alongside the border from the head of the left-hand satyr towards his fingers. The diameter of the medallion is 15.2 centimetres, without the pattern 12.7.

Outside, komos of satyrs.

A: three satyrs. The one on the left, facing rightwards, carries a pointed amphora in his left hand, and probably held a drinking-horn, as will be seen, in his right. His back is in three-quarter view. The middle one, turned to the right, raises his left arm and was probably grasping his head, which is thrown back, as he listens in ecstasy to the double flute played by the third satyr, who faces him, wearing a panther-skin on his back.

¹ I am very grateful to M. Georges Grappe, Keeper of the Rodin Museum, for his kind permission to publish the cup, and am aware that this permission is probably the first of its kind. I am greatly indebted to Mr. J. D. Beazley, who has examined the cup and given me his opinion on it; has made many

valuable suggestions; and has read and corrected this paper. I also wish to thank M. J. P. Hippeau, attaché at the Rodin Museum, for all his help and interest in the matter; and M. Giraudon for the photographs of the cup.

B: three more satyrs. The first, moving to the left, with his bald head frontal, carries a pointed amphora on his left arm. The middle one, turned to the right, is about to strike with a sandal raised in his right hand. The third moves to left, carrying a wineskin, but the upper part of the figure is lost.

The outer satyrs on A, and the middle one on B, have red fillets round their heads.

The spaces under the handles are decorated with palmette-designs of the type used by Douris, but with an extra leaflet attached to the lower spirals on both sides, and a few extra dots in the field.

The gaps and breaks are visible in the reproductions. Relief-contours throughout, except for the bald head on B; also for the separate hairs in beards and tails, and for some of the inner markings. The rest of the inner markings are in brown. The incised sketch shows everywhere. There is a slight red deposit in some of the sketch-lines, which gives a curious expression to the faces of the satyrs in the inside picture. Changes were made in the course of the work: inside, for instance, the right hand of the upright satyr was originally lifted somewhat higher, and the fingers, extended horizontally, ran into the border; his right leg was nearer the krater.

As soon as I had the Rodin cup in my hands, I noticed that the outside was a close imitation of a well-known cup found at Vulci and now in the Vatican (Pl. II),² with one figure on each half left out—on one half, the satyr using the jug, on the other the boy satyr (together with the jug on the ground in front of him). The Vatican cup is 26 cm. in diameter, the Rodin 23.2: this gives the former 8.8 cm. more along the rim, in other words, 4.4 on each half. As the figures are the same size in both cups, one had to be left out.

The Rodin cup is not an exact copy, and I wish to stress this. There are minor differences. In A, 1, the beard in the Vatican cup is partly hidden behind the right shoulder; the ivy-wreath is omitted; the amphora has a longer neck, and it does not conceal any part of the tail. In A, 2, the right leg is advanced instead of the left, the general outline remaining the same. In A, 3 is given two right feet: he is now nearer us than his ecstatic companion, and his right foot is not hidden behind the other's foot; the panther-skin is rather different and its head hangs down between the paws. In the Vatican cup, the satyr's tail is largely repainted,³ as can be seen from Hartwig's drawing and Alinari's photograph: we can now gather how it was originally drawn. The head of B, 1, is completely bald in the Rodin cup, having lost the last tufts of hair at the temples; the right hand very chastely conceals the sex; the amphora is of the same long-necked shape as on A, and is supported on the satyr's elbow instead of hanging in the air as on the Vatican cup. In B, 2, the right leg is nearer the spectator than the left leg

² Hartwig *Meisterschalen*, pl. 13; photos. Alinari 35829 and 35800-1; Beazley, *Att. V.* p. 205, no. 77: Mr. Beazley tells me that he now believes the cup to be not by Douris himself but by the same pupil and very close imitator as the Oxford arming cup (1929-752; *CV.* Oxford, pl. 52, 1, and pl. 54, 1-2). The inside picture, Oedipus and the Sphinx, has often

been figured. We reproduce B from Alinari's photograph, A from an old photograph taken before the cup was repainted.

³ The old photograph reproduced in our plate shows more of the original tail than Hartwig's drawing or Alinari's photograph.

of B, 1; the stride is longer; and the right elbow hides the pointed foot of the amphora to the left of it. In B, 3, the body must have leaned slightly back: the right leg is straight, the left bent at the knee.

The sandal of B, 2, has lost its meaning (the victim having disappeared) and so has the interceding gesture of B, 3.

There is unfortunately no information in the Rodin Museum as to the formation of the collection of antiquities. I have managed, however, to ascertain part of the history of our cup: for I find it mentioned in two sale catalogues of the years 1836 and 1855.

J. de Witte, *Description des antiquités qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le chevalier Durand* (1836), p. 46, no. 134:—“F 103 . . . Peint. r. . . Pouille. . . . Dans l'intérieur deux *satyres* barbus qui dansent; l'un porte une outre sur ses épaules; l'autre est assis sur un canthare renversé f. 78. Ext. Trois *satyres*, dont un porte une amphore; un autre ayant sur ses épaules une nébride, joue de la flûte. R. Trois *satyres*, dont l'un est chauve et porte une amphore; le troisième est muni d'une outre. Haut., 3 pouces 3 lignes. Diam., 8 pouces 6 lignes. . . .”

I omit a skyphos sold with the cup under the same number. F[orme] 103 means an ordinary red-figured cup, f[orme] 78 a calyx-krater.

J. de Witte, *Supplément à la description des antiquités du cabinet de feu M. le chevalier E. Durand. Noms des acquéreurs et prix des objets* (1836), p. 3, no. 134—“Raoul-Rochette 60 frs.” This price includes the skyphos as well as the cup.

[A. de Longpérier], *Catalogue des monuments antiques égyptiens, assyriens, étrusques, grecs, romains, gaulois composant le cabinet de feu M. Raoul-Rochette* 30 avril–1 mai, 1855, p. 16–17, no. 72:—“Coupe noire, fig. rouge. Intérieur Satyre barbu assis sur le pied d'un grand cratère renversé, saisissant par la barbe un autre satyre posé de face, et portant une outre sur le dos. Dans le champ: ΘΕΛΕΕΛΓΙΝΟΣ. Extérieur Six satyres; l'un d'eux joue de la double flûte, deux autres portent des amphores, un quatrième une outre. Beau style.”

Longpérier did not recognise the Etruscan A and took it for a theta. It is evidently the same inscription, but misread.

The reader will remark from those two descriptions that our cup appears to have been entire, and that the inscription is not given by de Witte. Mr. Pryce kindly pointed out that our cup is mentioned in Fabretti, *Corp. inscript. italicarum*, p. ccxxiv, no. 2579 (‘of uncertain provenience’) with references to Raoul Rochette, *Journ. des savants*, 1841, p. 364, note 1, and 1843, p. 744, to which I may add *Lettre à M. Schorn*, 1845, p. 12, note 1, by the same author. It appears that our cup was broken while in the Durand collection, and later cleaned; then the inscription was discovered. Raoul-Rochette read *Aule* (*Aulus*) *Supinas*; Fabretti proposed *avles v[i]pinas*, i.e., *Aulus Vibenna*, as on a sarcophagus found by François at Vulci. I am indebted to Dr. Eva Fiesel for giving me her opinion: she reads *Avles Vpinas*. The first word is equivalent to the Latin *Aulus*. I wonder whether the inscription may be a signature.

The dimensions as given in the Durand catalogue are the equivalent of 8.8 cm. and 22.9 cm.; the cup is thus 7 mill. higher and the diameter

3 mill. larger. No parts missing are mentioned in the *Cat. Raoul-Rochette*, as I have already said. I therefore suppose that the cup must have been repaired and repainted when Durand purchased it (perhaps from some Neapolitan dealer), broken before the sale of the collection, later cleaned and mended; a second accident may have taken place after 1855 (I cannot trace this cup after this date) and the cup may then have lost a few fragments and had its foot replaced by another. During the great war a 'Big Bertha' shell fell at Meudon and (to judge from the inventory) some vases in Rodin's residence were broken; but nothing was mended at the time. A few fragments have been shown me, but I could not join any: on the other hand, I am glad to say that a large Attic geometric amphora can be put together and ought to be repaired before long. Our cup was damaged before this time. Between 1855 and Rodin I lose sight of it.

Height and diameter as given by de Witte would be 8.8 cm. and 22.9, in other words, the diameter is 3 millimetres more than before the accident and the cup 7 millimetres taller with the new foot.

I must admit that at first I was afraid to think the cup genuine: but I gradually came to see that it was sound. I owe my thanks to Mr. Georges Nicole, Mr. Mikas, and Mr. Ségrédakis, who examined the cup and confirmed my opinion. After Mr. Beazley's visit to the Rodin Museum there is no longer the least doubt.

Outside and inside are by the same hand, although the outside is more imitative. No model is known for the interior: but the attitude of the satyr sitting on the krater, as Mr. Beazley notes, recalls a cup by the Panaitios painter in Boston.⁴ The clay contains more mica than the Attic, and has a duller hue. There is a reddish deposit in the lines of the preliminary sketch and round the handles, also on the head of the bald satyr with the amphora. This deposit appears pretty often on Etruscan and Italiote vases, especially under the foot (our foot, of course, does not belong). The relief-lines are characteristic, resembling those on Faliscan cups. They are not so long as the Attic ones, and consist of a number of short strokes joined together; sometimes they get thicker, and one has the impression that they contain some undiluted or alien matter. They start with a big dot; divide in the middle for a short distance; then become roundish, without the depression in the middle; towards the end they are wider, and flat on each side, raised only in the middle. The style is naturally different, and one feels that the drawing is not by an Attic hand—look, for instance, at the head of the bald satyr. Lastly, there is an Etruscan inscription. Our cup must be Etruscan. The Vatican cup was imported from Greece, and shortly after found its way into an Etruscan workshop, where it was used as a model before being sold. It remained in Etruria—was found at Vulci—whereas the copy was sold to Apulia.

It is well known that a whole group of black-figured vases are Etruscan imitations of Attic,⁵ but the imitation is always free. Mr. Beazley draws my

⁴ 10, 179; *AZ* 1885, pl. 10; Beazley, *VA* p. 82; Pfuhl, fig. 414.

⁵ Ducati, *Ceramica della penisola italiana*, p. 18, x.

attention to the following close Etruscan imitations: an Etruscan red-figured cup in Florence, which copies, on its exterior, an Attic cup of the sub-Meidian group; an oinochoe of shape 6, from the Castellani collection, in the Villa Giulia, with figures in superimposed red, a copy of an Attic vase by Aison or a painter near him; a cup, from the same collection, in the Villa Giulia (I, a youth), in the same technique, copying an Attic painter of the free period; and a second cup, in the same technique, Florence V. 481, from Chiusi or the neighbourhood (I, youth; A-B, youths). Furtwängler notes an archaic Etruscan gem that copies a Greek one.⁶

The great interest of the Rodin cup lies in the fact that both model and imitation have come down to us. It is probably the first case known.

Our cup cannot have been painted much later than its Vatican model: for if it had been, the artist would surely have betrayed himself, if not in the figures, then in the floral decoration; and the handles, as we noticed above,



FIG. 1.—ETRUSCAN CUP IN BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

are of early type. If the date of the Vatican cup is about 470 or 460, ours can hardly be brought down past the middle of the century; and the probability is that it was painted soon after the arrival of the model in Etruria.

I have not come across any other Etruscan vase that can be grouped with ours. Etruscan cups like the Zeus with Hera in the Vatican,⁷ the Pasiphae in the Cabinet des Médailles,⁸ the Phuipa in the Vatican,⁹ and the class studied by Albizzati¹⁰ are all quite different and much later, none of them earlier than the fourth century. Mr. Beazley draws my attention to an Etruscan cup in Bowdoin College (fig. 1: the gift of Mr. E. P. Warren, who had it from Kalebldjian of Paris) which may be thought of as forming a sort

⁶ *Antike Gemmen*, pl. 16, 49 and iii. p. 183 (now in Boston), and pl. 8, 37.

⁷ *Mus. Greg.* ii. pl. 83, 2; I, phot. Alinari 35833.

⁸ *Gaz. arch.* 1879, pl. 3-5, whence Roscher,

pp. 1107-1108, fig. 7.

⁹ To be published by Beazley and Magi in their forthcoming *Raccolta Guglielmi*.

¹⁰ *RM* 30, pp. 131-146.

of link between our cup and the later ones, or at least as helping to bridge the great gap. The inside has a lively picture of two young satyrs filling their water-pots at the fountain. The decoration of the exterior—lozengy, with a red-figured palmette under each handle—imitates Attic cups of the third quarter of the fifth century: ¹¹ the date cannot be much after 420.

M. Hippeau tells me that Rodin was always greatly interested in antiquities and glad to add a new piece to his collection. He was constantly looking at his things and studying them. It would not be surprising therefore if some of them inspired him. It is very likely that one day, while musing over this Etruscan cup, Rodin got the idea of his *Bacchus à la cuve*, made about 1912. The satyr sitting on the krater has undergone a considerable change and has been given goat's hooves; but he is sitting in his press, or vase, and is still kicking about and trying to spin round so as not to lose his balance.

N. PLAOUTINE.

¹¹ See Beazley in *JHS* 56, p. 253, middle.









CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE EPIGRAPHY OF CYPRUS

SOME PRE-ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS.











DURING the latter part of the summer of 1936 I spent some six weeks in Cyprus, studying the Greek and Roman inscriptions of the island, with the intention ultimately of producing a small Corpus. The following article is the first of a series in which I hope to publish the more interesting portion of my results.

1. POLIS TIS CHRYSOCHOU: MARION-ARSINOE

A syllabic text brought to me by an old peasant, Dervish Hassan Agha, who had had it in his possession for many years, but knew nothing of its origin. The characters are cut on the upper part of a rectangular block of fine grey limestone, unadorned but rounded at the top. Max. height 69 cm., width 20 cm., depth 13 cm.















mi - e · se - la - ti - si - ri - a

xe - na - va - si - na - o · se - ta - se - e

Ἀριστίλας ἡμί· | ἔστασε ὈνασιΦάναξ.

The signs are very well formed, and are to be read from right to left. The first line measures 19 cm. in length, with its first, third and fourth signs 1.9 cm. high, the sixth 2.3 cm. (reading from the right). The characters themselves are regular and call for no comment save for the ri-. Deecke, in the table of characters appended to the Cypriot texts in *SGDI* I, gives only one sign for ri- from Marion-Arsinoe, viz. . *JHS* xi. p. 78, no. 3; pp. 65 and 64, no. 8 and no. 6 give respectively the following forms for ri-, , , . On coins  occurs. The precise form above is, to the best of my knowledge, unexampled.

From the nature of the stone and of the inscription, we are here probably concerned with the upright to the doorway of a subterranean tomb of the kind typical at Marion. For the form of the inscription see Meister, *Die gr. Dialekte* 2, p. 174, no. 25 f., also from Polis: Ἀριστοκύπρας | ἡμί· ἔστασε Ἀρισ|τος. Neither of these names recurs in Cyprus. The inscription is, as far as I am aware, unpublished.

2. HAGIOS TYCHON : AMATHUS

In the courtyard of Hadji Antonis Kyriakou. Immured into the inner wall to the left and behind the wood pile, some 3 ft. above the ground. A rough block of fine yellowish sandstone, 62.8 cm. in width, 46 cm. high.

Δ Ι Ο Ξ

ΩΝ

ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥ

Διὸς | Μειλιχίου

The lettering is large—the diameter of the first *omicron* 5.3 cm., the first *iota* 4.8 cm. high—while the forms used point to the third century B.C. This is the only occurrence of the cult of Zeus Meilichios in Cyprus; it was perhaps an importation from the Cyclades, where the cult was widespread, introduced at the time of the Ptolemaic thalassocracy. The inscription is paralleled by the boundary-stone from Andros, *IG* xii. 5, I, 727; cf. also *IG* xii. 7, 89 and 90 from Amorgos; and *AM* xiii. p. 223 from Chios. I can offer no explanation of the two letters of a smaller size to the left.

3. FAMAGUSTA

On the inner side of the sea-gate, together with *CIG* 2619 and *CIG* 2630. On the left side as one faces the gateway, leaving the town, this stone supported the third hinge above the ground, *CIG* 2619 the bottom one. It is, as far as I can ascertain, unpublished. The inscription is immured upside down. Max. width of the stone 27 cm., approx. height 24 cm.

ΩΞΓΤΟΛΕΜ

ΝΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΕ

ΜΕΝΑΙ

[Ὑπερ βασιλέ]ως Πτολεμ[αίου]

[καὶ τῶν τέκνων], αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν]

[Κυπρῶι τεταγ]μένα.

Height of *pi* in line 1 is 3.5 cm., breadth 3 cm. The *tau* is 3.5 cm. high. Line 2, *delta* 3 cm., *epsilon* 2.8 cm. high. Line 3, *epsilon* 3.5 cm., *iota* 3.9 cm. high. The length of the first line from *sigma* to *epsilon* inclusive is 21.5 cm., of line 2 from *alpha* to *mu* inclusive 22.5 cm.; line 3 *epsilon* to *iota* inclusive 11 cm. The restoration proposed above would give a total length of *c.* 78 cm. for line 1 and *c.* 82 cm. for line 2.

The lettering is of the early Ptolemaic period. The Lagid here commemorated is almost certainly Ptolemy Soter, and the inscription would fall within the period 296–284 B.C., the recovery of Cyprus by Egypt and the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus. For a very similar inscription see Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemaeer*, p. 219, no. 4.

4. KOUKLIA : PALAIPAPHOS

In the inner face of the western courtyard wall of a house, immediately to the N.E. of the Aphrodite sanctuary, the property of the Ionian Bank at Ktima, an irregular block of reddish marble, broken on all sides. The stone is some 2 ft. 6 in. above the ground, the inscription inverted. The

fragment is 40.5 cm. in length by 23.5 cm. The surface of the stone is much cracked and pitted.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ

[Βασιλεύς] Πτολεμ(α)ῖος

There is no trace of lettering above or below. The letters are very regular and lightly cut; their average height and width 2.9 cm. The diameter of the *omicron* is 2.6 cm. The letters have no apices. The length of the line from *pi* to *sigma* inclusive is 34.3 cm. The above restoration would give a length of line of c. 65 cm.

The possibility of this being part of an architectural inscription is precluded by the slightness of the lettering; the sanctuary moreover is constructed exclusively of limestone, whereas the stone here used is frequently found at Kouklia as statue bases; and there is no record of any favour shown to the sanctuary by the early Lagids. On the other hand, it is difficult to suppose a name in the accusative as being here lost, since this would make a base, already of the average size, something quite exceptional. It seems best to complete the inscription as above, treating it as an example of the unusual nominative of the person honoured; cf. the following inscr. no. 5. Compare further Peristianis, Γεν. Ἰστ. τῆς Κύπρου, p. 508, from Melandrina: Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου. If this text is to be ascribed to Ptolemy Soter I, it is earlier than any of the Ptolemaic inscriptions so far found at Kouklia.

5. FAMAGUSTA

By the doorway of the Nestorian church, on the ground and against the wall. A large base of light grey marble, with two foot-shaped depressions on the upper surface, each some 26 cm. in length. The base itself is 89 cm. in length, 20.5 cm. high and 65.5 cm. in depth.

ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΥ

Καλλικράτης | Ἐπινίκου

The letters are very well cut, and are of the third century. The initial *kappa* is 2.9 cm. high, the *alpha* following 2.4 cm. Ἐπινίκος is a name new to Cyprus; Καλλικράτης occurs twice again, on both occasions from Salamis.

6. FAMAGUSTA

Kindly shown me by my friend Mr. T. Moghabghab, Curator of Antiquities for the Famagusta district. Recently exposed by him on the removal of debris from within the walls to the N. of the land-gate. A mutilated base of light-coloured granite, that once supported the lower right jamb of a door, immured upside down, 16 in. above the floor level. It measures 45 cm. in length by 22.5 cm. in height.

ΕΤΑΓΜΕΝ
 ΠΑ - 3 or 4 - ΤΡΑΤΙΤΑΙΞ
 ΜΥΡΣΙΝΗΝΥΠΕΡΒΑΣΣΑΝΤΟΣ
 ΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥΠΥΝΑΙΚΑ
 5 ΕΛΟΥΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ
 ΤΟΥΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ
 ΟΡΑΣΚΑΙΑΥ

[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τ]εταγμένω[ν]
 [e.g. Κιλίκων σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀ]πα[σι σ]τρατιώταις
 [τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῷ γενομένοις?] Μυρσίνην Ὑπερβάσσαντος
 τὴν Πέλοπος Πέλοπος τοῦ στ]ρατηγοῦ τῆς νήσου γυναῖκα
 5 εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ Π]έλοψ εἰς βασιλέα
 [Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐ]τοῦ βασιλίσσαν
 [Ἀρσινόην, θεοὺς φιλοπάτ]ορας καὶ αὐ[τούς.] (or αὐ[τό])

The lettering is of the third century. The letters have slight apices and an average height of slightly below 2 cm. Line 1 from *tau* to *nu* measures c. 15 cm., line 2 *tau* to *alpha* 18.4 cm., line 3 (exclusive of the initial *mu*) 38.6 cm., line 4 39.5 cm., line 5 26 cm., line 6 28 cm., line 7 *alpha* to final *alpha* 12.8 cm.

This inscription should be studied in conjunction with *JHS* ix. p. 252, no. 112 (*OGIS* no. 84), on which it is the best commentary. I give my version of the text of the latter below.

- c. 14 - ΗΝ · ΠΕΡΒΑΣΣ - c. 5 -
 - c. 5 - ΛΟΥ - c. 5 - ΟΠΟΣΤΟΥΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟ·
 - c. 5 - ΣΟ - 6 or 7 - ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ
 · ΣΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕ - 8 or 9 - ΕΙΣΒΑΣΙΛΕ·
 5 · ΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝΚΑΙΤ - 3 or 4 - ΔΕΛΦΗ - c. 6 -
 - c. 5 - ΙΣΣΑΝΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΝΘΕΟ - c. 5 - ΠΑΤΟΡΑ·

[ἡ πόλις Μυρσίν]ην [Ὑ]περβάσσ[αντος]
 [τὴν Πέ]λοπ[ος Πέλ]οπος τοῦ στρατηγο[ῦ]
 [τῆς νή]σο[υ γυναῖκα] εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν
 [ἧς ἔχων διατε]λεῖ Πέλοψ εἰς βασιλέ[α]
 5 [Π]τολεμαῖον καὶ τ[ὴν ἀ]δελφῇ[ν αὐτοῦ]
 [Βασίλ]ισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεο[ύς φιλο]πάτορα[s]
 [κ]αὶ τὴν Παφίων πόλιν.

Line 2: the second and third letters might equally well be *eta* and *tau*. The omission of the article before the second Πέλοπος is quite irregular. Line 4: the phrasing here is supported by line 5 of the new inscription. Line 5: αὐτοῦ, cf. line 6 of the same. Line 7: my squeeze gives no trace of this line, which rests solely on the authority of the first editors.

For line 2 of the first text, cf. Strack, *o.c.* no. 88, where a similar collective dedication occurs: πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

Neither Myrsine nor Hyperbassas appears elsewhere in the prosopographia of Cyprus. The former, however, is a common name in Ptolemaic Egypt, while the latter occurs once in papyri, *Publ. Soc. It., Papiri*, etc., iv. no. 389, line 2 κ[α]νηφόρου Ἀρσινόης φιλαδέλφου Ἰαμ[ν]είας τῆς Ὑπερβασσαντ[] for the year 243–242. As the father of such a priestess, Hyperbassas is here clearly a high official, and therefore a suitable person to be the father-in-law of Pelops. That Myrsine was his daughter is made highly probable by the rarity of his name and the appropriate date of the papyrus. For Pelops son of Pelops, see *JHS* xii. p. 177, no. 7, together with Polybius xv. 25, 13, and further A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien.*, 1920, xvii–xxvii. 15. We may now add the governorship of Cyprus to the record of his career. For his father, Πέλοψ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδών, *SEG* i. 364 from Samos.

Both these inscriptions are later than Philopator's marriage and earlier than the birth of his son, and therefore belong to the period between the end of 217 and Oct. 9, 209 B.C.

Inscr. 6, together with no. 3 and *CIG* 2619 and 2630, was doubtless transported by the Venetians from Salamis, some four miles to the north, when the fortifications of Famagusta were constructed. A locally quarried limestone, used extensively for walls and public buildings, is too friable to support the jambs of heavy gates. For this purpose marble or similar hard stone is invariably employed. The nearest source of these is the ruin-field of Salamis.

7. KOUKLIA: PALAIPAPHOS.

Across the yard to the E. of Kostas Christophi's house (some 100 yards N. of the village church) is a line of stables, etc. In a small room used as a cobbler's workshop, *c.* 5 ft. above the floor, immured sideways, a fragment of purplish-grey marble, inscribed *stoichedon*. This inscription is marked *b* below. In the sanctuary itself, on the mosaic floor across the modern road, I found the inscription *JHS* ix. p. 244, no. 74. These two fragments formed part of the same base. I was able to restore the first line of the text already known. The new fragment measures 19 cm. at its broadest, and has a max. height of 23.7 cm.

Frag. *a*, *JHS* ix. no. 74.

	Ο	Μ	Η	Τ	Ο		
	Α	Λ	Λ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Ε
Ο	Α	Ρ	Χ	Ι	Σ	Ω	Μ
Τ	Ω	Ν	Ε	Ν	Α	Λ	Ε
Κ	Α	Ι	Δ	Ι	Δ	Α	Σ
Τ	Α	Κ	Τ	Ι	Κ	Ω	Ν
Τ	Η	Σ	Ε	Ι	Σ	Ε	Α

Frag. *b*.

κ
Υ Σ Α Λ Ε
Α Τ Ο Φ Υ Λ
Ξ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ε
κ Α Λ Ο Σ
Ε Υ Ε Ρ
Υ Τ Ο Ν κ Α !

L. 5 [Βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον θεόν]
[φιλ]ομήτο[ρα] Κ[αλλικλῆς?]
[Κ]αλλικλέ[ο]υς Ἀλε[ξανδρεὺς]
ὁ ἀρχισωματοφύλ[αξ καὶ ἐπὶ]
τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεῖ[ιαι ὀπλῶν]
καὶ διδάσκαλος [μαθημάτων]
τακτικῶν εὐερ[γεσίας ἔνεκα]
τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ [τὰ τέκνα?]

The letters are well formed and belong to the earlier half of the second century. For line 2, cf. *JHS* ix. p. 232, no. 18 from Kouklia: [Καλλι]κλῆν Καλλικλέο[υς]. The restorations of lines 4 to 7 are due to the first editors and to Dittenberger. It is unfortunate that enough of this stone has not been recovered to verify or disprove Dittenberger's conjecture in line 5. Dittenberger ascribes this text—*OGIS* no. 149—to the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II; it is now shown to belong to that of his predecessor.

8. KYTHRAEA: CHYTROI.

A fragment of dark granite, shown to me by M. Stylianos, of Kythraea. He had found it some years previously at Hag. Demetrianos, a ruin-field on the slopes to the N.E. of the village, a few yards from the spot where the bronze bust of Septimius Severus was later discovered. It has since been acquired by the Nicosia Museum. The inscribed face measures 20.2 cm. in length by 10.5 cm. Depth of the stone *c.* 30 cm.

ΛΙΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ
ΟΡΣΙΚΑΙΕΡΜΕΙΚΑΙΗΡΑΚΛΕ
ΗΙΧΥΤΡΙΛΝ
ΝΑΚΤΟΣΠΑΙΣΙΛΑΜΠΑΔΑΡΧΛ

[Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαί]ωι καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Κλεοπάτρ[α]
[θεοῖς φιλομήτ]ορσι καὶ Ἑρμεί καὶ Ἡρακλε[ῖ καὶ]
[Βουλ]ῇι Χυτρίων
[ὁ δεῖνα *e.g.* Ἀστυά]νακτος παισὶ λάμπαδαρχῶ[ν]
[ἀνέθηκεν?]

The style of lettering is typical of the earlier half of the second century. The max. height of the letters for the four lines is respectively 1.1 cm., 1.4 cm., 1.6 cm. and 1.1 cm. Line 1 from *iota* to *rho* incl. is 16.5 cm. long; as completed above it would be some 30 cm. The fifteen letters here lost would occupy as much space as twelve of the larger letters of line 2. Lines 1 and 2, with the proposed restoration, commence then at the same point. Line 3 ends at least 4.5 cm. short of the ending of line 2; if we presume a similar spacing at the beginning, this line has lost some four or five letters. Similarly we may expect eleven letters to have been lost to the left of the initial *nu* of line 4, if this line is to be given the same length as line 1.

I owe the reading in line 4 to a suggestion from Mr. M. N. Tod.

A close parallel to this collective dedication is offered by *CIG* 2641 from Larnaca; cf. also Newton, *B.M.Inscr.* no. 383, from Salamis.

This is the first occurrence of either the ethnic or the town-name in inscriptions. The lampadephoria is not elsewhere recorded in Cyprus. As far as I am aware, this is the first appearance of either Hermes or Herakles in the island, either individually or as the joint gods of athletics. For dedications to them in this capacity, cf. *OGIS* no. 339, line 62, from Sestos: τῶι τε Ἑρμῇ καὶ τῶι Ἡρακλ[εῖ] τοῖς καθιδρυμένοις ἐν τῶι γυμνασίῳ θεοῖς, and *OGIS* no. 230 from Pompeiopolis: Ἑρμᾷ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀντιόχῳ.

This new fragment, together with *CIG* 2627, is evidence of the existence of a gymnasium at Chytroi. *CIG* 2627 has been known since the days of Richter's Itinerary, but as I differ in certain details from the published text, I offer my version below. This stone has been discussed and perhaps examined by Sakellarios, *Τὰ Κυπριακά*, 1², p. 202, and Menardos, *Athena*, xxii, 1910, p. 119. Sakellarios asserts on no authority that the stone was transported from Apalaistra, some twelve miles as the crow flies to S.E., and manufactures a 'considerable town Palaistra.' Menardos supports this strange theory. There is no reason, however, to suppose that *CIG* 2627 has travelled more than two or three miles, as it doubtless originates from the same gymnasium as the new inscription above. *CIG* 2627, which in Richter's day lay in a cemetery 'by a ruined Greek shrine near the Fama-gusta road,' is now safely immured at floor level into the E. wall of the Church of Hag. Stavros (in the S.E. quarter of the village) facing outwards on to the cloister.

ΙΑΣΟΝΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΕΟΝΤ
 ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΝ
 ΟΙ ΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΙΤΑΙ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧ ΓΣΤ
 Ἰάσονα Ἀριστοκρέοντ[ος]
 τὸν φιλόπατριν καὶ γυμνασίαρχον
 οἱ παλαιστρίται τιμῆς καὶ εὐχ[αρ]ιστ[ίας χάριν]

The right-hand side of this stone being very worn, εὐχαριστίας is not much more than a likely conjecture. καί, which is almost certain, makes some such word necessary; εὐχαριστίας is of the right length, as we would expect something in the nature of 39 letters for this line.

9. ΚΤΙΜΑ: ΝΕΑ ΠΑΦΟΣ

A pedestal of fine dark limestone, now in the garden of the police station at Ktima. The stone is 80.5 cm. in length by 38.5 cm. in height. Depth *c.* 76 cm. On the opposite side is the well-known inscription in honour of Caracalla, Seyrig, *BCH* li. 1927, pp. 139 seq. (*SEG* vi. 810). This inscription has apparently escaped notice.

— *c.* 15 or 16 — ΠΟΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΑ
 · · ΞΞΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΑ · · ΑΝΜΝΑΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ
 · ΠΕΙΡΩΤΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΗΜΤΕΡΑ

[οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ὑ]πὸ Νικάνορα
 [τα]σσόμενοι Πρα[όχ]αν Μνασιμάχου
 [Ἡ]πειρώτιν, τὴν Ἀντιόχου μητέρα.

The lettering is of the third century or earlier. The height of the letters varies between 2.4 cm. and 3.5 cm. Length of line 3 is 70.3 cm. If we exclude a list of foreign contributors to an elaiochristion, these names are all, save Nicanor, new to Cyprus. Nicanor occurs once again, in *SEG* vi. no. 824 (Roussel, *REG* xli. 1928, p. 383), from Dali, now in the Nicosia Museum. In this inscription the letters are of a second-century type, but the rarity of the name, together with the unusual phrase common to both—οἱ στρατιῶται[ι . . .] | οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸ[ν (?)] τασσόμενοι (?)—suggests that the two inscriptions concern the same individual. See further *Pap. Petrie*, 1, 15 for the year 238–237, τῶν Νικάνορος. στρατιῶται . . . τασσόμενοι, to the best of my knowledge, occurs but once again in Cyprus, the normal designation of the troops stationed in the island being (1) τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ (or κατὰ τὴν νῆσον), *e.g.* Λυκίων, or (2) αἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ τεταγμένοι (τασσόμεναι) πεζικαὶ δυνάμεις, or (3) οἱ ἐν Κύπρῳ τεταγμένοι, *e.g.* Λύκιοι, or, lastly, (4) τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεταγμένων δυνάμεων.

Iota cannot be one of the letters lost in the gap in the middle of line 2, as *iota* and one other letter would occupy too little, *iota* and two others too much space. Πραόχαν I owe to the kindness of Mr. M. N. Tod; he further suggested Πραύλαν as a possible alternative to this. For Epirotes in Cyprus, cf. Myres and Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, p. 165, no. 5962 from Amathus.

10. SALAMIS

A large pedestal of dark grey marble, in the excavated agora, immediately to the rear of the Forest lodge. Three faces are inscribed. Height 41.5 cm., width 72.5 cm., depth 71 cm. (reading these measurements from the middle inscription). This middle inscription is *JHS* xii. p. 195, no. 53. To its left is *ibid.* no. 52. The third is described, *ibid.* no. 54, as being hopeless. It has been carefully mutilated, but the first three lines can be read with certainty.

ΕΛΕΝΟΝΤΟΝΣΥΝΓΕΝΗΚΑΙΤΡΟΦΕΑΤΟΥ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΣΡΑΤΗΓΤΟΝΚΑΙΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ
 ΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΗΣΝΗΣΟΥΚΑΙΙΕΡΕΑΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣΘΕΑΣΔΙΛΕΤΗΣ
 5 ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ - c. 2 - N - c. 10 - Ε . . . ΙΕΡΕΩΝ

*Ελενον, τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα τοῦ
 βασιλέως καὶ στρατηγὸν καὶ ναύαρχον
 καὶ ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου
 βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶς

5 εὐεργέτην (?) ἱερέων (?)

The five lines measure respectively 57.6 cm., 59.2 cm., 62.7 cm., 64.3 cm. and 64.2 cm. in length. The letters are of the later Ptolemaic period, have apices and average 2.6 cm. in height. Line 4 at the end: it is tempting to read ἀδελφῆς or τὸν αὐτῆς, but neither agrees with the spacing of the erasures. Line 5: I am unable to restore this line, but it does not appear by any means hopeless. For Helenos, governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Euergetes II, see *RE* vii. 2847-2848, where, however, Otto's arguments are quite exploded by the presence of the word ναύαρχος in this text, to the vindication of Dittenberger's dating. Also *JHS* ix. p. 232, no. 20 (*OGIS* no. 148) and p. 251, no. 109. For Isidoros, his son, *JHS* ix. p. 227, no. 5 (*OGIS* no. 181) and perhaps *ibid.*, p. 247, no. 94.

For τροφέα, see Ditt. *OGIS* no. 148, note 4. Βασιλέως: In *OGIS* no. 144, note 1, βασιλεύς is rightly referred to a son of Euergetes and Kleopatra II, who, after being στρατηγός of the island, is known to have reigned in Cyprus from 121 to 119 (and perhaps later). This Ptolemaios (*OGIS* no. 143), a younger brother to Memphites, is no longer considered to be identical with Neos Philopator. The inscription cannot then be earlier than 121 B.C. nor later than 116 B.C. Line 4: either Kleopatra II or her daughter Kleopatra III. For the priesthood, cf. *OGIS*, no. 159: [ἱερεῖαν βασιλίσσης] Κλεοπάτρας θεᾶ[ς].

II. KTIMA : NEA PAPHOS

In the garden of the police station at Ktima. Mr. L. Philippou, advocate, of Ktima, tells me that he has published this inscription. I have not seen his publication, and take this opportunity of offering an independent version, which may perhaps have a wider circulation. A large base of hard blue limestone. Max. width of the inscribed face, along line 3, 54.4 cm. Height 28.6 cm. Depth of stone 73.5 cm.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΝΑΥΑΡΧΟΝ
 ΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ
 ΩΝΕΝΤΗΝΗΣΩΙΤΑΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΗΣΕΧΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙ
 5 ΚΑΙΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΝ
 ΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΚΑΙΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΑΥΤΟΕΥΕΡ

- [Κρόκον, τόν συγγενῆ τοῦ] βασι⁽¹⁾λέως καὶ ναύαρχον
 [καὶ ἐπιστάτην καὶ στρατηγ]ὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀρχιερέα
 [τῆς νήσου, τὸ κοινόν τ]ῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασ^(σ)ομένων
 e.g. Λυκίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ
 5 [εἰς βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον] καὶ βασιλίσσαν Κλεοπάτραν
 [τὴν ἀδελφὴν¹ θεοῦς εὐεργέτας καὶ] τὰ τέκνα καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸ εὐερ-
 [γεσίας]

The lettering is of the later Ptolemaic period. The letters have apices, and are cut within carefully ruled lines. Height 2.7 cm. The six lines measure respectively 46.5 cm. (17 letters), 50.5 cm. (24), 49.3 cm. (20, excluding initial *omega*), 49.5 cm. (21), 48.5 cm. (23), and 45 cm. (25). It will be noticed that lines 2 and 6 are more closely spaced than the others. In line 1 an *iota* and in line 3 a *sigma* have been carelessly omitted by the stone cutter.

The presence of the word ναύαρχος limits this text to the reign of Euergetes II. The title αὐτοκράτωρ occurs twice in Cyprus in conjunction with στρατηγός, and on both occasions during the same reign; cf. *OGIS* no. 148, note 7. The restoration in line 1, if accepted, is in conformity with this dating.

In line 1, I read Κρόκον for the following two reasons. Firstly, the title αὐτοκράτωρ is used only of two στρατηγοί of Cyprus, Theodoros, son of Seleukos, *OGIS* no. 156 (*JHS* ix. no. 89), and Krokos, *OGIS* no. 140 from Delos. The former, when the subject of a dedication, is, however, never mentioned without his father's name. (I do not think that *OGIS* no. 158 will be found on closer inspection to be an exception to this rule.) Secondly—and this is a more compelling reason—Krokos in both *OGIS* 140 and in *JHS* ix. p. 247, no. 92 has a fourth and unexampled title added to the three which at this time were regularly applied to the governor of Cyprus, in the one case ὑπέρ[τατον] and in the other ἐπιστάτης. It is clear that some such addition is necessary in line 2. I choose the latter, both being of the same length, because we know it to have been used in Cyprus.

Dittenberger's explanation of αὐτοκράτωρ used in conjunction with στρατηγός, cf. *OGIS* no. 148, note 7, will be strengthened by this text. The additional title and the very unusual emphasis placed on the word ναύαρχος support the theory that the governor's authority has been fortified at some time of unusual emergency. For Krokos, see the new edition of *OGIS* 140 in F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Delos*, pp. 176–178, no. 108.

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¹ I hope at some later date to defend my reading of ἀδελφὴν in line 6.

HERAKLES AND EURYSTHEUS AT KNOSSOS

[PLATES III, IV.]

By kind permission of Sir Arthur Evans and of the British School at Athens, I am allowed to publish a marble relief found in 1903 at the Villa Ariadne, near Knossos (pl. III). Height .69 m., width .72 m., depth of relief .05 m. It was discovered face downwards on a Roman drain, west of the tennis court. The drain carried a road, also of Roman date. The marble is so badly weathered that I cannot determine its origin. Both top corners missing and a break right across. The surface of Herakles is destroyed below the crack, except at the sides. Above the crack, the surface is worn. The boar's hind feet were not on the relief, its fore feet, ear, and snout are broken. Its head hangs sideways. Part of the lion skin in front of Herakles, and an object between it and the boar, probably the club, are also broken.

Herakles carries the boar on his left shoulder, on the folded lion skin. The mask and the mane hang in front, while folds appear before and behind Herakles and between his legs. His right hand grasps the boar's shoulder. His left hand does not appear, but it holds the club, the end of which shows below the boar's crest: so the hand is fairly low down, balancing the boar before dumping it on Eurystheus. The quiver appears behind Herakles' waist. Herakles' left leg is in forward lunge position, the right is frontal and on the toe. The action seems to have been less vivid than in the metope at Olympia,¹ or in the one at the 'Theseion.'¹ Close-cropped hair, short beard and moustache—the type of the Myronian 'resting Herakles.'

The boar's tail is well curled and the front legs are bent. It is alive, though more tired than the boar in the relief in Athens (fig. 3). Eurystheus is in the pithos up to the neck, a savage uncouth head and an untidy beard. He raises his hand in wavering supplication. Red paint on the beard of Herakles, on the lion's skin and on the boar's ear.

There are other representations of this subject in marble, (1) at Olympia,² (2) at the Theseion,³ and (3) in the National Museum at Athens.⁴ As only the first has been adequately illustrated and none have been discussed lately, a review of this material is necessary.

(1) At Olympia the metope is so fragmentary that there is little material for comparison. The hero was clothed, not nude as on the metope at Athens. Herakles carries the boar on his head. Eurystheus has tidy hair, and his shoulders are well out of the jar.

(2) At the 'Theseion' (fig. 1). It is good to hear that a new study of

¹ See below.

² *Olympia*, III. p. 168.

³ Sauer, *Theseion*, Pl. VI, No. IV, East Sidē; our fig. 1 (photograph by Mr. Saraf).

⁴ Svoronos, *Das Athenian National Museum*, No. 43, p. 88, Pl. XXII our fig. 3 (photograph by Mr. Wagner).

the temple sculptures by Professor Koch⁵ is in progress, for at present these have to be studied from the top of a thirty-foot ladder. Sauer reproduces Gilliéron's drawings,⁶ and his reconstructions are imaginative.

Herakles is naked. He is standing with his right foot on the edge of the pithos, his right knee pressed against the boar. The exact position of his left leg is uncertain,⁷ but his left foot must have been near the left corner of the metope, where Sauer puts it. The surface is damaged here and part of the plinth is broken. The line of Herakles' back is outlined against the marble, the back and the top of his head against the boar's body. Below his neck his right armpit appears (see fig. 2). His left arm goes behind the



FIG. 1.—METOPE OF THE THESEION.



FIG. 2.—SKETCH OF THE THESEION METOPE.

boar's body, and the fingers are above the near fore-leg. The right arm constricts the body immediately above the fingers of the left hand. The carefully worked boar's crest is seen above and below⁸ Herakles' torso. The crest is interrupted by an object, which was secured by a big drill hole at Herakles' waist, and by a small one on the boar's body. It was the quiver or the sword.

The boar's tail is broken, but the mark of it shows in a loose curl on the boar's flank. The off hind-leg is almost complete, the near hind-leg must

⁵ Professor Koch most generously allowed me to study his photographs, and I have modified some of my observations in consequence. His reconstruction still differs from mine in certain respects.

⁶ These are good, but they omit some evidence.

⁷ I have noted on a sketch (fig. 2) a line on the

marble, which seems to be a trace of the inside of the left leg.

⁸ In his restoration, Sauer has translated the boar's crest, which clearly carries on the line of the crest seen above Herakles' body, as Herakles' left arm-pit. Sauer was then forced to insert the worked crest in the depression for the quiver, which is in fact plain.

have been quite free: the drips from it are on the marble. Only the upper part of the fore-legs remains. The lower end of the boar's crest appears and the head must have hung free below it, for there the surface of the marble is unmarked. Eurystheus' right ⁹ hand is seen on the background, between the end of the boar's crest and Herakles' right foot.

There is no handle on the left side of the pithos. What Sauer thought was a handle on the right side is a large dowel hole.¹⁰ This may have supported the head of Eurystheus.

I have made an outline sketch to illustrate these points (fig. 2).

The metope is too damaged for stylistic comparison. Its style must be deduced from better preserved metopes.

(3) In Athens (fig. 3). The relief is rather wider at the top than at the foot and is surmounted by a plain ¹¹ pediment. Herakles, broken above the knees, carries a boar, tail foremost, on his left shoulder. A short fold of the lion skin hangs in front, and near it the mask and a paw. A drill hole and two lines in front of Herakles must indicate the sword. Behind him appears the rounded end of the quiver. Both hands are raised, the right holds the boar's breast-bone, the fingers of the left hand grasp the club, behind the boar's hind quarters. The top of his head looks flat because he wears the lion's skin cap. His left leg is advanced, in the stride of walking. Great pleasure has been taken in depicting the lively action of the boar. Its body is bent in resistance, the head hangs down but does not droop, the tail is curled tight, the legs kick; its eyes, tusks, and crest have been carefully drawn. The boar is not being dumped and probably there was no Eurystheus. The relief cannot be part of a tombstone; the subject is surely too comic for a funeral monument. It must be a votive relief.

In spite of the shabbiness of the gear, the relief is still in the full archaic period, Herakles' buttocks in silhouette, his chest full front. The raised right arm looks very awkward.

I put the votive relief 520 B.C., the metope at Olympia 470-460 B.C., the metope at the 'Theseion' 448 B.C.¹² The Knossos relief must lie between Olympia and the 'Theseion,' and nearer to Olympia. It is not influenced by the Parthenon tradition, and probably 455 B.C. would be a convenient date. Mr. Luce ¹³ has noticed that on b.f. vases the boar is dumped head foremost, on r.f. stern foremost. The marble tradition is similar, for it is essential that the decorative snout and tusks should hang down and catch the light, below the deep shadow of the geison. Although the Athens relief has no deep shadow, the artist has been careful to make the head hang down behind. This boar is evidently not being dumped.

Damaged as they are, the ample proportions and noble features of Herakles in the relief at Knossos are fully in the heroic tradition, and in strong contrast to the dry treatment of the torsos and the uninspiring face in the Parthenon or on the 'Theseion' Metopes.

⁹ Here Prof. Koch has corrected me.

¹⁰ I have not been able to illustrate this. It shows very well on Prof. Koch's excellent photograph.

¹¹ For the form cf. a relief of the Dioskouroi at Sparta (No. 575 in *Cat. of Sparta Museum*: BCH 1899,

p. 599). Belongs to the full archaic period.

¹² I see that in his preliminary report (*AA* 1928, p. 721) Prof. Koch dates the building 450-440 B.C.

¹³ *AJA* 1924, p. 314.

It is clear from inscriptions that the chief temple at Knossos in Hellenistic times was dedicated to Apollo Delphinios¹⁴ (or Delphidios). The hymn to Pythian Apollo relates that this name was first given by Apollo to Delphi (l. 495). Cretans from Knossos were chosen as priests (l. 393) who had training in singing the Cretan paeon (l. 518). Knossos then was an



FIG. 3.—RELIEF IN ATHENS.

early centre of religious worship and it seems fair to imply an early temple there.¹⁵ The fragments of pleasing architectural sculptures of Daedalic style,¹⁶ which have lately come to light not far from the palace, very likely

¹⁴ *Inscr. Cret.* I. pp. 53-54 Apollo Delphidios.

(a) *ibid.*, viii. 8*, 12 (Teos).

(b) *ibid.*, viii. 10*, 8 (Magnesia a.M.).

(c) *ibid.*, viii. 12*, 45 (Delos, *Syll.*³ 721).

(d) *ibid.*, xvi. 3*, 17 (Delos).

(e) *ibid.*, xvi. 4*, A 12 (Delos): treaty between Olous and Lato to refer disputes to Knossos, to be set up in the temple of Apollo Delphidios (l. 12). The Delos inscription was set up in the archonship of Sarapion (l. 43) i.e. 166-143 B.C. (Dumont, *Chronologie des Archontes Athéniens*, p. 130.)

(f) *ibid.*, xvi. 5, 49. Treaty between Olous and Lato found 'in agro Cydoniate' to be set up in the temple of Apollo Delphinios (l. 97). Thought to belong to the third century B.C. (p. 406).

(g) *Mon. Ant.* I, p. 49, l. 20, from Gortyna. Prof. Tod has revised this note.

¹⁵ The hymn cannot be used as evidence that it was called Delphinian before the establishment of Apollo at Delphi. (Allen and Halliday, *The Homeric Hymns*, p. 261.)

¹⁶ Megaw, *JHS* 1936, p. 24.

belong to the archaic temple. The Herakles' metope enables us to add to this history, that the temple was rebuilt near the middle of the fifth century B.C. It was of the Doric order, and part of a Doric column seems to have been extant till 1934, when it was broken up by a house-builder. Previous discoveries had not led people to suppose that an artist of importance was working in Crete at this time.

A fragment of the beautiful stele in Candia is well known, the head of an archer.¹⁷ There is another stele in Crete which is even more beautiful, though the top is missing, No. 81 in the Museum at Rethymno; said to have been found at Stavromene (pl. IV; height *c.* .90 m.; width .49 m.). Very white marble. An athlete has stopped beside a tree, while his dog behind him looks up at a bird with outstretched wings in his right hand. The left hand carries strigil and lekythos. The surface is worn above, but good and well finished below.

Musculature did not interest this artist; the knee muscles are suggested, no more; his interest is concentrated on the drawing of the outline, which he has reinforced with a deep line on the background. The only ornamental details preserved to us are in the toes. These appear to be a characteristic of Buschor's 'Ionian' sculpture.¹⁸

The stele which is nearest to the Rethymno relief is the stele from 'Nisyros' ¹⁹ in Constantinople. Both have feet close together, simple treatment and an upright bearing. It is perhaps rash to be too definite about a headless relief (the head might have features which showed it to be later),²⁰ but judging it by what remains, it must belong to the end of the early classical period, say before 460 B.C.²¹ Contrast the complicated twist of the stele in Constantinople from Pella which is in other respects much like the relief at Rethymno, but must be later. The archer in Candia ²² is later still, but in the same tradition; cf. also a fragment from Paros published by Buschor.²³ An earlier artist working in a similar tradition, is Alxenor of Naxos.²⁴

The two Cretan stelae, then, may be connected with an island school, perhaps located in Paros; ²⁵ they are probably imports. In any case they cannot be connected with the artist of the Knossos metope. It is true, what remains of the metope is in rather flat relief compared with other metopes (*e.g.* at Olympia), but as the parts lost may well have been in deeper relief which would be more vulnerable, no stress can be laid on this accidental resemblance to the Rhethymno stele. Herakles had the extreme oblique muscle in a prominent position and such treatment of the body is altogether

¹⁷ Found in Achladia: *ÖJh* vi. p. 1, pl. 1; *Jdl* 1913, p. 319.

¹⁸ Buschor and Hamann, *Olympia*, pp. 35 ff.

¹⁹ Reinach, *RA* 1901, II. p. 158; Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*, pl. 264. For the general style and the figure of the boy cf. the relief from Thasos in Constantinople *Jdl* 1913, pl. 26.

²⁰ 'The girl with the doves' in New York from Paros has the same simple stance, but all the details are more carefully worked out. The ornament above it has acanthus leaves, so it must be dated about

440: *Antike Denkmäler*, I. pl. 54.

²¹ This is Kjellberg's date for the Nisyros relief and some others (*Attischen Reliefs*, pp. 10, 11).

²² See above.

²³ Pl. 30.

²⁴ *BB* 41; *Jdl* 1902, pl. 1.

²⁵ I should exclude from this school muscular figures like the Delphi stele, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv. pl. lv, classed by Langlotz as Parian (*Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 81).

foreign to the Rethymno artist. At present, no other works by the hand of the artist who worked at Knossos are known to me.

Herakles and Eurystheus are represented in a clay mould for terracotta plaques, found at Girgenti ²⁶ along with two companion moulds representing Gorgons. Herakles wears a curious girt tunic, ornamented with egg and tongue pattern; two lines for folds above the girdle; long hair, stephane, very long face. The boar is badly proportioned. The jar is impossibly small. The scene is very tame ²⁷ compared with those we have been studying.

The Gorgons are to be dated in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., ²⁸ but carry on the tradition of an early gorgon at Syracuse. ²⁹ They even seem rather fiercer. ³⁰ The Herakles' plaque must be contemporary. A paper dealing with bronze representations of Herakles and Eurystheus is in preparation.

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²⁶ P. Marconi (*NdS* 1930, pp. 73, 101, fig. 40, pl. iv; *Agrigento*, pp. 192 ff.) rightly notes the similarity of these reliefs to those of temple C at Selinunte, but he revives an old error in dating both 'a little after the beginning of the sixth century B.C.' (*Agrigento*, p. 194). The folds of the tunics forbid this date.

²⁷ The attitudes but not the clumsiness of drawing can be paralleled in a b.f. amphora in London, B 213, *CVA* III. H.e, pl. 50, 2 b.

²⁸ Terracottas found with these moulds (*NdS* 1930, pp. 79, 80, figs. 8-10) have been dated too early by the excavator ('arcaicissimi': 580-550 B.C., *Agrigento*, p. 176). Though home-made, they are a Corinthian type, the moulds for the heads originated in Corinth, and they are a product of Corinthian

mass production to be dated c. 530 B.C. (Jenkins, *BSA* xxxii. pp. 22 ff., class g, p. 33, pl. 6). Similar home-made terracottas have been found in Ithaca.

²⁹ *Mon Ant* xxv. pl. xvi. It has also a tunic pattern similar to that of Perseus.

³⁰ The style of the gorgons is Atticising perhaps with a Laconian flavour. Early Corinthian gorgons are angular but later they grow rounded and mild (Payne *NC* pp. 82 ff.). Attic gorgons begin angular and fierce (*CVA* Louvre, III. H d, pl. 16) and continue so (Payne and Young, *Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pl. 121). The head of Herakles too resembles those of the Korai (*op. cit.* pl. 69, 1). It almost looks as if the moulder began to give him an Attic helmet but it turned into a stephane by mistake.

DIODORUS' NARRATIVE OF THE SACRED WAR

AND THE CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF 357-352 B.C.

SINCE 1856, when Schaefer declared that the text of Diodorus contains two parallel accounts of the opening of the Sacred War, the history of the years 357-352 B.C. has been the subject of controversy. At the present time two contentions have gained general acceptance: firstly, that Schaefer was correct in the divination of a doublet, and secondly, that the doublet having introduced a superfluous year of narrative, the two-year interval in Diodorus' chronology, between the seizure of Delphi by Philomelus and the declaration of the Sacred War by the Amphictyony, should be reduced to an interval of one year.

Within this modicum of agreement there has been ample room for dispute. The doublists, if I may so describe those who attribute a doublet to Diodorus, differ widely when they endeavour to set precise limits to their doublet: for instance, Schaefer,¹ Kahrstedt,² Cloché,³ and Beloch⁴ are at variance. Again, to replace the chronology of Diodorus, the doublists have evolved three systems of chronology,⁵ which differ one from another. The struggle between the rival systems of chronology has proved indecisive; no single one has gained universal credence, and all conflict at some points with independent evidence. As a result, the history of the Sacred War, the stages of Philip's rise to power, the dating of the early speeches of Demosthenes, and of the Naopoioi lists are in a state of flux.

My aim is to demonstrate that there is no doublet in Diodorus and that the chronological system provided by Diodorus is the only system which squares at all points with the independent evidence; in other words,

Abbreviations

- B. 1 = Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* III., i. (1923).
 B. 2 = " " " " III., ii. "
 C. 1 = Cloché, *Étude chronologique sur la troisième guerre sacrée* (1915).
 C. 2 = " " *La politique étrangère d'Athènes 404-338 B.C.* (1934).
 CAH = *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI. (1927).
 D. = Diodorus Siculus.
 J. = Jacoby, *Fragmenta Hist. G.*
 K. = Kahrstedt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts* (1910).
 P. = Pokorny, *Studien zur griechischen Geschichte im sechsten und fünften Jahrzehnt des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1913).
 P.-C. = Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes and the last days of Greek freedom* (1914).
 PW. = Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Diodorus.
 S. = Schaefer, *Demosthenes und seine Zeit* (1856).

A select bibliography is given in C 1.

¹ S. pp. 448 f.

² K. pp. 28 f.

³ C. 1, p. 39.

⁴ B. 2, pp. 28 f.

⁵ Conveniently tabulated in C. 1, p. 106.

I wish to attack the general hypothesis, that modicum of agreement upon which the particular and mutually inconsistent accounts of this period have been constructed.

Where so many theories, both doublist and chronological, have been advanced, the onus of disproof is heavy. Therefore, in endeavouring to disprove the doublet-theory, I have selected Cloché as the object of my attack, in the belief both that he has won most credence for his theory and that my arguments also apply in general to the other doublists; in discussing the chronological problems, which are so integrally related to the doublet-theory, I have tried to include the systems of Schaefer, Pokorny, Kahrstedt, Cloché, Beloch, and Pickard-Cambridge, and the main arguments upon which their systems are based.

I am aware that this paper does not meet a possible theory which stands half-way between my belief, that there is no doublet whatsoever in Diodorus, and the theories of the doublists, which all entail the dislocation of Diodorus' chronological system; for it may be maintained that Diodorus, using two accounts, has left us a narrative containing merely minor doublets, which do not disturb his chronology. Now, to present apodeictic disproof of this minor doublet theory is neither possible, for its very smallness evades the application of external evidence, nor necessary; for, once it allows Diodorus' interval of two years to stand between the seizure of Delphi and the declaration of the Sacred War, it can only occupy itself in subtracting minor incidents from a narrative which, even in its entirety, is far from full. We must leave it, then, to individual taste to decide whether the narrative as evolved at the end of the present paper is credible, or should be modified by the subtraction of such incidents as the minor doublist may regard as suspect.

A. THE NARRATIVE OF DIODORUS XVI. 14,3-5 AND XVI. 23-31.

To form a basis for later discussion, I here append a paraphrase of the narrative, giving in inverted commas literal translations as drawn from the latest (albeit A.D. 1700) translation by Booth⁶ and adding footnotes where comment seems necessary.

14,3: the seizure of the temple by Philomelus (τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ), an event which marked the beginning or conclusion of three separate histories,⁷ occurred in the archonship of Agathocles, 357/6.

23,1-24,2: in the archonship of Callistratus (355/4) 'the War called *The Sacred War* broke forth (ὁ κληθεὶς ἱερὸς πόλεμος) for Philomelus, having seized the temple, occasioned the *Sacred War*, on the account following⁸, (διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας). During the Theban Hegemony fines for sacrilege had been imposed both upon Sparta and upon individual Phocians,

⁶ *The historical library of Diodorus the Sicilian*, made English by G. Booth, London.

⁷ From the context it is clear that this entry is derived from the chronological table used by D.; if we knew how the three histories were dated, we could press the synchronisation as very strong

evidence for the validity of D.'s date. As cross-check on D. cf. xiv. 117,8.

⁸ With this phrase D. introduces his resumption of the events anterior to the declaration of the Sacred War.

but neither had been paid: accordingly at a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council the proposal was passed, that in the event of further non-payment the territory of the Phocian offenders be dedicate (καθιερώσαι), and that a motion of censure be passed on other delinquents. By arguments based upon his inability to meet the fine, the injustice of the sentence, and the traditional claim of Phocis to control the oracle, one of the individuals, Philomelus, persuaded the Phocian assembly to elect him dictator with a view to securing cancellation of the fine. Travelling to Sparta, he then revealed his plan—to seize the temple and cancel the Amphictyonic decrees—and received from Archidamus an unofficial promise of support, together with a subsidy. He then hired mercenaries, raised 1000 Phocian supporters armed as peltasts, and seized the temple (καταλαβόμενος τὸ μαντεῖον).⁹

24,3: upon seizing the temple, Philomelus confiscated the property of the Thracidae, reassured the remaining Delphian people, and was immediately attacked by the neighbouring Locrians¹⁰; after winning a victory in a skirmish near Delphi, Philomelus erased the Amphictyonic decree, and 'caused reports to be spread abroad' (αὐτὸς διέδωκε λόγον)¹¹ to the effect that his intentions were pious and his action legal in view of the Phocian claim to the oracle and the injustice of the Amphictyonic declarations.

25: 'but the Boeotians assembled in council made a decree to relieve the temple' (οἱ Βοιωτοὶ συνελθόντες) and immediately despatched troops. Meanwhile Philomelus fortified Delphi, raised mercenary wages by half the normal figure, conscripted the pick of the Phocian troops, and, with a force all told of some 5000 men, 'possessing himself of all the passages to Delphi, became formidable to his enemies' (φοβερὸς ὧν ἤδη κ.τ.λ.).¹² Subsequently (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) he ravaged Locrian territory, tried to storm a fortress, engaged twice with the Locrian forces, and, after further ravaging, returned, 'being master of the field' (κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων), to Delphi 'loading his soldiers with plunder.'¹³ Subsequently (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) he forced the Pythian priestess to utter an oracle for purposes of war.

26: a digression on the history of oracular procedure at Delphi.

27: 'but to return to the acts of Philomelus, who, being now lord of the temple, commanded the Pythia to answer from the tripods' (οὗτος γὰρ κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου προσέταττε).¹⁴ Armed with a favourable oracle, he summoned an assembly, heartened the commons, and sent official embassies

⁹ At this point D. reaches in his narrative account the seizure of the temple by Philomelus, an event which he dated in 14,3 to 357/6; he now proceeds to supply the narrative anterior to his fixed date of 23,1 (355/4), the declaration of the Sacred War.

¹⁰ οἱ πλεῖστον οἰκοῦντες, presumably the Locrians of Amphissa.

¹¹ Booth's translation, while stressing the informal nature of the reports, loses the emphasis of αὐτός; I shall refer to these reports as 'personal propaganda.' The phrase recurs in xvi. 89,2 and in the passive in xvi. 22,2.

¹² This phrase may explain why the Boeotian forces do not figure in the ensuing operations; they

must have found it impossible to storm Delphi, and have then returned to Boeotia.

¹³ It is clear from the action of Philomelus, and the ensuing cessation of hostilities covering the exchange of embassies, that we have reached the end of the campaigning season which followed the seizure of the temple; as we shall see later, the temple was seized in June, and D. gives the year as 357/6, i.e. by autumn 356 B.C. Philomelus was in control of the Delphi region, and despatched envoys in the winter 356/5.

¹⁴ The resumptive Greek imperfect and the contemporary participle are well turned by Booth's translation.

to Athens, Sparta, Thebes and other states, with a manifesto proclaiming his integrity and advancing the Phocian claim to control the oracle; 'at length he desired, that if any, out of envy or malice, should ¹⁵ make war upon the *Phocians* (πολεμῇ Φωκεῦσι), that they would rather join with him against such, or at least stand neutrals.' In reply, separate alliances with Phocis were concluded by Athens, Sparta and some other states, and war in the name of the god was declared against Phocis (πρὸς τοὺς Φωκεῖς) by the separate states Boeotia, Locris and some others.¹⁶

28-29: foreseeing the magnitude of the war, Philomelus imposed a levy on the pockets of the wealthy Delphians, marched into the open, and defeated an invasion of the Locrians at the Phaedriadae rocks. After the defeat, the Locrians appealed to Boeotia to assist them and the god: 'the Boeotians, both out of their piety towards the gods and for confirmation of the decrees of the Amphictyons wherein they were greatly concerned,' sent embassies to the Thessalians and the other Amphictyonic powers soliciting a joint declaration of war against Phocis (. . . καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτυόνας ἀξιοῦντες κοινῇ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι); the war against Phocis was then declared by the Amphictyons (ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν πρὸς Φωκεῖς πόλεμον).¹⁷ The Amphictyonic powers, who declared against Phocis, were Boeotia, Locris, Thessaly, etc.; and those who allied with Phocis were Athens, Sparta and other Peloponnesian states, the Spartans being actuated by their annoyance at the Amphictyonic decrees and by sympathy with Phocis.¹⁸

30-31: foreseeing the danger of a Boeotian invasion of Phocis, Philomelus was compelled to lay hands on the treasure of the temple, and increasing the normal wage by half, raised a body of desperate ¹⁹ mercenaries, until with a total force of 10,000 men he was able to invade Locris and defeat the Boeotian-Locrian forces in a cavalry engagement. Subsequently (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) he defeated the Thessalian forces.²⁰ When the Boeotians came up (ἐπιφανέντων), the Phocians, reinforced by an Achaean force, occupied a defensive position. Later (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) a skirmish took place,

¹⁵ A condition envisaging the future, i.e. implying that no state was yet at war with the Phocian state. This is, of course, consistent in D.'s narrative with the Boeotian decision (25,1) to liberate the shrine; for the meaning conveyed by D. is that in reply to Philomelus' personal propaganda Boeotia confined her attentions to the adventurer Philomelus, and had not passed a declaration of war upon the Phocian state. During the winter Philomelus, having secured the approval of the Phocian commons, published the complicity of the Phocian state in the official embassies; and, as he foresaw, war was, in fact, soon declared upon the Phocian state.

¹⁶ It is, of course, clear that this is not a joint declaration of a Sacred War by an Amphictyony, i.e. we have not yet reached the end of the narrative which resumes events anterior to the declaration proper, fixed chronologically by D. at 23,1 to 355/4. The Thessalians are a significant omission from those powers which took an active part: they are too important to figure under καὶ τινες ἑτεροί (cf. 28,4

and 33,3), and so must be neutral at this stage.

¹⁷ The joint action of the Amphictyons provides the declaration of the Sacred War, announced by D. at 23,1 and dated there to 355/4; at this point, then, he has reached the end of the resumptive narrative bridging the interval between the seizure of Delphi and the declaration of war. The chronology then fits clearly to the narrative; for after the embassies of Phocis sent out in the winter 356/5, the Locrian operations fall in early 355 B.C. and the Amphictyonic meeting in autumn 355 B.C., i.e. the Attic year 355/4.

¹⁸ The summary of Amphictyonic powers is, of course, separate from the list of powers who answered the Phocian embassies sent out in the winter; the reason for Spartan action is here given more fully than in 23,2 and 24,2.

¹⁹ 'Desperate' because sacrilege was for the first time committed when temple funds were impounded.

²⁰ It is significant that the Thessalian forces disappear for the remaining operations.

and later still (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 31,3) Philomelus was killed in a guerilla engagement. Onomarchus, however, took over the command, and made good the escape of the remaining Phocian and mercenary forces.²¹

The narrative of Diodorus distinguishes sharply between the seizure of Delphi and the declaration of the Sacred War, between the personal propaganda of Philomelus and the official manifesto of the Phocian state, between the decision of the Boeotians to liberate the temple and the declarations of war or alliance made in response to the official manifesto, and stresses beyond question the growing strength of Philomelus, the ultimate need for spoliation of the treasury, and the final declaration of the Sacred War by the Amphictyony. Even the digression at ch. 26 does not, to my mind, break the flow of the narrative: the resumption at ch. 27 is natural and emphatic. With these threads in hand let us turn to the doublists.²²

B. THE DOUBLETTE THEORY OF CLOCHÉ.

Cloché would, I think, be the first to admit that the doublet he proposes is unique in the pages of Diodorus. In the first place, it is a narrative doublet—that is, a double narrative account of the same events; it must therefore be sharply separated from the normal type of doublet in Diodorus, which consists of a quotation of fact from a chronological date-table and a description of the same fact in the narrative. In the second place, this narrative-doublet covers five chapters and repeats the events of a year; yet the few known narrative-doublets are limited to repetition of a single event told in a single section, or even in a few words.²³ Finally, the doublet presents two peculiarities in itself: the break at the end of the first account does not occur at a historical milestone,²⁴ nor do the two accounts differ at all in tone or tendency.²⁵

Now, that a careless writer such as Diodorus could nod to so disastrous an extent is, of course, conceivable; but before we convict him of a charge unparalleled in the rest of his work, we shall expect a strong case and convincing arguments from Cloché.

²¹ From the ensuing narrative it is clear that this engagement fell in the autumn at the end of a campaigning season, i.e. late in 354 B.C.; it is elsewhere dignified with the title 'Battle of Neon' (Pausanias x. ii. 4).

²² The discussion of the chronology, as opposed to the narrative, is reserved for section C; I have included some chronological notes in the present section to clarify the narrative account. A full narrative employing independent evidence will be found in the Summary.

²³ PW. gives four instances: ix. 2,4 = 34 and fr. 4 = 20,4 (each within one section in a fragmentary book), xii. 38,2 = 40,2 (single section, probably resumptive), and xiv. 89,2 = 92,3 (limited to four words!). Hampl, *Der König der Makedonen*, p. 45, finds a 'Dublette' in xiv. 92,3 = xv. 19,2 (single section, certainly resumptive).

²⁴ Cf. PW. col. 682 'Nun liegt aber die Fuge nicht an einem historisch bedeutsamen Punkt sondern mitten in der Erzählung.'

²⁵ Cf. C. i, pp. 4-5, e.g. 'aucun sectionnement du récit n'est donc possible si l'on se borne à examiner la couleur et les tendances.' The hypothesis, that D. was using Ephorus and Demophilus as his sources and that Ephorus ended at just this point, would explain this peculiarity, but most scholars—e.g. K. p. 37—regard the hypothesis as untenable. Beloch (2, p. 28) argues that D. copied the same account twice, but in disposing of one difficulty he seems to me to raise a host of others (even K. p. 30, who does not overestimate Diodorus' intelligence, refuses to accept B's suggestion). Nor do I find Momigliano's attempt to differentiate between the two accounts at all convincing (*Rend. Istitut. Lombardo* lxxv. 1932, pp. 535 f.).

The following table, reproduced in an abbreviated form from Cloché's book, summarises his analysis of the doublet sufficiently for our purpose:—

<p>23,1 Announcement of the war. 24, Election of Philomelus. 24,2 Voyage to Sparta: first recruiting.</p>	
<i>Doublet</i>	
<i>Alternative narrative 1.</i>	<i>Alternative narrative 2.</i>
24,3 Occupation of Delphi, and assembly to reassure the people.	27,1 Occupation of Delphi, and assembly to reassure the people.
24,4 Locrian attack.	28,3 Locrian attack.
24,5 Promises and justification.	27,3-4 Promises and justification.
25,1 Hostility of Thebes.	27,5 Hostility of Thebes.
25,1 New recruiting.	28,1-2 New recruiting.
(25,2-3 given no corresponding passages.)	(28,4 and 29 given no corresponding passages.)
<i>Single narrative resumes</i>	
30,1-3 New recruitings: temple funds used.	
30,3; 31,1 f. Second war in Locris and death of Philomelus.	

The doublet theory of Cloché rests on three hypotheses: (1) that Diodorus' account as it stands is confused and unintelligible; (2) that at a given point Diodorus begins to repeat himself, so that a 'coupure' can be established; (3) that two narrative passages can be found to repeat the same events in such a way that they may be regarded as reiterative and alternative in themselves: hailing these two as a doublet, the doublist is then at liberty to take one (either, of course, must be suitable by his hypothesis) of the two passages, eliminate the other, and so produce a consecutive narrative superior in clarity and intelligibility to the original narrative of Diodorus.

With hypothesis (1) we have already dealt indirectly and shall deal again (section C). Let us take hypothesis (2) and examine the methods by which Cloché establishes the 'coupure,' remembering that, until (and unless) a coupure be established, the narrative of Diodorus has the right to be considered a unity.

Cloché places his coupure at 27,1, maintaining that the words οὗτος γὰρ κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου προσέειπε (a) contain an iteration of incident and (b) are ill connected with 25 fin. (ch. 26 being a digression). Let us examine his reasons. With regard to (a), Cloché argues that in these words we find an incident described which has already been described at 24,3—in fact, a repetition of incident which demands the 'coupure.' But does the phrase κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου represent an incident told as a step in the narrative? Cloché translates in italics '*à la prise du sanctuaire*' (p. 24 n.), and refers to it steadily as 'l'incidente,' meaning thereby the seizure of Delphi. But the Greek cannot be translated 'he seized Delphi and ordered the priestess'; unless both the present participle and the imperfect are emended to aorists,²⁶ the phrase can only mean 'being in control of the oracle Philomelus was ordering. . . .' The application of this present

²⁶ The graphic narrative imperfect is rare in Diodorus.

participle and imperfect tense becomes clear when we consider Cloché's contention (*b*), that the phrase is ill connected with 25 fin. This contention rests entirely upon the mistranslation of κρατῶν, the omission of the imperfect προσέταττε, and the forcing of μαντείου as an instance of the part for the whole: the last despite the special use of τῷ μαντεῖω in 25,3 fin. and of μαντεῖον μαντεῖα μαντεύεσθαι repeatedly in ch. 26. In fact, if we compare 25 fin. and 27,1, we are forced to the conclusion that the phrase means 'being in control of the oracle he was (as I have said above) issuing orders to the priestess'; could Greek devise a smoother transition? Even Beloch²⁷ finds that '27,1 nimmt die Erzählung da wieder auf, wo sie 25,3 unterbrochen worden war.' Both Cloché's arguments are untenable, and with them fall the two main pillars which support the coupure.

To justify his coupure at 27,1 Cloché adduces another argument drawn from his opinion of what Philomelus ought to have done: 'une fois maître de Delphes, il devait au plus tôt se justifier et rassurer les gouvernements helléniques' (p. 8). Turning to Diodorus' narrative, he finds that the seizure of Delphi is recorded in 24,3 and the despatch of embassies in 27,3-4; this interval, he argues, is impossible, and so we must regard 24,3 to 25 fin. as a doublet, and begin our second narrative with 27,1 (the seizure of Delphi), followed hot-foot by 27,3-4 (the despatch of envoys). His reconstruction has already been discredited by the fact that 27,1 cannot mean the seizure of Delphi, but let us further see whether the interval in Diodorus is so impossible as he believes.²⁸

The narrative of Diodorus records immediately after the occupation of Delphi (24,3) the issue of a personal propaganda, 'se justifiant' (24,5); further, the narrative shows that the propaganda was personal and informal (αὐτὸς διέδωκε λόγον), that Philomelus had approached Archidamus in a private capacity (24,1), and that, failing to control the region round Delphi (24,4 and 25), Philomelus could not send embassies overseas. Thus, on the evidence of the facts (and we have only those provided by Diodorus), Philomelus acted as he could; he fulfilled Cloché's expectations only partially, but he made good the error as soon as was humanly possible; when he had terrorised the area round Delphi (25 fin.), gained the support of the Pythian priestess (27,1), and received the official support of the Phocian people (27,2), then (and only then was it possible) he issued an official manifesto to the Greek governments. In short, I see no reason to suspect the account as given by Diodorus and regard Cloché's strictures upon the conduct of Philomelus as otiose.

In two other respects, Cloché finds the narrative of Diodorus illogical, and so suggests the need for a coupure. He argues that the operations against Locris in 25,2-3 (he passes over 24,4, though admitting the same Locrians to be concerned) would compromise the embassies despatched in 27,3, and, secondly, that the despatch of troops by the Boeotian assembly in 25,1 would make it impossible to send envoys to Thebes in 27,3. Neither of these arguments is conclusive; for Philomelus' action in 25,2-3 was defensive action, undertaken against attacks delivered by the Locrians of

²⁷ B. 2, p. 29.

²⁸ Beloch 2, pp. 29 f., uses this argument as a main

reason for supporting the doublet theory.

Amphissa supported by Boeotian troops,²⁹ and the sending of an embassy to Thebes in 27,3 was a protest lodged against the offensive delivered by Boeotia in 25,1.³⁰ Thus, if we put ourselves in the shoes of Philomelus, who claimed to be defending Delphi as traditional guardian of the sanctuary (27,3) against Locrian and Boeotian invaders, we shall find nothing incredible in the sequence of events recorded by Diodorus.

We have now completed our examination of hypothesis (2); we find that there is no instance of repetition of incident and no break in the narrative at 27,1, nor do we find the subsidiary arguments used by Cloché to be practical or cogent. His methods, moreover, are superior to those of Kahrstedt, who chooses the same spot for a cut, but produces 23,1-25,3 as one narrative and 27,1-30,4 as the other; others, again, place a coupure elsewhere, e.g. Volquardsen³¹ at ch. 28. But for arguments to refute these, the reader is referred, if he requires further detail, to the attack made by Cloché upon his rivals.

Let us, however, assume that Cloché's coupure is established; in accordance with hypothesis (3), two narrative passages should now be found to repeat the same events in such a way that they may be regarded as reiterative and alternative in themselves. Let us examine these parallel passages, as given by Cloché:—

24,3: occupation of Delphi; 27,1 *idem*. Cloché mistranslates κρατῶν κτλ. at 27,1.

24,3: assembly to reassure the people; 27,2 *idem*. Cloché has apparently misread Diodorus; for the former passage contains no mention of an assembly, stating solely that, upon seizing Delphi, Philomelus confiscated the property of the Thracidae (ἐδήμευσε does not argue an ecclesia) and reassured the others (τοὺς ἄλλους), i.e. other Delphians. The second passage refers to a Phocian assembly (συναγωγὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ . . . τοῖς πλήθεσι δηλώσας); the subsequent narrative shows that the alliances made were with the Phocian state, and the use of πλήθη for the Phocian commons occurs again 32,3.³²

24,4 Locrian attack; 28,3 *idem*. This is indisputable: but need these two battles be one and the same? Two separate battles are not only possible, but even probable; in fact, only if the circumstances are strongly similar, need we entertain suspicions of a parallel passage. But the conditions are not the same: the former engagement is in defence of Philomelus' position at Delphi, immediately after the seizure (παράχρημα . . . περὶ Δελφούς), while the latter is a decisive battle, offered by Philomelus in the open by the Phaedriadae rocks (an unknown locality, but presumably not a periphrasis for περὶ Δελφούς).

24,5 Promises and justifications; 27,3-4 *idem*. This represents another vague parallelisation; in Diodorus' account two instances are explicit and intrinsically probable. Moreover, these two instances are again circum-

²⁹ Only in 28,2 does he assume the offensive; the foray of 25,3 is limited to the region round Delphi, and could reasonably be represented as defensive.

³⁰ Phocis, having identified herself with Philomelus, could legitimately protest against the action

of Thebes in time of peace (25,1 and 27,4; in 27,5 Boeotia declares war on Phocis).

³¹ *Untersuchungen über d. Quellen d. gr. u. sik. Geschichte bei Diodor Buch xi-xvi* (Kiel, 1868), p. 110.

³² Paus. x. 2,3 uses the term τῶν πλήθων τῶν Φωκίων.

stantially different: the former is personal propaganda (αὐτὸς διέδωκε λόγον), the latter an official manifesto in the name of the Phocian state; secondly, the former is general in tone, the latter explicit in its demands; thirdly, the former emanates from Philomelus, while the latter is supported by the Pythian priestess.

25,1 Hostility of Thebes; 27,5 *idem*. Such is Cloché's paraphrase of the decision taken by the Boeotian assembly 'to liberate the temple' and of the declaration of war 'against the Phocian state' passed by Boeotia and by other states. This doublet proceeds from Cloché's paraphrase, not from Diodorus' narrative. The parallelism lies solely in the fact of hostility; and the two decisions, which fall on totally separate occasions (the former before the fortification of Delphi, the latter in reply to a Phocian embassy), cannot possibly be telescoped into one and the same.

25,1 New armaments of Philomelus; 28,1-2 *idem*. Here we have two exactly similar incidents expressed in very similar language: upon my interpretation this is natural, for Philomelus had to recruit twice, once after the Boeotian decision to liberate the oracle, and again after replies made to the Phocian embassies, and Diodorus, like most writers, tends to use equivalent phrases. Granted Cloché's hypothesis, this particular pair cannot be proved incontestably to be wrongly equated: they stand as two or fall into one together with Cloché's hypothesis. In fact, they prove nothing either way.

To resume, then, the 'doublet' passages: from a total of six, we have disproved five assumed doublets, and left one in the no man's land of neutrality. We have now reached a stage where we can say that there is no evidence for a 'coupure' and no evidence for a 'doublette.' Let us, however, suppose that there is evidence for both: what narrative ensues? We may choose *either* 23-25,3 and then 30-31, *or* 23-24,2 and then 27-31, as our complete account of what happened according to Cloché: does either of these represent a more credible or more convincing narrative than the uncut narrative of Diodorus?

With the former of these alternatives we have no reference whatsoever to any declaration of a Sacred War: the decision taken by the Boeotian assembly cannot refer to an Amphictyonic decision (25,1), and therefore the sudden appearance of the Thessalians in 30,4 is as unintelligible as the absence of any mention of Athens until after the death of Onomarchus (37,3); moreover, the Pythian priestess is left abruptly on the verge of prophecy (25 fin.). The second account is also faulty. We leave Philomelus at 24,2 with his troops and jump to 27,1, where we find the most important operation of the early war confined to the three words κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου (which incidentally cannot mean 'he seized Delphi and . . .'); this is the one incontrovertible point which invalidates this narrative as consecutive or even probable. Otherwise, as we read onwards from 27 to 31, the narrative is credible, provided that we are prepared to believe that Philomelus was left unattacked in occupation of Delphi until he could raise sufficient troops to take the field in 28,2 (διαγωνίζεσθαι).

When we reflect upon the two accounts offered to us by Cloché, we must confess that we find Diodorus' account more intelligible than either. The

first alternative narrative offered by Cloché is untenable: for 30-31 following can only be understood if the second (27,1-29 fin.) be regarded as a consecutive, and not as an alternative narrative;³³ similarly, if we take the second alternative, the narrative breaks down at the gap where Cloché jumps to κροτῶν τοῦ μαντείου; in fact, we are left with a gap which can only be bridged by the passage preceding, *i.e.* this first alternative is not an alternative, but a consecutive part of the whole. Finally, if either alternative account breaks down, the hypothesis, which justifies choosing an alternative at all, has no longer any foundation.

Let us now summarise our argument to date. The narrative contained in Diodorus xvi. 23-31 is clear, consecutive and credible: subsidiary sources, we shall find, support that account. Therefore we see no reason to suspect Diodorus of confusion. The theory, then, of a doublet account is at the outset gratuitous; when applied, this theory is ruled out of court on three cumulative grounds: (1) there is no 'coupure,' (2) there are no doublet passages in detail, and (3) neither alternative account so offered is intelligible. This should, I hope, be sufficient argument to dispense with the doublet theory, but we have another strong argument to adduce against the doublists—the argument of chronology.

C. THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SACRED WAR.

The chronology of the Sacred War, as given by Diodorus, is thrown out of gear by the doublet theory; for by that theory one year in Diodorus' narrative account has to be ejected—namely, the year between the first Locrian attack after the seizure of Delphi and the second Locrian attack which led to the invitation to Thebes to call the Amphictyonic Council. But, when the doublists come to subtract their year, they split into two main

³³ Beloch 2, p. 31, while admitting that 'beide ergänzen einander,' under-estimates the interdependence of the two by calling the second 'subsidiär.' A passage, which lies outside the supposed doublet narrative, ought to be mentioned; Diodorus, summarising the attitude of the Phocian captains to the temple, states (xvi. 56,5) ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἀρξας Φιλόμηλος ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἀναθημάτων, while in his narrative of the early war he describes Philomelus as respecting the temple funds at 24,5 (a promise), 27,4 (offering examination), and 28,2 (τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπέσχετο), but as compelled finally to spoil the treasury at 30,1. Now, as we have seen, there is no discrepancy between 30,1 and the three earlier passages: the only discrepancy is between 30,1 and 56,5. This discrepancy can be explained in three ways: (1) Diodorus has made a mistake in his short summary at 56,5 through remembering only the first three instances of Philomelus' attitude to Delphi, (2) Diodorus used a different source at 56,5 from the source he was using at 24-30, and (3) Diodorus used one source at 24,5, 27,4, 28,2, and 56,5, and another and different source at 30,1. Of these three explanations only (3) would support belief in a doublet within the narrative 23-31, and that doublet would be comprised by 24,5 to 28,2 as

one alternative and by 30,1 f. as the second, with a coupure presumably at the end of ch. 29; such a doublet seems to me untenable, as 30-31 comprises the campaign ending in Neon and is therefore integral to the whole; even if assumed, it can only limit itself to 30,1-3 ending before εὐθύ; οὖν κ.τ.λ., and therefore falls into the minor doublet school of thought. As regards the doublet theory advanced by Cloché, explanation (3) provides no support; for in Cloché's analysis both doublet narratives contain the statement that Philomelus respected the shrine and the single narrative resumes at ch. 30. Kahrstedt's analysis, however, does meet a variation of explanation (3), for, by taking 23,1-25,3 as one alternative and 27,1-30,4 as the other, he provides in his first narrative a respect for the temple reiterated in 56,5, and in his second alternative a notice both of respect and of sacrilege; this doublet theory, however, I have considered impossible on other grounds, and must leave the argument to Cloché. Moreover, explanation (3) is not essential; both (1) and (2) are possible, and I personally incline to (1), adducing as a parallel instance of Diodorus' slovenliness the statement that 'Onomarchus kindled the Sacred War' (38,6, cf. 23,1).

camps: the Schaefer-Pokorny-Homolle³⁴ group, maintaining that the battle of Neon must be kept to Diodorus' year 354 B.C., bring the seizure of Delphi down to 355 B.C., but the Kahrstedt-Beloch-Cloch  ³⁵ group, maintaining that the seizure of Delphi must be kept to Diodorus' year 356 B.C., bring forward by one year the declaration of war by the Amphictyony (from 355 to 356), the battle of Neon (from 354 to 355), the battle of the Crocus Field (from 352 to 353), and the advance of Philip to Thermopylae (from 352 to 353). Let us match these two new systems of chronology with that of Diodorus, which upon my interpretation of the narrative needs no omission of one year.

I. *The Chronology of Diodorus.* An understanding of his method of composition is essential to this investigation. From a chronological date-table he takes the dates of salient events and arranges therewith his own chronological framework:³⁶ into this framework he then fits his narrative account. While this compromise between an annalistic and narrative method makes the narrative more readable, it frequently obscures the chronology; for he often bunches all the narrative leading up to a salient dated point into the one year of his own chronological system which contains the salient point. For instance, in the account of the Social War (7,3-4 and 21-22,3) he bunches one part of narrative beside the opening of the war under the year 358/7 and the remainder beside the end of the war under the year 356/5. In between we have a blank year 357/6: yet Diodorus did not intend his reader to assume a 'Waffenruhe,' but to exercise his intelligence by redistributing the narrative. He has, in fact, marked the beginning and end of the war by his chronological system, and then told his story in two consecutive portions of narrative.

This method we must now remember in analysing his chronology of the Sacred War. The dates drawn from the date-table are clearly marked: the seizure of Delphi 357/6 (xvi. 14,3, cf. xiv. 117,8): the outbreak of the Sacred War 355/4 (23,1): the battle of Neon 354/3 (31,4-6; the synchronisations appended betray the date-table). We can define these dates more closely in terms of campaigning seasons, for it is agreed by the sextet quoted in Cloch  's table (p. 106) that the seizure occurred in early summer and by all save Kahrstedt (whose arguments are well met by Cloch  , p. 60, n. 2) that Neon occurred in the autumn. Thus we may translate two of Diodorus' dates into early summer 356 B.C. for the seizure of Delphi and autumn 354 B.C. for the battle of Neon.

The narrative, then, describing the events of these years, should occupy four Attic years (357/6 to 354/3), that is three campaigning seasons (spring 356 B.C. to autumn 354 B.C.). The narrative is, however, compressed under two Attic years (23,1 sub 355/4 to 31 sub 354/3): redistribution is therefore necessary, and Diodorus has given us the clue. In 23,1 he fixes his date for the outbreak of the Sacred, *i.e.* Amphictyonic, war: in the next sentence

³⁴ S. I², pp. 495-498; P. pp. 20-25; Homolle, *BCH* xxii. pp. 624-627.

³⁵ K. pp. 27-28; B. 2, pp. 265 f.; C. I, p. 106.

³⁶ As is well known, D. is apt, in synchronising the

incidence of the Roman year, to leave the Attic year rather ragged at the edges: this, however, does not disturb our reconstruction.

he begins γάρ and continues ἐξέκαυσε τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας, *i.e.* he is now about to resume events prior to the Sacred War declaration. The resumption is concluded at 28,4 (ψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων 28,4 = ὁ κληθεὶς ἱερὸς πόλεμος συνέστη 23,1). We must therefore move back the narrative 23,2–28 fin.: so arranged, it falls naturally into the following distribution bridging the empty years since 14,3 (seizure of Delphi dated to 357/6):—

Seizure of Delphi—early summer 356 B.C. (14,3 = 24,3; a doublet of the type usual in Diodorus, *i.e.* drawn from the chronological and the narrative source);

The Locrian attack, the personal propaganda, the Boeotian decision, the strengthening of Philomelus, the two skirmishes, and the return to Delphi bring us to the end of the campaigning season 356 B.C. (24,4–25 fin.);

The official manifesto, the despatch of envoys, and the replies—winter and early spring 356–355 B.C. (27);

The Locrian defeat at Phaedriadae and the Locrian appeal—first half of 355 B.C. (28,1–3);

The declaration of the Sacred War by the Amphictyonic Council—autumn 355 B.C. (28,4 = 23,1 Attic year 355/4; another doublet of the normal type);

The Battle of Neon—end of campaigning season, autumn 354 B.C. in the Attic year 354/3 (31,4 fin.).

Thus, when we collate the narrative with the entries drawn from the chronological table, the redistribution of events becomes clear. Yet Diodorus has made one mistake which is misleading; he inserts his second Attic year (354/3) at 28,1, *i.e.* before he has reached the event (28,4) forecast and dated at 23,1 to 355/4. The genesis of the mistake is, however, obvious; for, in compressing a narrative that covered four Attic years into the space of two Attic years, Diodorus has produced an overlap (helped therein by the tripod digression)—an error so characteristic of our author as to lend a flavour of authenticity to the reconstruction we propose.³⁷

II. We must now consider whether the independent evidence supports the chronology of Diodorus or either of the two chronological systems evolved by the leading doublists.

Pausanias (x. 2,3) records the seizure of Delphi under the year of Agathocles 357/6; the Parian Marble refers to Phocis and Delphi under the year of Kephisodorus 366/5, but Beloch's³⁸ correction is too hypothetical to be of value; and the Naupoioi lists are so controversial that they must be reserved for separate discussion (section D). But the categorical date of Pausanias supports the date given by Diodorus, who himself refers to three authors in dating the seizure and provides a cross-check in xiv. 117,8; this evidence must count heavily against the theory of the Schaefer-Pokorny-Homolle group, which places the seizure of Delphi in 356/5.³⁹

³⁷ A chronological table is appended to this paper.

³⁸ B. 2, p. 263, assuming confusion of Kephisodorus with Kephisodotus 358/7, argues that an error of one year is possible, *i.e.*, he uses it to support

357/6; cf. J. II d p. 697 for discussion.

³⁹ If further argument is desired, consult the works of the Kahrstedt-Beloch-Cloché group, esp. C. 1, pp. 40 f.

The Kahrstedt-Beloch-Cloch  group concurs at this point with Diodorus and Pausanias, but maintains that the declaration of war by the Amphictyony must be dated to 356/5 and not, as in Diodorus, to 355/4 and the Battle of Neon to autumn 355 B.C., and not to 354/3. To disprove their contention absolutely is impossible; the evidence is too scanty, but is, I think, sufficient to incline the balance of probability in favour of Diodorus' date. In ante-dating the battle of Neon by one year this group is compelled to move Thermopylae from 352 B.C. to 353 B.C.; let us begin by testing the probability of the earlier dating for Thermopylae and the battle preceding it, named conventionally the Battle of the Crocus Field.

The narrative of the much-abused Diodorus must first be analysed upon the principles which we have already applied. The narrative in 32-35 (sub 353/2) is grouped round its climax, the death of Onomarchus, which is dated with other events (36) from the chronological table: the preceding narrative and chronological milestone was the death of Philomelus (31,4-5 sub 354/3). Thus the narrative between Neon (autumn 354 B.C., the beginning of the Attic year 354/3) and the battle of the Crocus Field is all compressed as one consecutive narrative into the Attic year 353/2. The incidents must then be redistributed to fill the latter half of the Attic year 354/3, i.e. the first half of 353 B.C.

The redistribution is tolerably clear. In the winter of 354-353 B.C. Onomarchus stiffened his home front, and bribed the Thessalians and other powers into neutrality (32-33,3); in the spring of 353 B.C. he captured Thronium near Thermopylae, reduced Amphissa, ravaged Doris, and after storming Orchomenos and failing at Chaeroneia retired to Phocis (33,3-4). The passivity of Thebes is explained (34,1-2) by the despatch of Pammenes with 5000 men, probably in the winter of 354-353,⁴⁰ to serve with Artabazus; and the withdrawal of Onomarchus is explained by the position in Thessaly⁴¹ (35,1-2). For Philip, having entered Thessaly probably in the summer⁴² of 353 B.C., had defeated the Phocian general Phayllus, sent in answer to the appeal of Lycophron of Pherae; to prevent the further advance of Philip, Onomarchus now marched north, defeated Philip twice, and forced him to evacuate Thessaly (35,3). Thus Onomarchus' campaigns in the south must fall into the first half of 353 B.C. and those in the north into the second half of 353 B.C.

In the spring of 352 B.C. Onomarchus had defeated the Boeotian forces and captured Coroneia (35,3), before the news of Philip's reappearance in Thessaly drew him north. The decisive battle was fought at once, and resulted in the defeat and death of Onomarchus (35,3-6).

Having reached this climax in his narrative, Diodorus mentions that Phayllus succeeded Onomarchus, and then appends a list of other events which occurred in 353/2; with this citation from his date-table he closes his year 353/2. Under the following year he gives a staccato narrative,

⁴⁰ Cf. *infra*, pp. 58 f.

⁴¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 65 f.

⁴² Uhlemann, *Untersuch.  ber die Quellen der Geschichte Philipps von Makedonien u. d. heiligen Kriege in XVI*

Buche Diod., diss. Strassburg (1913), p. 69 detects a doublet in ch. 35; I must content myself with quoting Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone*, p. 104, n. 1 'la presunta reduplicazione . . .   insussistente.'

including Phocian affairs, Peloponnesian affairs, and the advance of Philip to Thermopylae, to the last of which he 'returns' (ἐπράννεν 37,6) and accords a subordinate position in the narrative (38,1); it is then clear that, while the date of Onomarchus' death is drawn from the date-table, the advance to Thermopylae is described from a narrative source and dated by Diodorus' slipshod system of narrative chronology to 352/1. To this date we can attach little weight: but, as the battle of the Crocus Field is dated from the date-table to the second half of 353/2, and external evidence shows that the advance to Thermopylae occurred shortly afterwards, we can define the date to be inferred from Diodorus as the summer of 352 B.C.

Of the two references in independent sources, which date the advance to Thermopylae, the first is indecisive. Dionysius⁴³ places the despatch of the Athenian force to defend Thermopylae under 353/2; thus Beloch and Cloché, who discard Diodorus' date for the Battle of the Crocus Field as unreliable, can place that event in early summer 353 B.C. and the Athenian preparations in midsummer 353 B.C. at the beginning of the Attic year 353/2, while we can with equal probability place the battle of the Crocus Field in late spring 352 B.C. and the Athenian preparations in the summer of 352 B.C. at the end of the Attic year 353/2. The second reference, however, strongly favours our date; Demosthenes⁴⁴ dates the presence of Philip at Heraeum Teichos to November 352 B.C. Now, Demosthenes twice implies that Philip went to Thrace immediately after the campaign in Thessaly; in his famous comparison of the tactics of Philip to those of a boxer he gives as an instance the case at Thermopylae,⁴⁵ which is only in point if Philip went immediately afterwards to Thrace, and in his outline of Philip's movements⁴⁶ he couples the settlement of Thessaly with departure to Thrace. The implication is sufficiently strong to convince Pickard-Cambridge⁴⁷ that the date of Thermopylae is 352 B.C., and I find Beloch's arguments against his view inconclusive.⁴⁸

The balance, then, of probability, as applied from the evidence of Demosthenes, dates the Battle of the Crocus Field to early 352 B.C. and the Battle of Neon in turn to 354 B.C.; it inclines, therefore, to the support of Diodorus and to the discredit of the Kahrstedt-Beloch-Cloché system of chronology.⁴⁹

The siege of Methone supplies more direct evidence for the dating of the Battle of Neon. Diodorus connects the fall of Methone with the battle by the phrase ἀμα δὲ τούτοις (31,6), and dates the former from his date-table to the Attic year 354/3. When did Methone fall? The siege lasted for a considerable time, to judge from Demosthenes' taunts of the Athenian delay

⁴³ Dionysius, *Demosth.* 13, p. 655.

⁴⁴ *Olynth.* iii. 4 τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τούτῳ, i.e. either 352 November or 351 November; cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *Public Orations of Demosthenes*, Vol. II. p. 161, in favour of the former year; our argument shows that 351 is not possible.

⁴⁵ *Phil.* i. 40-41, cf. 17.

⁴⁶ *Olynth.* i. 13 μετὰ ταῦτα Φιλίππῳ, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν, πᾶνθ' ὅν ἐβούλετο εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ὥχετο εἰς

Θράκη.

⁴⁷ P.-C. pp. 177 f.; *CAH* p. 220.

⁴⁸ B. 2, pp. 280-281; he does not mention the two passages I have quoted from Demosthenes, but places Thermopylae in 353 B.C. and Heraeum Teichos in Nov. 351 B.C.

⁴⁹ The rival school supplies further arguments based upon this department of the evidence, esp. P., pp. 24 f.

in sending help,⁵⁰ and from Diodorus' narrative account μέχρι μὲν τινος οἱ Μεθωνάσιοι διεκαρτέουν (34.5; a doublet of the normal type). For the beginning of the siege a *terminus post quem* is fixed by an inscription⁵¹ recording honours granted to Lachares for entering Methone in December 355 B.C.; from this it is clear that Methone was threatened with complete blockade at that date. The city therefore fell in the course of 354 B.C. The late arrival of the Athenian relief force after considerable delay suggests that the fall occurred in the summer, possibly, like that of Olynthus, about the time of the Etesian winds⁵² in August, *i.e.* in the Attic year 354/3 and at the period of that year to which Diodorus ascribes synchronisation with the Battle of Neon. Thus it is possible that Diodorus dates the fall of Methone correctly, and by virtue of his synchronisation he supports his date for the Battle of Neon.

On the other hand, of the Kahrstedt-Beloch-Cloch  group Kahrstedt and Beloch argue that, if the fall of Methone occurred before midsummer 354 B.C., *i.e.* in the Attic year 355/4, then the synchronisation of Diodorus may be taken to mean that the Battle of Neon occurred within the same Attic year, *i.e.* 355/4; thus, they argue, Diodorus' year 354/3 is a mistake on his part.⁵³ But why should they attach such credence to the phrase ἀμα δὲ τούτοις, and yet reject the date of the date-table from which the phrase derives? Cloch , on the other hand, regards Diodorus' date for the fall of Methone as correct, but rejects Diodorus' date for the Battle of Neon; yet both derive from the date-table.⁵⁴ But the evidence for dating Neon by Methone must be considered indecisive; it is compatible with either view, but, if we credit Diodorus with any accuracy at all, more easily compatible with our view.

We come now to a third piece of evidence bearing directly upon the date of Neon—namely, the meeting between Philip, Pammenes, and Cersobleptes' agent at Maroneia.⁵⁵ Diodorus (34) recounts the departure of Pammenes as contemporaneous (ἀμα δὲ τούτοις) with the first period of Onomarchus' office in the period after Neon, and supports this synchronisation by recording the action of Phayllus and Onomarchus in Thessaly later in the narrative of the same year (35):⁵⁶ this date is obviously credible, and is, I think, on other grounds inevitable. For Pammenes' mission to serve under Artabazus represents a division of the Theban forces at some date during the Sacred War (this division is stressed by D. xvi. 34.2): and Thebes could dispense with the services of her best general and 5000 troops only at a moment when she thought that the Sacred War was about to end through the weakening of Phocis. There is only one date which provides this condition; just after the battle of Neon the Phocian forces were weakened

⁵⁰ *Phil.* i. 35; *Olynth.* i. 9.

⁵¹ *IG*² II. i. 130, first applied in this context by K., p. 42.

⁵² *Dem. Phil.* i. 31 shows that Philip had been helped by these winds before the famous instance at Olynthus.

⁵³ In section E I hope to prove that D. cannot have made a mistake and that his date-table must have given 354/3. Kahrstedt's suggestion (K. p. 42),

that D. here reckons 'r mischer Rechnung,' is rightly scorned by Beloch (B. 2, p. 269), whose own suggestion 'die Angabe nach dem wichtigsten Ereignisse, der Einnahme von Pagasae, orientiert ist' deserves even less respect.

⁵⁴ C. 1, pp. 69–75, with further arguments and bibliography.

⁵⁵ *Dem. G. Aristoc.* 183; Polyaeus iv. 2, 22.

⁵⁶ Cf. section E on this passage.

(cf. D. xvi. 61,2) and the leading anti-Theban statesman Philomelus had met his death, and it is, further, clear from Diodorus' account (32) that the party-faction, which preceded the outbreak of war and was finally to bring Phocis to impotence, was resuscitated in the winter after the battle of Neon. At that time, then, Thebes could reasonably expect that the Sacred War was about to end; but in the spring Onomarchus had re-established the solidarity of Phocis and embarked upon a series of military successes in central Greece. The despatch of Pammenes must therefore be placed in the interval between Neon in the autumn and the following spring.

Cloch  ⁵⁷ places the mission of Pammenes one and a half years after the battle of Neon; having discarded Diodorus' chronological sequence as worthless, he substitutes the following antecedents to the departure of Pammenes: success of Onomarchus in taking Orchomenos, in over-running Doris, in reducing west Locris, in capturing Thronium in east Locris, in inflicting a double defeat on Philip, and in forcing him to evacuate Thessaly. Surely the moment chosen by Cloch   represents the high-water mark of Onomarchus' success⁵⁸; could the Thebans have been so rash as to choose this moment to despatch 5000 troops under the ablest Theban general for foreign service? Cloch  , in fact, holds an untenable position when he thus divorces Neon and the mission of Pammenes⁵⁹; thus, if he insists, as he does, that other evidence fixes Pammenes' mission to 353 B.C., we must force him to abandon his date 355 B.C. for Neon and to substitute our date 354 B.C., just before Pammenes' departure.

Beloch, however, still eludes our grasp: he argues⁶⁰ that Pammenes must have set out on the eve of Neon (his argument that only then was Thebes in control of Thermopylae is a good point), and supports our disproof of Cloch  ; but he has placed Neon in 355 B.C., and therefore places Pammenes' mission in 354 B.C.

Armed with our conclusion and Beloch's admission that Pammenes' departure occurred in the winter or spring after Neon, we must now assail Beloch's dating of Neon to 355 B.C. by considering the possibility of placing Pammenes' departure in early 354 B.C. Just as we invoked the blessing of Beloch in arguing against Cloch  , so we may now invoke against Beloch the stimulus of Cloch  's conclusion (p. 79) '*selon nous, Pamm  nes est parti vers le printemps de 353.*'

That the meeting took place early in the year is clear not only from conditions in central Greece, but also from a consideration of Philip's movements. During the summer to autumn either of 354 B.C. (according to the Cloch   group) or of 353 B.C. (according to my view and that of the Schaefer group), Philip was engaged in Thessaly against Phayllus, and later against Onomarchus. Of the conference at Maroneia we know, that Philip came to an agreement with Cersobleptes, and the supposition is

⁵⁷ C. 1, pp. 77 f. and table, p. 106; D. xvi. 34,2 is a eulogistic phrase which cannot imply that the date of Pammenes' departure is to be defined exactly by the genitive absolutes; this implication is made by Cloch  , but he does not quote the last eight words of the sentence, which make nonsense of his interpretation.

⁵⁸ Cf. B. 1, p. 254.

⁵⁹ Kahrstedt (p. 49), who places the mission of Pammenes in late autumn 354 B.C. and one year after Neon, occupies the same position, though he somewhat naively finds Schaefer's explanation '*k  stlich*' (p. 49, n. 100).

⁶⁰ B. 2, p. 269.

probable that he made this agreement to secure his flank before entering Thessaly: this supposition is supported by the statement of Polyaeus that Philip, after ravaging the territory of Maroneia and Abdera, ἐπαυήει, *i.e.* returned westwards.⁶¹ Thus we can place the conference at Maroneia in spring either 354 B.C. or 353 B.C., just before Philip entered Thessaly to defeat Phayllus.

We now have to consider the relative claims of spring 354 B.C. and spring 353 B.C. From Demosthenes' speech on the Symmories we learn two points: (1) that the Great King was arming, and (2) that Thebes was still pursuing her Medist policy (Dem. xiv. 33). Therefore at the time of this speech Artabazus had good reason to apply to Greek states for help, and Thebes had not yet sent Pammenes on his mission: thus we have here an *oratio post quam* Pammenes set out. Now, the speech is dated by Dionysius to 354/3, *i.e.* the earliest possible date of the speech is the autumn of 354 B.C. Therefore Pammenes cannot have been sent in spring 354 B.C., *i.e.* the view of Beloch is untenable unless he rejects both Dionysius and Diodorus, the only ancient sources which provide chronological data.⁶² Furthermore, we have adduced another case, in which an independent source confirms Diodorus' date-table chronology; for, since Pammenes was at Maroneia in spring 353 B.C. and Neon was therefore in 354 B.C., the date given by Diodorus for Neon is supported by Dionysius.

Finally, we must consider the date of the declaration of war by the Amphictyony, which Diodorus places in 355/4 and the Beloch-Cloché-Kahrstedt group moves forward to 356/5. Now, the independent evidence is clear and emphatic; Aeschines twice,⁶³ Callisthenes,⁶⁴ Duris,⁶⁵ and Pausanias⁶⁶ four times define the war as lasting ten years. The title of this war in Callisthenes, Duris and Pausanias is the 'Sacred War,' and in Aeschines, and sometimes in Pausanias, the 'Phocian war'; in view of the datum of ten years duration, both titles must refer to the same war, the latter title being explained by the Phocian sympathies of Aeschines. Upon the precise limits of this ἱερὸς πόλεμος there can be no question: it must be declared and ended by a religious organisation, in this case the Delphic Amphictyony; fortunately, the date of the Amphictyonic meeting, which concluded the war and passed sentence on Phocis, is fixed to autumn 346 B.C. in the Attic year 346/5. We have, then, a *point d'appui* for fixing the beginning of the Sacred War, the declaration by the Amphictyony: the reckoning of the ten years must be inclusive and in terms of Attic years, as is clear from Pausanias' attempt⁶⁷ to date the war from 357/6 to 348/7 in accordance with the ten-years tradition. Then the Sacred War, which ended in the tenth year in 346/5, was declared in the Attic year 355/4. Thus we find four authors, two of whom were contemporaries of the war, in support of

⁶¹ Polyaeus iv. 2,22. Cf. P.-C., p. 169, n. 5, whom I follow against B. 2, p. 283.

⁶² B. 2, p. 269, cf. p. 261, simply discards Dionysius as he does Diodorus: his chief argument, that because Chares left Asia in autumn 355 Pammenes took his place in spring 354, seems a remarkable *non sequitur*. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien*, p. 211, dates Pammenes mission to spring 353 B.C. from

evidence of Persian chronology, which is, however, itself inconclusive.

⁶³ ii. 131; iii. 148.

⁶⁴ Fr. 1 J. II.b., p. 639.

⁶⁵ Fr. 1 J. II.a., p. 138.

⁶⁶ ix. 6, 1; x. 2, 2; 3, 1; 8, 2.

⁶⁷ x. 3, 1.

Diodorus' date; and the arguments of the Beloch-Cloch -Kahrstedt group, with whose theory this evidence conflicts, are in my opinion unconvincing.⁶⁸

III. We are now in a position to summarise our chronological conclusions. The chronology offered by Diodorus is supported by independent evidence at four salient points—namely, the seizure of the temple, the declaration of war by the Amphictyony, the battle of Neon, and the battle of the Crocus Field. Of the doublists, the Schaefer group rejects the evidence of Pausanias; of the other group, Cloch  and Kahrstedt wrench Neon away from Pammenes' mission, and Beloch rejects the evidence of Dionysius to keep Neon to 355 B.C., and then all three advance to reject the evidence of Demosthenes for Thermopylae and the evidence of four authors for the duration of the Sacred War.

Both groups, of course, reject some of Diodorus' dates; the second group rejects three dates for salient points in the war, and, in view of the vogue they enjoy in general histories, I should like to pose them a question. If Diodorus used on the one hand a chronographic source and on the other a narrative source or sources, a narrative doublet does not *ipso facto* affect citations from the chronographic source, *e.g.* in the present case the dates given for the declaration of war (23,1), for the battle of Neon (30,4-5), and for the death of Onomarchus (35,6). When, therefore, they see fit to move these three citations forward by one year apiece, do they assume that Diodorus, perceiving the effect but not the fact of his doublet, altered the citations from his date-table to fit his narrative? Or do they assume a happy coincidence, whereby the date-table erred by just such an interval as to fit exactly the proportions of this monstrous narrative doublet? Or do they frankly reject as worthless a date-table, which is proved to be reliable for Greek affairs in the remainder of book xvi?⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Summarised in C. 1, pp. 40-52; I discuss elsewhere (*CQ* xxxi. 2, 1937) the references of Diodorus to the duration and nomenclature of the war, for they have no direct bearing on the chronological problem. My view is that Demophilus called his history after the Phocian adventurers, *i.e.* his war lasted eleven years, from 357/6 seizure of Delphi to 347/6 capitulation of Phalaecus; both Diodorus and Pausanias confused the two traditions of Demophilus and Callisthenes.

⁶⁹ The following dates are confirmed by independent evidence: 360/59 accession of Philip (B. 2, p. 60); 358/7 stasis in Euboea (*IG*² II. i. 124 and Foucart, *RA* xxxv. pp. 227 f.); 356/5 defeat of the Cetriporis coalition (H. and H., 131; K., p. 40); 356/5 Embata (*IG* II. ii. 794, col. C, l. 90, and K hler, *AM* VI. p. 30); 353/2 cleruchies sent to Chersonese (*IG* II. ii. 795, f. 134); 349/8 Philip attacks Chalcidice (terminus post quem in Dem. *Olynthiacs*); 348/7 fall of Olynthus (B. 2, p. 279); 346/5 Amphictyonic sentence on Phocis (Naopoiol lists, etc.); 341/0 Phocion ousts Cleitarchus (*IG*² II. i. 230); 341/0 siege of Perinthus begun (B. 2, p. 294); 340/39 Athens declares war (Philoch. fr. 135); 338/7

Chaeronea (B. 2, pp. 288 f.); 337/6 declaration of war against Persia (*Oxyrh. Pap.* I. 26 f.); 336/5 death of Philip (*IG*² II. i. 240 and B. 2, p. 60).

Against these may be set two passages in D., which give an incorrect dating: 7,3 to 8,7 outbreak of the Social War and Philip's progress until the foundation of Philippi ascribed to 358/7 (Dionys. *Lys.* 12, p. 480, and B. 2, pp. 258 f.), and 14,1 murder of Alexander of Pherae ascribed to 357/6 (B. 2, pp. 83-84). But the error in each case seems to lie with D., and not with the date-table. For in 7,2 it is probable that the phrase ἀμα δὲ τοῦτοις marks a date-table citation, while 7,3-4 derives from a narrative source; similarly, 8,1 limits the chronology by the phrase πρὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς to Philip's return from Illyria, while the two connections μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (8,2 and 8,6), together with the last sentence of 8,7, suggest that D. has carried his narrative beyond the confines set to this year by his date-table; finally, in the case of Alexander it is possible that D. means to date the intervention of Philip, and not the death of Alexander to 357/6, since he has already (at xv. 61,2) foreshadowed the death of Alexander as falling in 358/7.

D. THE NAOPOIOI LISTS AT DELPHI.

These lists, which are reproduced later in this section, were originally dated by Homolle,⁷⁰ who equated the Delphic archon Aristoxenus with the Attic archon Elpines (356/5). This dating was supported by Cloché⁷¹ and Beloch⁷²; Beloch further introduced an argument from evidence external to the lists, which was not employed by Homolle. Pausanias x. 2.2 states that the temple was seized when Heracleides was prytanis at Delphi and Agathocles was archon at Athens (357/6); and in the Naopoi lists the Delphic archon preceding Aristoxenus is named Heracleius. Beloch then equated the Heracleides of Pausanias with the Heracleius of the inscription,⁷³ and so provided a second pillar of support for Homolle's dating.

Until recently this dating was accepted; it has now been challenged by Bourguet.⁷⁴ His arguments are based mainly upon the failure of the internal evidence of the lists to square with the orthodox (*i.e.* doublist) chronology of the Sacred War. For instance, upon comparing Beloch's dating of the lists with Beloch's reconstruction of the war, we find that the Amphictyony declared war at the autumn meeting of 356 B.C., but the entry in the lists under 353 B.C. τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πράτταν δόσιν argues that war was not in fact declared⁷⁵ at the autumn meeting of 356 B.C.; as Bourguet exclaims, 'je préfère insister sur ce qui est sur: le début de la guerre sacrée est marquée par la πρᾶτα δόσις, etc.'⁷⁶ Secondly, we find that, according to Beloch, Onomarchus came into office for the year 354 B.C., established wide diplomatic connections, and won considerable successes; yet in this year the Naopoi lists record no meeting.

Bourguet therefore re-dates the lists from Heracleius 360/59. His results seem to me untenable; the absence of all delegates except those of Phocis and of Phocian allies in 359 B.C. autumn and 358 B.C. spring is explained by Bourguet as due to Theban loss of control at Delphi; yet there is every reason to believe that Theban hegemony in central Greece was unshaken until the secession of Euboea in 357 B.C. Again, he has to suggest a new chronology for the Sacred War to fit his theory; he places the declaration of war by the Amphictyony in late winter, say January 356 B.C., at an exceptional meeting,⁷⁷ but this conflicts with the evidence of a ten-years war and throws the chronology and narrative of Diodorus into even worse confusion. Also, Phocis is made to start the Sacred War in 356 B.C. spring with a full concert of allies or neutrals in the list of Nicon's year, and the meetings end after spring 354 B.C., which according to his chronology marks the middle of Onomarchus' successful career.

⁷⁰ BCH xxii. pp. 608, 625.

⁷¹ BCH xl. pp. 78 f., *e.g.* p. 102.

⁷² B. 2, p. 264.

⁷³ The Greek is Ἡρακλίδου and Ἡρακλείου; but I do not subscribe to Beloch's emendation; it is more probable that Pausanias or his source misquoted the name. Prytanis is also an error for archon.

⁷⁴ Fouilles de Delphes, III. 5, pp. 8 f. (1932).

⁷⁵ B. 2, pp. 265-266, defines the war not by declaration of war but by the beginning of actual

hostilities; this seems to me special pleading.

⁷⁶ Bourguet here overstrains his point; the entry marks not the declaration of war, but the first mention of the war in the history of the meetings. It proves that, if war was declared at a regular meeting (as B. 2, p. 266, n. 1, argues), then it was declared either in the years when there was no meeting or in spring 353 B.C.

⁷⁷ Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 11, n. 8.

The answer to Bourguet's challenge is that the external evidence does date the lists; the failure of the internal evidence of the lists to square with the orthodox chronology proves, not that the lists are wrongly dated, but that the orthodox chronology is wrong. As we shall now show, the lists, correctly dated by Homolle and Beloch, support ⁷⁸ the narrative and the chronology of Diodorus, as interpreted in section A, at every point.

The list thus dated reads as follows:—

<i>Archon</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>States represented</i>
Heracleius	spring 356 B.C.	ἐπιστειλάντων τῶν ναοποιῶν πάντων.
Aristoxenus	July 356 B.C.	Delphi, Sparta, Phocis.
"	autumn 356 B.C.	Delphi, Argos, Sicyon, Corinth.
"	spring 355 B.C.	οὐ συνῆλθον.
Hierinus	autumn 355 B.C.	οὐ συνῆλθον.
"	spring 354 B.C.	οὐ συνῆλθον.
Nicon	autumn 354 B.C.	οὐ συνῆλθον.
"	spring 353 B.C.	τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πράταν δόσιν. Delphi, Athens, Locris, Megara, Epidaurus, Sparta, Corinth, Phocis.
Autias	autumn 353 B.C.	Delphi, Megara, Athens, Sicyon, Locris.
"	spring 352 B.C.	Delphi, Athens, Corinth, Phocis.
Theucharis	autumn 352 B.C.	Delphi, Corinth, Epidaurus, Sparta.
"	spring 351 B.C.	Delphi, Sparta, Phleius.

From 351 spring to 346 autumn there are no records of archons or representatives on the inscription, which continues without lacuna to

Damoxenus autumn 346 B.C. ἐπεὶ ἂ ἐράνα ἐγένετο, συνῆλθον.

The first three entries show that in spring 356 B.C. conditions were normal at Delphi, in July an exceptional meeting was held, attended only by Phocis and Sparta, and in autumn only Peloponnesian powers attended. The implication is, that between spring and July Philomelus seized Delphi, was recognised in July by Sparta, and in autumn by other Peloponnesian states. Diodorus places the seizure of Delphi in 357/6 (14,3), records the complicity of Sparta (24,1-2), and records the alliance or neutrality of Peloponnesian states later in the war (27,5; 29, 1 fin.; 60,2)⁷⁹; the victories of Philomelus (25) explain how Delphi became accessible to Peloponnesian states by autumn 356 B.C.

The two blank years, 355 B.C. and 354 B.C., imply that war prevented attendance. As Diodorus (28-31,6) shows, a major campaign started in spring 355 B.C., led to the declaration of the Amphictyonic war in autumn 355 B.C., and continued until Philomelus' death at Neon in autumn 354 B.C.; his account also shows that Philomelus at first respected the routine at Delphi (24,5; 27,3), but later plundered the Delphians (28,2) and finally the sanctuary (30,1).

The entry 'the first payment in the war' implies not necessarily that the war started in spring 353 B.C., but that it began later than the last recorded meeting, *i.e.* after autumn 356 B.C., and before summer 353 B.C.

⁷⁸ Cf. Cloché *BCH* xl. pp. 82-116 for the historical significance of the lists in general; Bourguet, p. 10, accepts Cloché's conclusion that the states there represented are 'de bon gré ou par force' allied with Phocis.

⁷⁹ Flathe, Reiske, Vogel, Voemel, and Weiske consider Κορινθίους in this passage to be corrupt; the prominence of Corinth in the Naopoioi lists proves their suspicions to be superfluous.

The war in question must be the war from the point of view of the Naopoioi, i.e. the Sacred War proper, declared by the Delphic Amphictyony. Diodorus (23,1; 28,4) places the declaration by the Amphictyony in 355/4. The resumption of meetings and the large number of representatives imply a change of policy in the Phocian commander and a successful exercise of diplomacy in the winter 354/3. Diodorus records the succession of Onomarchus after Neon in that winter (31,6) and the effect of his diplomacy and bribery upon his allies (33,2-3); he also records the subjugation of Locris (33,3), which accounts for the presence of a Locrian representative in the list.⁸⁰

The remaining meetings down to spring 351 B.C. show that a consistent policy was maintained by the Phocian commander, that Athens took a prominent part in 353 B.C. and spring 352 B.C., and that after spring 352 B.C. Sparta was prominent. Diodorus (36,1; 37,2) shows that, after the death of Onomarchus in early 352 B.C., Phayllus continued the policy of alliances, that Athens (35,5; 37,3; 38,2) assisted Onomarchus and Phayllus in 352 B.C., and that in the Attic year 352/1 (39) Phocis assisted Sparta in the Peloponnese. The absence of meetings after spring 351 B.C. coincides with the exhaustion of Phocis recorded in Diodorus under 351/0 (40,2) and probably⁸¹ with the succession of Phalaecus (38,6), who even excavated the temple in search of funds (56,7).

Finally, the last entry shows that the Sacred War, waged by the Amphictyony, was concluded in autumn 346 B.C. Diodorus describes the summoning of the Council in 346/5 (59,4 and 60) and the measures passed upon the sacrilegious Phocians.⁸²

E. MINOR CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF 357 B.C.-351 B.C.

Before reconstructing a historical narrative of the Sacred War, we must endeavour to date such minor events as have hitherto been dated by reference to the chronological systems of the doublist groups.

The Chronology of Events in Diodorus, ch. 34. This chapter is embedded in a narrative block (32-36 sub 353/2), which, as the doublists are agreed,⁸³ contains events spanning a greater interval of time than the one Attic year 353/2; this block must, therefore, be redistributed. As we have already shown (pp. 56 ff.), chs. 32-33 (the spring operations after Neon) belong, in fact, to the Attic year 354/3 and ch. 35,4 f. (campaign of the Crocus Field) to the Attic year 353/2. To which, then, of these Attic years do the intervening chapters belong?

The text supplies some clues. The connecting phrase at 34,1 and again at 34,3 is ἀμὰ δὲ τοῖς; therefore, ch. 34 should follow ch. 33 into the year 354/3. The connecting phrase at 35,1 is μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, which

⁸⁰ Incidentally the appearance of Locris and Athens in the list suggests that IG² II. i. 148, recording an alliance between Locris and Athens, should be dated to 353 B.C., and is evidence not, as P.-C., p. 174, maintains, of a *rapprochement* between Athens and Thebes, but between Athens and Phocis.

⁸¹ As the reference falls in a passage of bunched

narrative in Diodorus, the precise date is uncertain.

⁸² The ultimate source of this passage in Diodorus and also of ch. 29, giving the sides taken by Amphictyonic States at the declaration of war, was probably a quotation of official documents at Delphi.

⁸³ Cf. B. 2, p. 267.

implies an interval of time between this and the preceding chapter; therefore, ch. 35 should mark the commencement of the year 353/2. Secondly, the content of these chapters supplies two criteria for dating; in 34,1-2 is recorded the departure of Pammenes, which we have already dated to spring 353 B.C., in the Attic year 354/3, and in 34,5 the fall of Methone, an event which Diodorus has dated by citation from the chronological table to 354/3 (31,6), and which we have seen belongs to that Attic year. We conclude, then, that ch. 34 *in toto* dates to 354/3, and in part to the latter half of that year, i.e. early 353 B.C., and that ch. 35 dates to 353/2 and 35,1-2 more precisely to the earlier half of that year, i.e. late 353 B.C.⁸⁴

The events narrated in these chapters are as follows: in 34, a short war between Argos and Sparta, the capture of Sestos by Chares, and a *rapprochement* between Athens and Cersobleptes due to alienation from Philip—these events should belong to early 353 B.C.; and in ch. 35,1-2, the entry of Philip into Thessaly and his two defeats at the hands of Onomarchus—this campaign should belong to late 353 B.C. Let us now compare these conclusions with the doublist dating.

In *Thessalian affairs* Beloch⁸⁵ detects a doublet; he notes the fall of Pagasae recorded sub 354/3 from the date-table (31,6), compares the passage in Demosthenes (*Phil.* i. 36), stating that an Athenian squadron arrived too late to relieve Pagasae, and observes in Diodorus an invitation to Philip to enter Thessaly (35,1) and the mysterious appearance of a fleet under Chares (35,5) in the Pagasae Gulf at the time of the battle of the Crocus Field: 'dies Geschwader ist doch offenbar dasselbe,' he continues, '... also ist Pagasae kurz vor Onomarchus' Niederlage genommen worden.' Beloch on this reconstruction gives the following narrative: in late spring 354 B.C. Philip, having taken Methone, answered the invitation of Teisiphonus, defeated Phayllus, was defeated twice by Onomarchus, and evacuated Thessaly (autumn 354 B.C.), but re-entered Thessaly in spring 353 B.C., captured Pagasae before Athenian help arrived, and defeated Onomarchus at the Crocus Field when Chares was present, too late to save Pagasae, but in time to save the troops of Onomarchus.

Now this is an able reconstruction, but its ability does not absolve it from closer inspection. The liberties which Beloch takes with the text of Diodorus are considerable: as we have analysed the narrative, the fall of Pagasae is dated by Diodorus to 354/3 and, more precisely, to 354 B.C. autumn, for it comes expressly after the fall of Methone (Μεθώνην μὲν ... κατέσκαψε, Παγασᾶς⁸⁶ δὲ χειρωσάμενος ἠνάγκασεν ὑποταγῆναι); the response of Philip to Teisiphonus' invitation occurs in late summer 353 B.C. sub 353/2, and the defeat of Onomarchus and presence of Chares' fleet occur in spring-summer 352 B.C. sub 353/2. Thus, as compared with our own interpretation of Diodorus, Beloch brings Pagasae down from autumn

⁸⁴ This overlap in the narrative of Diodorus is understandable, when we reflect that he had compressed under the years 355/4 and 354/3 a narrative of events covering four Attic years (357/3).

⁸⁵ B. 2, pp. 268 f.

⁸⁶ This correction of the MSS. παγᾶς, accepted by Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. xi. p. 261 n., and by JHS.—VOL. LVII.

S. 1², p. 509, n. 2, is certainly right; Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone*, p. 104, n. 3, accepts the correction, but his reason for holding the reference to Pagasae worthless ('perchè la cronologia è sbagliata e provocata nel cronografo seguito da Diodoro dall' attrazione del nome di Metone') seems inadequate.

354 B.C. to spring 352 B.C., pushes the events of late summer 353 B.C. in front of the mention of Pagasae, and equates the τυχικῶς παραπλέοντος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Χάρητος (35.5) with a mission to save Pagasae: in other words, he rejects the quotation from the date-table at 31.6, which places in the same year Methone and Pagasae, he rejects the date there given as 354/3 for Methone, moving it to 355/4, and he rejects the date there given for Pagasae, moving it to 353/2: Diodorus' date-table was, Beloch supposes, as incorrect as Diodorus' narrative.

To this re-shuffling of Diodorus we cannot subscribe, nor do we find any external evidence to support Beloch's interpretation. Demosthenes refers to the siege of Pagasae (*Olynth.* i. 9 Πύδνα, Ποτείδαια, Μεθώνη, Παγασαί τάλλα . . . πολιορκούμενα), to the settlement made by Philip of the affairs of Pagasae, before his departure to Thrace (*ibid.* 12-13, λαβὼν . . . πάλιν Ποτείδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἶτα Θετταλίας ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φεράς, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν, πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετ' εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ὥχεται εἰς Θράκην), and to the failure of the relief expeditions 'to Methone, to Pagasae, to Potidaea' (*Phil.* i. 35); from these three passages no inference can be deduced to date the capture of Pagasae precisely, for in the second passage εὐτρεπίσας⁸⁷ refers to the settlement of Thessaly (after the Crocus Field). Indeed, if the second passage is to be stressed at all, it implies two entries into Thessaly, one after the fall of Methone and the other before the settlement made in Thessaly before he went to Thrace. On the other hand there is little external evidence⁸⁸ to discountenance Beloch's view: it may, indeed, be urged that it is strange that Demosthenes refers so often to the great success of the Athenian expedition to Thermopylae, proposed by his political opponent Diophantus,⁸⁹ if the failure to save Pagasae, at which he waxes so hot, occurred only two months earlier in the same year; but such an *argumentum ex silentio* has little validity.⁹⁰

The final test, then, for the dating of Pagasae's fall must depend on the reader's opinion of the latitude permissible in twisting Diodorus about, and then upon the question of probability in the narrative so evolved. I prefer to keep Diodorus as he stands, and explain the position of Thessalian affairs in the following manner.

United under Thebes in 362 B.C., Thessaly quickly split into two rival factions: the Thessalian League, allied with Athens in 361/0 and with Philip in the winter of 357/6,⁹¹ and the tyrants of Pherae, allied with

⁸⁷ Cloché (C. 1, p. 74), who concludes from this passage that 'Pagases n'a donc pas succombé avant Pherés,' not only mistranslates εὐτρεπίσας as 'occupant,' but also endeavours to press the sequence of names to a chronological meaning, which is not justified by the third passage (cf. also B. 2, p. 268 n.), and is in itself highly improbable, for why should Pherae capitulate before her port Pagasae and her hinterland Magnesia were captured?

⁸⁸ E.g. Theopompus bk. ix. (J. 115, F 78, 81, 82), mentioning Tempe, Pharcadon, and Philip's agent in Perrhaebia, should probably be dated to 354 B.C., since bk. viii., with its reference to the members of the Amphictyony (F 63), reaches autumn 355 B.C.,

bk. x. refers to Eubulus (F 99, 100) à propos of the Theoric Fund established 354 B.C., and bk. xi. (F 101) contains a reference to Amadocus dating to after 353 B.C. summer. But restoration of Theopompus' chronology is too conjectural for our purpose.

⁸⁹ Dem. xix. 86: Diophantus was Theoric Commissioner 350-346.

⁹⁰ E.g. Dem. xix. 319 omits to mention the presence of Spartan and Achaean troops at Thermopylae; most scholars infer from Diodorus that they were present.

⁹¹ Despite B. 1, p. 228, n. 1, I consider D.'s date 357/6 more probable than the winter 358/7. The death of Alexander in the latter half of 358 B.C.

Thebes in the time of Alexander and again in spring 357 B.C.⁹² After the seizure of Delphi, Theban diplomacy succeeded in reuniting Thessaly under her influence; Thessaly joined in the Amphictyonic declaration of war in autumn 355 B.C., and a Thessalian army of 6000 marched south in the spring of 354 B.C. The defeat at Argolas evidently ended their participation in the campaign (for they are not mentioned in the operations which culminated at Neon)⁹³ and ended their short-lived unity. In the summer of 354 B.C. both sides sought alliances; the Thessalian League must have invited their trusted ally, Philip, who had just captured Methone, to enter Thessaly and invest Pagasae; the tyrants of Pherae could expect little help from their former ally, Thebes, deeply engaged in the campaign against Phocis and cut off from Thermopylae, and therefore turned to Athens, the rival of Philip in north Greece. The result was that Philip captured Pagasae in late autumn 354 B.C., the Athenian relief-expedition arrived too late, and found the city occupied by a Macedonian garrison and the routes through Tempe and Perrhaebia in Philip's hands.⁹⁴

In the winter of 354 B.C. Onomarchus bribed his way into Thessalian politics and secured Thessalian neutrality to cover his operations in spring 353 B.C. His new ally was probably Lycophron of Pherae, for, when Philip returned at the invitation of the Thessalian League in summer 353 B.C., Lycophron appealed for assistance from Phocis; by autumn 353 B.C. Philip was forced to evacuate Thessaly. In the following spring he returned, and was faced by Onomarchus and an Athenian fleet, which Beloch explains by his assumption of a quasi-doublet in Diodorus.

The campaign of the Crocus Field presents one peculiarity; Onomarchus, without a cavalry reinforcement from Pherae, fought the decisive battle in a coastal plain against an enemy strong in cavalry; and yet by following the hilly route to Pherae he could have neutralised Philip's superiority in cavalry. In an experienced commander such action can be explained only by the desire to co-operate with a naval force; and Diodorus (35.5) records that, at the time of the battle, a large Athenian fleet was coasting along beside the army. The fleet under Chares, then, was actually co-operating with Onomarchus, and Diodorus is mistaken in saying that

(D. xv. 61, 2: cf. B. 2, p. 83) was followed by an interval during which Teisiphonus posed as a τυραννοκτόνος, was the proposed recipient of Isocrates' advice, and made an alliance with Athens (Isoc. *Ep.* vi. 3), whose policy was doubtless to extend her 361/0 alliance with the Thessalian League to cover also the liberated Pherae; but by spring 357 B.C. Teisiphonus had assumed the tyranny, renewed the Theban alliance of Alexander, and acted in Euboea against Athens. The inference, then, is that Athens, and not Philip, was the ally of the Thessalian League in 358/7; only when Athens was engaged in the Social War did the Thessalian League desert Athens and invoke Philip, the ally of Amphipolis and of the Chalcidian League, i.e. in the winter of 357/6 as recorded by D. xvi. 14.2. To this interpretation the mention of Amphipolis' fall closely followed by a fragment dealing with Thessaly

lends some support (Theop. iii. F 42 and 48).

⁹² Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 4, 37; Schol. Aristeid., p. 298 (Dind.)

⁹³ B. 1, p. 250, argues that they were present; his contention, that otherwise the Boeotian coalition could not field 13,000 men, rests upon the assumption that the 6000 Boeotian hoplites present at Leuctra provide a reliable basis for estimating the Boeotian forces of 355 B.C. But such a figure does not explain the ability of Thebes to send 5000 men to Asia in 354/3 and 4500 men to the Peloponnese in 352/1; we should rather estimate the Boeotian forces at some 9000 as a minimum, and add thereto her Locrian allies. If the aggregate 13,000 contains any Thessalians, it can only be a portion of the Thessalian 6000, and a portion implies a split in the Thessalian ranks.

⁹⁴ Diod. xvi. 31, 6; Theop. F. 78 and 81.

its presence was fortuitous⁹⁵; but there is no reason for assuming, as Beloch does, that the fleet was sent to the relief of Pagasae. Co-operation with Onomarchus is sufficient explanation in itself; and such co-operation is consistent with the Athenian *rapprochement* to Phocis after Neon, the friendship of Chares and Onomarchus,⁹⁶ and the Athenian fear of Philip's growing power.

As Beloch⁹⁷ has employed *the war in the Peloponnese* to support his chronology of the Sacred War, we must inspect his method there. The Argos-Sparta War culminating at the battle of Orneae in Argive territory (34.3), after which the victorious Spartans returned home, falls, upon our reconstruction, in summer 353 B.C. Now in 39.1 Diodorus introduces under the year 352/1 a general war in the Peloponnese, beginning with a frontier dispute between Sparta and Megalopolis and developing into a coalition of Sparta, Phocis and Lycophron's mercenaries on the one side and Megalopolis, Thebes, Argos, Sicyon and Messene on the other. The operations are described at some length: they include a strategical movement by the Spartans, who slip the enemy at Mantinea, lay siege to Orneae, and inflict a loss of 200 upon the Argives before the coalition forces led by the Boeotian troops arrive; a battle ensues which is indecisive and the Spartans return, capturing a city in Arcadia, to Sparta. After three battles favouring the Theban coalition and one favouring the Spartans, a truce is made and hostilities cease.

Upon the chronology of these events, Demosthenes' speech for the Megalopolitans throws some light, since at the time of the speech hostilities had not commenced, but both parties were soliciting Athens' alliance; further, the hope there expressed (31), that Thebes may be worn down, suggests that Onomarchus was still on the wave of success, *i.e.* the speech must have been delivered before the battle of the Crocus Field. Dionysius dates the speech to 353/2, and this we may define as some date in the winter of 353-2 B.C., the normal time for Greek embassies preliminary to warfare.

Now Beloch has to defend his chronology dating the death of Onomarchus to 353 B.C.: Dionysius' date is therefore to be rejected, and the date changed to 354/3.⁹⁸

He further considers the two Peloponnesian wars in Diodorus to be a doublet; 'Diodor erzählt die Schlacht bei Orneae zweimal: *nach der chronographischen Quelle* (34.3). . . .' But this is surely a mistake; for, in dealing with the case of Methone, he considers the *chronographische Quelle* to be not 34.4, but 31.6⁹⁹: in actual fact, the two references to war in the Peloponnese 34.3 and 39.1 are exactly parallel, both introduced by ἀμὰ δὲ τοῦτοις and both from a narrative source. Regarding the first reference, however, as chronographic source, he proceeds to apply the golden rule that the chronographic source prevails, a rule which he has broken in the case of

⁹⁵ xvi. 35, 5 τυχαίως παραπλέοντος; whether the mistake arises from D.'s lack of tactical insight or from Athenian attempts to clear themselves of complicity with Phocis, must be a matter of conjecture.

⁹⁶ Theop. J. 115, F. 249.

⁹⁷ B. 2, pp. 270 f.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 271 'Dionysios' chronologische Ansätze sind bekanntlich keineswegs unbedingt zuverlässig'!

⁹⁹ The quotation from the chronographic source for the year narrated 32-36 appears clearly in 36.

Pagasae (31,6), and equates the two, bringing both into the year 353/2. By this method he produces the embassies and speech of Demosthenes early spring 353 B.C., death of Onomarchus late spring, Spartan and Achaean forces at Thermopylae in summer, and the battle of Orneae in midsummer 352 B.C.

How do these passages in Diodorus affect the chronology proposed on our interpretation of the Sacred War? We begin with Dionysius' date 353/2 for Demosthenes' speech, which must precede both the battle of the Crocus Field in spring 352 B.C. and the outbreak of hostilities between Megalopolis and Sparta. As we do not wish to appear fanatical in our disbelief of narrative doublets, let us give the alternative views. Assuming that Diodorus has committed a doublet, we choose his second narrative, as being the major of two accounts, both deriving from a narrative source; that gives us the opening of hostilities in 352/1. The honour of our chronology is then satisfied without violence to Dionysius.

But it is odd that Diodorus, when in the full stride of his account of the Sacred War, should only mention the battle of Orneae at 34,3 and altogether neglect the fact that the Thebans were the decisive factor (39,5 the major battle: the victory over the Argives causing the loss of 200 men seems too small an event to stand out as the one incident in the war worthy of repetition), and that the Phocians, too, and the Thessalians of Lycophron (39,3) were engaged on the Spartan side; for this is the omission which Diodorus must, on the doublet theory, have made. Is it not more reasonable, in view of the fact that the one is a battle recorded as a victory by Sparta over Argos and the other as an indecisive engagement between a Spartan-Phocian coalition and a Theban-Peloponnesian coalition, to accept the tradition that there were two wars? The first war was symptomatic of the general unrest, but confined to Sparta and Argos; the second war involved the Peloponnesian and central Greek states; and in both wars Orneae, an important strategic point like Mantinea, lent its name to a battle? If it be so, then the first small war lies on our assessment of the narrative 32-34 in the first half of the year 353 B.C., the embassies and speech of Demosthenes fall into the winter of 353 B.C. (Dionysius' date 353/2), and the major war commences in 352/1 after the affair at Thermopylae.¹⁰⁰

Lastly we have the capture of Sestos by Chares and the rapprochement of Athens and Cersobleptes to consider: Diodorus, we have seen, places these events within the early half of 353 B.C. The meeting of Pammenes, Philip and Cersobleptes was held early in the year, probably in spring, and Chares reported the situation in a despatch from Thracian waters.¹⁰¹ The Philip-Cersobleptes pact drove Amadocus into the arms of Athens, and he achieved some success in checking Philip; according to Diodorus' account, Chares then took Sestos, Cersobleptes διὰ τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριότητα (the pact probably was not at Philip's expense, for he had already reached Abdera) made an agreement with Athens, and cleruchies were sent to the Chersonese. As the inscription (IG II. ii. 795, f. 134) places the despatch

¹⁰⁰ Pausanias' (viii. 27, 9-10) narrative of the Megalopolis-Sparta war is too short to be of value for either theory.

¹⁰¹ Dem. xxiii. 183.

of cleruchs for the Chersonese in 353/2, there is no reason to doubt the chronology of Diodorus.

The dating, however, of the mission of Aristomachus is much disputed and might be employed against us: we shall therefore endeavour to fix it down. Dionysius dates the speech of Demosthenes against Aristocrates to 352/1, and Beloch,¹⁰² who on this occasion trusts Dionysius, argues from §§ 92-94 of the speech that the mission reached Athens a year earlier, *i.e.* in 353/2; this, however, is not accepted by Cloché¹⁰³ (who dates the mission to 356 B.C.), and is clearly not a certain deduction; while Kahle¹⁰⁴ contends that the mission must be dated to winter, between January and March, 353 B.C., *i.e.* in 354/3. But, as the question depends mainly upon the chronological background evolved by the doublist groups, it is better to treat the matter direct. There are two conditions necessary for the mission of Aristomachus: (1) the season January-March with no Athenian fleet present in the Hellespont (§ 179); and (2) some prospect of a diplomatic opening for Cersobleptes at Athens; for Cersobleptes, who intended to unite the Odrysian empire by attacking the sons of Berisades and Amadocus, sent his envoy to Athens for a treaty of friendship,¹⁰⁵ with an offer to help Athens regain Amphipolis from Philip; we therefore require a date when Athens might be expected to join him against Philip.

These conditions are met by the situation in 353 B.C. January-March. The offer to regain Amphipolis suggests that Cersobleptes, after the defeat of the 356 B.C. coalition which included Cetriporis, the fall of Methone and of Pagasae in 354 B.C., and the advance of Philip along the Thracian coast beyond Crenides and Neapolis,¹⁰⁶ realised that Philip was a menace both to himself and to the allies of Athens on the Thracian coast; he therefore was anxious to secure the assistance of Athens against Philip. Athens, on the other hand, had failed to save Pagasae, Methone, Potidaea and Amphipolis, and had found it necessary to help Neapolis; there was good reason for Cersobleptes to hope that his offer would be acceptable at Athens. And so it proved; it is true that the decree of Aristocrates, supporting the pact with Cersobleptes, was impeached; but, since Demosthenes, by preaching his own doctrine of the balance of power, is so eager to prove that it was a wrong policy to propose the support of Cersobleptes, we suspect that there was at the time of the proposal a party which favoured unity with Cersobleptes against Philip. The motives on both sides then fulfil condition (2) for our date 353 B.C. As regards condition (1) the despatch of fleets to the help of Methone and Pagasae in the second half of 354 B.C., and the peace prevalent in the east Aegean, make it probable that Athens having withdrawn her eastern fleet in late 354 B.C. for service nearer home, had no fleet in the Hellespont in spring 353 B.C.

¹⁰² B. 2, p. 281.

¹⁰³ *Mélanges Glotz* (1932) I. pp. 215-226.

¹⁰⁴ F. Kahle, *De Demosthenis orationum Androtioneae Timocrateae Aristocrateae temporibus* (Diss. Göttingen, 1909), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁵ Demosthenes, in the interest of his client, naturally interprets the whole as a treacherous plot against Athens, aided and abetted by Aristocrates,

but it would be highly uncritical to accept Demosthenes' tendentious and far-fetched account.

¹⁰⁶ We know little of Philip in 355 B.C. Neapolis appealed to Athens for help in 355 B.C. (*IG* II. i. 66), and by 354 B.C. he had reached Maroneia. It is probable that he advanced over the area between the two in 355 B.C., for in 354 B.C. he was busy besieging Methone and Pagasae.

We can then place the mission of Aristomachus between January and March 353 B.C.; the refusal reached Cersobleptes, when he was already engaged in hostilities with the minor kings of western and central Thrace, and Philip took advantage of their war to advance along the coast as far as Abdera. He was, however, joined by Pammenes, who sponsored a meeting between Cersobleptes and Philip, and secured a free passage through Thrace (Philip being evidently already friendly to Thebes, perhaps through his action against the tyrants of Pherae who had deserted Thebes in the Sacred War and joined Onomarchus): Cersobleptes, finding himself in the position he dreaded, at war with the minor Thracian kings and not assisted by Athens, who had, on the contrary, already sent Chares with a fleet against him, was prepared to make an agreement with Philip, before his Thracian enemies forestalled him. The invitation from Thessaly then drew Philip westwards; Cersobleptes was left at peace with Philip but fully aware of the danger inherent in the growing power of Macedonia. Chares meanwhile took Sestos, and Cersobleptes, faced by the prospect of a war, which would be dangerous now that Athens had a base in the Chersonese, thereupon decided to negotiate with Athens; she accepted his friendship on terms satisfactory to herself (midsummer 353 B.C.).¹⁰⁷

It is convenient to end this section with a statement of the dates adopted in the next section for *the Social War*. The outbreak of the revolt autumn 357 B.C.; the battle of Chios in early spring¹⁰⁸ and the garrisoning of the islands in May 356 B.C.¹⁰⁹; the equipping of the second fleet and the increase of the fleet to 120 ships during summer to early autumn¹¹⁰; the battle of Embata late autumn; the entry of Chares into the service of Artabazus early winter¹¹¹; and his great victory over the Great King's generals in early spring 355 B.C., followed by the conclusion of peace in midsummer.¹¹²

SUMMARY

The intensive study, to which the Sacred War has been subjected, has frequently tended to separate that war from the general history of the period—to the detriment of both; for instance, the interaction of the Sacred

¹⁰⁷ Cloché's arguments against 353 B.C. (*Mélanges Glotz* I, p. 223) depend upon his doubtful chronology of the Sacred War, and the false deduction that, because Sestos was captured in 353/2 and Chares reported the meeting at Maroneia, there must have been an Athenian fleet in the Hellespont during the winter months, January–March 353 B.C. His own arguments (p. 218) for 356 B.C. strain the Greek too precise a translation, and his contention that the Athenians had no fleet in the Hellespont in 356 B.C., the very height of the Social War with Athens cut off from the naval base at Samos, is untenable. Pickard-Cambridge, *CAH* p. 218, places the capture of Sestos in 352 B.C.; I see no reason for changing the date from the position it holds in Diodorus' narrative, quite apart from our reconstruction. Theop. F 101 in bk. xi. refers to Amadocus joining Philip, but the

chronology of bk. xi. cannot be fixed precisely.

¹⁰⁸ B. 2, p. 259.

¹⁰⁹ H. & H. 130.

¹¹⁰ *IG* II. ii. 794 C. 90.

¹¹¹ D. xvi. 21,4 Chares did not return to Athens after Embata and needed Persian pay to support his full forces. *Ibid.* 22,1.

¹¹² D. xvi. 21,2, cf. 7,3, and Dionysius *Lys.* 12, p. 480, both end the war in 356/5: the date midsummer is more probable than earlier in 355 B.C., as it accounts for one of Diodorus' remarks about the duration of the war, for the confusion could arise that the war lasted three years if peace was signed midsummer: the negotiations with Persia push the victory of Chares back to late winter or early spring on either date.

and the Social Wars is usually neglected in general histories.¹¹³ I therefore wish to present a general narrative of 357–352 B.C., based upon the special arguments I have already adduced and adjusted in perspective to contemporary events. My narrative is bound by the general hypothesis that the ancient evidence is sound; it may, therefore, be less dramatic than the mosaic constructed by the doublists, who, proceeding upon the general hypothesis that the ancient evidence is unsound, are at liberty to discard unwanted matter as doublet rejects or chronological errors, but I believe that it may approximate more closely to the truth.

With the loss of the two liberal statesmen, who had upheld the principles of federalism, Epameinondas and Callistratus, Thebes and Athens followed the imperialist policy which led to the outbreak of the Social and Sacred Wars. Between 362 B.C. and 357 B.C. their interests clashed in several spheres; in the Peloponnese Athens renewed alliance in 362/1, but Pammenes in 361 B.C. re-established the military predominance of Thebes; in 361/0 Athens split the control, which Thebes had exercised in Thessaly, by forming an alliance with the Thessalian League (361/0), while Thebes maintained her friendship with Alexander and later Teisiphonus of Pherae; in the spring of 357 B.C. stasis in Euboea brought Athens and Thebes into armed conflict. The victory fell to Athens, for Euboea left the Central Greek Confederacy, headed by Thebes, and joined the Athenian Confederacy; this success brought Athens closer to another recalcitrant member of the Central Greek League, Phocis, traditionally friendly to Athens and divided at the moment by stasis.¹¹⁴

Aegean affairs, however, now occupied the attention of Athens. Philip was besieging Amphipolis, and Cersobleptes was refusing to surrender the Chersonese; and in autumn 357 B.C. Chios, Rhodes and Cos, supported by Mausolus and by Byzantium, the ally of Thebes, revolted from the Athenian Confederacy. During the winter Athens was unable to check the revolt, and in early spring¹¹⁵ the failure of the fleet off Chios left the eastern Aegean in the control of the rebels.

The embarrassment of Athens was the opportunity of Thebes; an adroit use of the Amphictyonic machinery might re-establish her predominance on the mainland. But to carry a majority in the Amphictyony the support of the Thessalian votes was essential¹¹⁶; and the traditional feud between Thessaly and Phocis¹¹⁷ gave Thebes an opportunity to

¹¹³ E.g. B. 1, pp. 239–248; Momigliano, *Filippo il Macedone*, pp. 93–99. C. 2, pp. 167 f. is an exception.

¹¹⁴ Xen. *Hellenica*, VII. v. 4 and Diod. xvi. 23, 3; Aristotle, *Politics*, V. iii. 4 (Loeb) regards stasis in Phocis as the main cause of the Sacred War; it is possible that the separatist party intrigued with Athens in 357 B.C.

¹¹⁵ B. 2, p. 260 suggests April 356 B.C., and Marshall, *Second Athenian Confederacy*, p. 110, suggests autumn 357 B.C. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the presence of a garrison on Andros in May; since it was in the interest of Athens to act with all speed, I should place Chios at the beginning of the sailing season, say in March.

¹¹⁶ For membership cf. Theopompus F 63,

Aeschines, ii. 116, Pausanias, x. 8, 2; the list given by P.-C., p. 172, and Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, I. p. 383, reads Thessaloi, Perrhaiboi, Magnetes, Achaioi Phthiotai, Malieis, Ainiaines, Dolopes-and-Oitaioi, Dorieis, Iones, Phokeis, Boiotoi, Lokroi. Each member held two equal votes: Athens had one Ionian vote, and Sparta one Dorian; the Thessalian influence, which extended over the small tribes of north Greece (cf. Diod. xvi. 69, 8), controlled fifteen votes out of the twenty-four; Phocis, as friend of Athens and Sparta, commanded four or possibly five, and Thebes with Locris commanded four.

¹¹⁷ Paus. x. 2, 1; Aesch. ii. 140; Demophilus, fr. 1 (Mueller, *FHG* II. 86a).

canvass Thessalian support. At the Amphictyonic meeting of April/May 356 B.C., shortly after the Athenian failure off Chios, a motion was carried threatening the Phocian state with a Sacred War unless certain fines imposed upon Phocian individuals were paid (the individuals including the leaders of the separatist party); another popular proposal passed a vote of censure upon all debtors of the god, prominent among whom was Sparta. Both in Thessaly and in the Peloponnese Thebes had regained popularity, and she had hopes that the Phocian state would see fit, in the moment of Athenian and Spartan weakness, to purge herself of the anti-Theban party.

In Phocis, however, the threat of external pressure united the Phocian state; Philomelus was elected *strategos autokrator* to meet the emergency. Having secured a private promise of future help from Archidamus, he seized Delphi (June/July 356 B.C.), repulsed a Locrian attack, erased the spring decrees of the Amphictyony, and issued a personal propaganda to the pilgrims visiting the shrine: he expostulated against the political misuse of the Amphictyony, affirmed the right of Phocis to protect the shrine, and declared that he would not interfere with the routine of the temple.

The action of Philomelus placed Thebes in an awkward predicament. She could wait¹¹⁸ until the autumn meeting (Oct./Nov.) to propose to the Amphictyony the declaration of a Sacred War in accordance with the spring decree; but to count upon Thessalian support for a proposal, which involved not a merely verbal demonstration against Phocis but also joint military action, would have been optimistic. For Thessaly was not the political preserve of Thebes; in the last few years the rift between the tyrants of Pherae and the Thessalian League had driven the latter into alliance with Athens and with Philip, and it was equally certain that in the future the votes of the Thessalian parties would be swayed by purely political considerations.¹¹⁹ And the political position in Greece had changed considerably between the spring and summer of 356 B.C.; the failure of her fleet off Chios had roused Athens to a great effort, so that before the autumn she had raised her fleet to the very high total of 120 triremes; there was a considerable probability that Athens would win the Social War and convert her Confederacy into an empire before the year was out. Philip, too, had added the capture of Pydna and the alliance of Chalcidice to the list of his successes; and his marriage into the house of the Aleuadae gave him a diplomatic opening in Thessaly.¹²⁰

If, then, Thebes decided to wait until the autumn, she could not be confident that the Amphictyony would support her to the extent of declaring and performing a Sacred War; and meanwhile Philomelus would have been able to improve his military and diplomatic position. She therefore decided

¹¹⁸ I doubt whether Thebes had the power to call an extraordinary meeting, and also whether she would wish, by taking so prominent a part, to parade her animosity towards Phocis. My argument above is still valid for an extraordinary meeting though more valid for an autumn meeting.

¹¹⁹ In point of equity, Philomelus could advance in his propaganda a strong case against the political

use of the Amphictyony, but I think equity was only effective as a rhetorical stimulant in fourth-century politics.

¹²⁰ It may seem an anachronism to relate northern and southern Greek politics at this date; but the inscription, published in *Trans. A.P.A.* LXV. (1934), p. 105, reminds us that Philip and Chalcidice consulted Delphi in the winter of 357/6 B.C.

to take immediate action, for, if she could scotch Philomelus and the leaders of the separatist movement at once, she would avoid the dangers inherent in delay and would achieve her object; at a meeting of the Boeotian League, held in July, the decision was taken to 'liberate the temple,' i.e. Thebes chose to regard the action of Philomelus not as that of the Phocian state but as that of an individual.¹²¹

The Boeotian troops, however, found Philomelus in command of 5000 mercenaries and in an impregnable position; they retired without attempting to storm Delphi. Her own military failure and the formidable size of the Athenian fleet sapped the confidence of Thebes; there was no appeal to the Amphictyony in Oct./Nov. 356 B.C. By late autumn Philomelus had ravaged the Locrian territory in the neighbourhood of Delphi, gained access to the Corinthian Gulf, and secured his position for the coming winter. He then forced the Pythian priestess to sanction his claims, persuaded the Phocian commons¹²² to identify themselves with his action, and sent official embassies to Athens, Sparta, Thebes and other states; the claims, made in his personal propaganda, were repeated on behalf of the Phocian state, and no doubt Thebes was accused of infringing the autonomy of Delphi by her political intrigues. At Thebes, the official embassy must have limited itself to lodging a protest against the despatch of Boeotian troops, intended to oust the traditional guardians of the sanctuary by armed force.

In reply to the Phocian embassies, which asked for alliance or neutrality in the event of any state declaring war upon herself, came a declaration of war by Boeotia, Locris and some other states,¹²³ and alliance from Athens,¹²⁴ Sparta and some other states.¹²⁵ Among the states which remained neutral was Thessaly, the most important state in the Amphictyony. Thus, before the spring, the position of the Amphictyonic powers was clarified; Athens had declared herself on the side of Phocis, and the power of Athens at the moment was certain to be of paramount importance. For, although the battle of Embata in late autumn 356 B.C. had proved indecisive, the fleet was unimpaired, and Chares was receiving subsidies from Artabazus; moreover, he might succeed in the spring, as Timotheus after the peace of Pelopidas had succeeded, in winning the support of Persia.¹²⁶ But the most disturbing factor from the Theban point of view was the neutrality of Thessaly; so long as the Social War hung in the balance, Thessaly would remain a doubtful quantity.

¹²¹ Thebes was at liberty to turn a blind eye upon Philomelus' position as *strategos autokrator*, if she wished; the party strife in Phocis made it expedient to regard his action as personal, and there is no doubt that, if Philomelus had been ousted from Delphi, the opposite party in Phocis would have applied the principle *αἱ τυχόμεναι, ὁμοῖα, αἱ δὲ μὴ, ἴσται*. The eagerness of Philomelus to secure the approval of the Phocian commons in the winter shows that his position was still equivocal.

¹²² They evidently represent the party hostile to Philomelus; they may have had leanings towards Thebes, the champion of an extreme democracy at this time.

¹²³ Possibly including Acarnania and Byzantium, who contributed funds later (H. & H., 135).

¹²⁴ Proposed by Hegesippus, an ardent imperialist (Aesch. iii. 118); Xen. *Poroi* v. 9 gives the terminus ante quem as summer 355 B.C.

¹²⁵ We know only of Achaea, which later sent troops to assist Phocis.

¹²⁶ I believe there is a close analogy between the actions of Timotheus and Chares; Timotheus bluffed the Great King into recognising Athens by supporting Ariobarzanes; Chares hoped for the same result but Artaxerxes Ochus called Athens' bluff.

Thus the spring meeting (April/May) of 355 B.C. passed without an appeal for the declaration of a Sacred War; and at an unknown date in the spring came the report of Chares' victory, which he dubbed a second Marathon, and the rising of confidence at Athens. Thebes and Locris had now to put their declaration of war against Phocis into effect, but they found Philomelus before them in the field; although he had respected the funds of the Delphian treasury, doubtless to strengthen his case in the event of an Amphictyonic meeting, the Phocian forces were sufficiently strong to repel a Locrian invasion, probably delivered against south-east Phocis. The Locrians then appealed to Thebes to 'help them and the god' (summer 355 B.C.); and Thebes saw that the opportunity had at last arisen for an appeal to the Amphictyony. For shortly after the news of Chares' victory came the Great King's ultimatum, demanding the withdrawal of the Athenian army under threat of war; by midsummer 355 B.C. the negotiations for peace with her rebel allies were concluded, and the exhaustion and humiliation of the Athenian state were complete.¹²⁷

Thebes had thus emerged as the leading Greek power, allied, moreover, with a strong and aggressive Persia;¹²⁸ she therefore sent embassies to Thessaly and other Amphictyonic states, proposing the declaration of a Sacred War against Phocis for discussion at the autumn meeting. In Oct./Nov. 355 B.C. the Sacred War was declared, the majority being provided by the votes of Thessaly and her immediate neighbours;¹²⁹ joint action was to be taken in the spring.

Philomelus had no longer any reason to respect the Delphian treasury; in spring 354 B.C. he was able to assume the offensive with an army of over 10,000 men, defeated the Boeotian-Locrian forces, and defeated a Thessalian army of 6000 men before they could unite with the southern members of the coalition. His success ended the Thessalian offensive; while Philomelus occupied southern Phocis against the Boeotian coalition, the Thessalians split into their former rivalry, and Larissa invited the aid of Philip against Pherae. Philip, who had taken Methone in midsummer 354 B.C., at once invested Pagasae, the port of Pherae; the tyrants of Pherae, cut off from their ally, Thebes, invoked the aid of Athens, who sent a fleet which arrived too late; by early winter 354 B.C. Pagasae was occupied by a Macedonian garrison. Meanwhile, Philomelus maintained his defence of Phocis; but in late autumn 354 B.C., at the end of the fighting season, he was killed in an engagement at Neon and his army retreated under Onomarchus into Phocis.

In the winter of 354/3 the stasis broke out afresh in Phocis; Thebes drew sufficient confidence from the position of Phocian affairs and from the weakness of Athens to despatch 5000 men under Pammenes to assist

¹²⁷ Xen. *Poroi* and Isocrates, *De Pace* date just before the final peace: cf. Marshall *op. cit.* p. 115, and Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 183; Miltner, in *Mitt. Ver. Klass. Phil.* Wien I. (1924), pp. 45-46, seems to me to neglect the internal evidence, esp. Isocrates, ch. 16. Aesch. ii. 71-72 depicts the loss of Athenian

prestige abroad.

¹²⁸ Dem. xiv. 33 and 40 (354/3) betrays the fear that Theban and Persian co-operation against Athens was possible as late as 354 B.C.

¹²⁹ Diod. xvi. 31 gives a list of Amphictyonic powers on the side of Thebes.

Artabazus against Persia. On his way to Asia Minor, Pammenes met Philip, operating at Maroneia, in early spring 353 B.C.; their personal friendship may have been cemented by the successes Philip had won at the expense of Athens; before passing on to Asia, he witnessed a pact between Philip and Cersobleptes, who had just been rebuffed by Athens in the early months of 353 B.C. The division of her forces proved disastrous to Thebes; for Onomarchus, having persuaded the Phocian commons to elect him *strategos autokrator*, called a meeting of Phocian allies,¹³⁰ bribed his enemies in Thessaly to neutrality, and raised a large mercenary force.

In the spring of 353 B.C. Onomarchus succeeded in isolating Boeotia and refounded Orchomenos; his successful campaign was then checked by the news that Phayllus, his brother, had been defeated by Philip in Thessaly. For Philip, after the conference at Maroneia, had re-entered Thessaly at the invitation of the Thessalian League to act against Lycophron of Pherae; Lycophron, who had appealed in autumn 354 B.C. to Athens, now appealed to Onomarchus. In late summer Onomarchus marched to Thessaly, defeated Philip twice, and forced him to evacuate (autumn 353 B.C.).

By the winter of 353/2 Onomarchus was in control of Thessaly, Doris, Locris and northern Boeotia; and his success roused the hopes of his hitherto lukewarm allies, Athens and Sparta. Athens had taken advantage of Philip's absence in Thessaly to capture Sestos, and persuaded Cersobleptes to renounce his pact with Philip and cede the Chersonese (summer 353 B.C.);¹³¹ Sparta, too, had been successful in a minor war against Argos, at the battle of Orneae (summer 353 B.C.). In the autumn of 353 B.C. Sparta made her famous proposal for the restoration of territory to its original owners: Sparta would recover the states liberated by Epameinondas; Phocis would obtain Delphi; Orchomenos, Thespieae and Plataea would be independent; and Athens would recover Oropos; the loser in every case would be Thebes. Athens, however, refused to embroil herself in the Peloponnese; Demosthenes, who advised support of Megalopolis, reflected the hope of Athenians, that Thebes would in any case shortly be crushed.¹³²

But, before Thebes could be crushed, Philip appeared in Thessaly (spring 352 B.C.); Onomarchus, supported by an Athenian fleet under Chares, marched north to defend Pherae, and was decisively defeated at the Battle of the Crocus Field. After arranging the internal affairs of Thessaly, Philip advanced to Thermopylae (June/July),¹³³ for his natural ally in the Sacred War was Thebes;¹³⁴ but he found Phayllus, supported by troops from Athens, Sparta and Achaia, holding the pass, and returned to Macedonia, from whence he marched to Thrace to hem in Cersobleptes

¹³⁰ Reflected in the resumption of the Naupoioi meetings with six foreign states represented in spring 353 B.C.

¹³¹ *IG II. ii.* 795 f. 134 dates the sending of cleruchs to 353/2.

¹³² *Dem. xvi.* 31: the speech is dated by Dionysius to 353/2.

¹³³ Dated by Dionysius, *Dem.* 13, p. 655 to 353/2.

¹³⁴ Paus. x. 2, 5 states that after the death of

Onomarchus Philip joined the Theban *συνμαχία*; it reflects a possibility, if not a fact. Momigliano's suggestion (*Filippo il Macedone*, p. 106), that Thebes could have helped Philip at Thermopylae, but would not, because she was pledged in the Peloponnese and afraid to admit Philip into central Greece, seems to me to underestimate the weakness of Thebes and overestimate her sense of honour.

and besiege Heraeum Teichos.¹³⁵ With the departure of Philip, the centre of the Sacred War shifted to the Peloponnese; Sparta, having failed in her propaganda of autumn 353 B.C., attacked Megalopolis, and in the ensuing war Phocis and Thebes took part; the war ended indecisively in summer 351 B.C.

By summer 351 B.C. the position of Phocis was desperate; with the collapse of her power the ardour of Athens and Sparta had cooled, Pammenes returned in the course of 351 B.C., and the able Phayllus fell ill. Phalaecus discontinued the meetings of the Naopoioi and desecrated the sanctuary; five years of guerilla warfare produced utter exhaustion on both sides and heralded the conclusion of the War. In July of the Attic year 347/6,¹³⁶ the last of the Phocian adventurers capitulated, and at the autumn meeting of the Attic year 346/5 the Amphictyonic Council passed sentence upon Phocis, the conclusion of the Sacred War being marked in the Naopoioi lists by the words ἐπεὶ ἂν εἰράνα ἐγένετο.

To suppose that these words may be extended to the controversy waged so long over this unhappy War, would indeed be presumptuous; our hope is that we have suggested a new line of approach.

A Chronological Table will be found on the next page. I acknowledge gratefully the valuable suggestions and criticisms made by Professor F. E. Adcock, Dr. M. Cary, and Mr. G. T. Griffith, who kindly read my paper in MS.

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¹³⁵ Dem. *Olynth.* iii. 4 dates the siege to November 352 B.C.

¹³⁶ Dated by Dem. xix. 59.

Chronology proposed for 357-351 B.C.

B.C.	Athens and the Peloponnese.	Central Greece.	Thessaly and the north.
357	Winning of Euboea (spring). Revolt of the Allies (aut.).	Euboea lost by Thebes (spring).	Fall of Amphipolis (summer). Athens-Cersobleptes pact (aut.). Alliance of Philip and Larissa (winter).
356	Defeat at Chios (spring). Fleet raised to 120 (summer). Defeat at Embata (aut.).	Amphictyonic sentence (spring). Seizure of Delphi (June-July). Boeotian troops to Delphi (summer). Ravaging of Locris (autumn).	Fall of Pydna and Potidaea. Defeat of Cetriporis' coalition (aut.).
355	Chares in Asia (winter). Alliance with Phocis (winter). Victory of Chares (spring). Xen. <i>Poroi</i> ; Isoc. <i>De Pace</i> (summer). Peace with Allies (midsummer).	Phocian envoys: declaration of war by Boeotia and Locris (winter). Locrian invasion (spring). Boeotian envoys (summer). Declaration of Sacred War (autumn).	Thessaly gives answer of neutrality to Phocian envoys (winter). Thessaly joins Thebes in voting the Sacred War (aut.). Siege of Methone begins (Dec.).
354	Expeditions to Methone and Pagasae (summer-aut.). Dem. <i>de Symmoriis</i> (aut.).	Campaign culminating in the Battle of Neon (late aut.). Succession of Onomarchus (winter).	Thessalian defeat at Argolas (spring). Fall of Methone (midsummer). Stasis in Thessaly: Philip takes Pagasae (aut.).
353	Arrival of Timomachus (Jan.-March). Pact with Cersobleptes (summer). Alliance with Locris. Battle of Orneae (summer). Dem. <i>For the Megalopolitans</i> (aut.).	Despatch of Pammenes (winter). Onomarchus in Locris and N. Boeotia (spring-summer). Phayllus and Onomarchus in Thessaly (summer-aut.). Onomarchus takes Coronea (winter).	Philip-Cersobleptes pact in presence of Pammenes (spring). Philip defeats Phayllus (summer). Chares takes Sestos (summer): pact of Athens with Cersobleptes. Philip evacuates Thessaly (aut.).
352	Cleruchs sent to Chersonese. Chares acts with Onomarchus (spring). Expedition to Thermopylae (summer).	Onomarchus called to Thessaly (spring). Appeal of Phayllus to allies (summer). Defence of Thermopylae (summer).	Battle of Crocus Field (spring). Advance to Thermopylae (summer). Philip at Heraeum Teichos (Nov.).
351	Trial of Aristocrates. Peloponnesian war (spring-summer).	Phocian and Boeotian troops sent to the Peloponnese (spring). Return of Pammenes from Asia. Succession of Phalaecus.	Illness of Philip (winter).

NOTES

A Gold Comb- or Pin-head from Egypt.

I am indebted to the Curator of the City Art Gallery, Manchester, for permission to publish the object illustrated on fig. 1, which was acquired some years ago with a number of other Egyptian antiquities in the John Yates Bequest. It is of gold, the maximum dimensions being 4.0×3.6 cm. and the weight 3.43 grms.



FIG. 1.—GOLD GROUP IN MANCHESTER.
Scale 3:2.

Three figures—Demeter, Persephone and Harpocrates—are represented, standing to front on an oblong base the front of which is filled with conventional scrolls of vine sprays with bunches of grapes set in a rectangular reel-border. Demeter wears a peplos with himation, the end of which is thrown over the l. shoulder, and a corn wreath with two ears rising diagonally from the forehead; she holds a sceptre in l. hand and rests r. on hip. Persephone wears peplos and himation carried over l. shoulder and drawn up to veil the head behind, and is crowned by a stephane and polos. Harpocrates wears the double crown of Egypt and a mantle pinned over the r. shoulder, but leaving the r. arm bare; he raises a finger of the l. hand, which is wrapped tightly in his mantle, towards his mouth. The

work, though roughish, is good, and the free treatment of the drapery recalls that of sculptural types at the end of the fourth century, while the base resembles in design and execution jewellery of the early third century from the Santa Eufemia treasure.¹ Our piece may therefore be assigned to the first half of the third century, and it is interesting to see in it the mixture of Hellenic and Egyptian religious forms already beginning. Demeter and Persephone together, as here represented, at once suggest the Eleusinian cult, a form of which had been introduced by Ptolemy I.² Demeter's unusual wreath with the two upstanding corn-ears is used without special significance elsewhere, e.g. on late fourth-century coins of Metapontum,³ but its present choice may have been influenced by the thought of the vertical plumes worn by Isis, the mother of Horus-Harpocrates. The latter is cloaked, which is most unusual before the Graeco-Roman period, and, another unusual feature, he carries his left, not his right, hand to his mouth.⁴ If we may assume that the gesture which he makes with his left hand had already been misinterpreted by the Greeks as a sign of silence, it is difficult to avoid seeing a reference to the mystery cult in which his two companions were involved.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

British Museum.

Inheritance by adoption in Phrygia: an inscription. The following is from my notebook of an Anatolian journey made in 1932. The text is from a copy on the spot subsequently checked by impression and photograph:—

In a fountain about 2 km. South of Salir (i.e. at the North end of L. Karalis), limestone stele broken above. In the field, two eagles, below them two female figures, below them a

¹ *BM Jewellery*, p. 241, especially nos. 2113 and 2119.

² Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 83. Despite *RE* xvi. 2, col. 1250–1251, this is the natural meaning of Tacitus' words, and even if the general story of the introduction of the Sarapis cult be suspect, that is no reason to reject all the incidental details.

³ *BMC Italy*, p. 257, no. 144.

⁴ For cloaked statuettes see Maria Mozensen, *Glypt. Ny Carlsberg: Coll. Egypt.* pl. xli and xlii; for l. hand on hip, Winter, *Terrakotten*, iii. 2, p. 361. 5.

standing lion facing l., with his r. forefoot on the head of an ox. Inscription on the moulded base. H. 1.29 m., W. 0.53-0.56, Th. 0.33-0.16, Letters 0.015-0.02.

*Αννα Ἰουστῆς κληρονόμος καὶ Ἰ[σ]ῆς *Αν-
νῆς θυγατέρες τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐρίψασαν
Ἰουστα[ν] μ]νήμης χάριν.

The only doubtful part is towards the end of the first line. Sterrett (*WE* no. 624, from Ramsay's copy) suggests [Ἰῆ] (ραι). This does not fit the traces on the squeeze, nor is the abbreviation a likely one. He gives no interpretation. The inscription is discussed by J. Fraser in an article on 'Inheritance by Adoption and Marriage in Phrygia' in *Stud. E.R.P.* (p. 148). Relying on a copy of Sir Charles Wilson, he reads, at the end of line 1 and beginning of line 2, [Βᾶ? καὶ] Νᾶ. This unfortunately ignores the sigma which is the third letter of line 2, and his interpretation becomes impossible.

I suggest that what is mutilated is one proper name, Iris or Isis. (The latter, which was suggested to me by Mr. W. H. Buckler, was common in Egypt in the second and third centuries A.D. See Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s.v. Ἰσις, Εἰσις.) The bottoms of two upright strokes where the iotas are required are clearly visible on the squeeze. The position then is this: The daughters of Anna are Anna and Isis. They were brought up by Iusta, who made one of them her heir. W. K. C. GUTHRIE.

Peterhouse,
Cambridge.

The Hermes and Dionysos of Olympia.—Mr. H. W. Law's suggestion, made as a note in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 236), that the statue of the Hermes and Dionysos from the Heraeum was moved to that building from elsewhere in 146 B.C. is interesting. It would, of course, without doubt authenticate the statue as an original by Praxiteles, if its processes of reasoning could be considered as acceptable. Mr. Law, not doubting any more than I do, that the basis can be assigned to a second-century B.C. date, as Professor Dinsmoor has shown, assumes that therefore the statue must have been placed upon that basis at the time when that basis was made. That assumption obviously rules out the possibility of the statue having been carved in the second century A.D.

But by the second century B.C. the sanctuary had lost a good many of its statues, like many shrines and cities in Greece. At Pharae (Paus. VII. 22. 5) Pausanias was told how statues had been removed to Rome; at Tritia (VII. 22. 9)

the cult statue in the temple of Athena had been taken to Rome and replaced by one of stone. Delphi, as we know, was depleted by Nero and at Phigaleia Pausanias saw the bases of statues which had vanished (VII. 30. 5). Olympia was hardly inviolate, and if other temples were robbed why should the Heraeum afford special protection?

A good Roman copy of the Hermes, made perhaps at the cost of the robber and sent to Olympia, might easily have been provided with a Hellenistic basis on the spot from the number of the empty bases available, similar to those which Pausanias saw at Phigaleia in the temple of the Mother.

The date of the basis cannot conceivably have any necessary bearing on the date of the statue of Hermes.

STANLEY CASSON.

New College,
Oxford.

The Centenary of Athens University.—The celebration of the Centenary of the 'National and Capodistrian University,' to give it the full title which it has borne officially since 1911, was held for eight days in April, and passed off amidst the hospitality for which Greece is proverbial. The present writer, one of the few delegates who was also present at the seventy-fifth anniversary in 1912, when that eminent historian and admirable organiser, the late Sp. P. Lampros, was Rector, could not but compare the dimensions of modern Athens and modern Greece with those of the smaller capital and the restricted kingdom, then on the eve of the first Balkan War. In the expansion of Greece, both scientifically and politically, the University has played a great part. It has produced eminent scholars and apostles of the 'Great Idea,' men who have laboured for the advancement of Greek learning and the creation of greater Greece. On this last occasion there were naturally more foreigners present than 25 years ago. The British delegation consisted of eleven members, representing fifteen universities, the British Academy and the Byron Society, while Mr. Edwin Freshfield presented to the Law Faculty an address from that of Cambridge, and the University of Malta sent an address by post. Distance unfortunately prevented the presence of Australian and Indian delegates, though Canada was represented, and it seems a pity that, as the French Government sent its Minister of Education, the British Government did not send a Cabinet Minister, as Great Britain and France were so long connected with modern

Greek history, of which the Athens University *pars magna fuit*.

The programme included a service at the Cathedral, speeches, one by a representative of each nationality and by a few other persons, beginning with the King, the Minister of Education, the Rector, the Archbishop of Athens and all Greece, and the Metropolitan of Trebizond, representing the Œcumenical Patriarchate, a scholar well known to the readers of this Review.¹ The speeches were in various languages, usually that of the speaker, but the Yugoslav spoke in Latin, the Hungarian in English, and one or two foreigners in what was understood to be modern Greek besides their own native tongues. The addresses were sometimes in ancient Greek, occasionally in Latin. The British orator, Professor Robertson of Cambridge, spoke briefly and very much to the point in English, alluding to what was from the British standpoint a most important announcement by the Minister of Education—the creation of the Byron Chair of English Literature, which the speaker hoped would be a fresh link between the two countries. A century ago a Briton, Edward Masson, was Professor of Modern History at Athens University; it was high time that there should be another British chair. In choosing its occupant it would be well to select someone who knows not only English literature, but the Greek mentality, for a Greek audience is highly critical and has much experience of lecturers. In Greece not only what one says, but how one says it is important. Henceforth, Britain will not be behind France, Germany and Italy at the Athenian seat of learning, where they have for some time had chairs of their respective literatures.

The speeches, not all confined within the prescribed limits of three minutes—one speaker repeated himself in twenty—were varied by excursions to Daphni, Eleusis, Corinth and Loutraki, to Sunium and to the Marathon dam—this last a misnomer, for the dam is several miles from the battlefield, to which some of the excursionists thought that they were going! There were an allegorical performance on the Akropolis, performances of the 'Antigone' and of Gluck's 'Orpheus' in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and of that curious Cretan play of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, about which Mr. John Mavrogordato wrote in this *Journal*,² 'The Sacrifice of Abraham,' followed by that unique example of the Satyric drama, the 'Cyclops.' Four dinner-parties and a garden-

party at the Palace completed the programme. A special stamp of three *drachmai* was issued for the occasion, and each delegate received a metal badge and two commemorative publications—an album containing portraits of the Rectors and the Professors and pictures of the buildings, and a history of the theological faculty. Similar records of the other faculties are not yet ready for publication. Of special interest to the British delegates is the portrait in the Album of Andreades, who was for so many years a living union between Great Britain and Greece, and whose posthumous work was reviewed in the last number.³ As a parting gift, Professor Dölger, the editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, announced the gift to Athens of King Otho's library, which should contribute materials towards the study of the first dynasty and the history of the sovereign after whom the University was originally named. The British received their due share of the honorary degrees conferred, and of the numerous centenaries, which Greece has celebrated in the last thirteen years, from those of Byron, Navarino and Hastings onwards, this was of the most universal interest, for twenty-three foreign nations were represented.

W. MILLER.

Athens.

Attic lekythi in the Beane Institute, Canterbury.—H 113 is a red-figured lekythos, the head, neck and handle missing: present height 18.5 cm. Its subject is Nike standing before a small altar; on this is a bowl into which she pours a libation.

H 124 is a red-figured lekythos, entire; height 25.4 cm. Nike, in running attitude, before an altar, holds a torch in each hand; the left raised, and with the right kindling a flame on the altar. The wing is different in design from that in H 113, and is detached.

H 125 is a similar lekythos; height 24.7 cm.; representing a woman at toilet, a mirror in her right hand. To right is a small table over which an alabastron is suspended; to the left is a folded garment.

The above are all three by the painter of the pyxis in Bowdoin College (Beazley, *AV* p. 138).

H 116 is a white lekythos; height 32 cm. A man and woman stand to the left and right of a grave-stele, on which they are laying taeniae. The woman carries a basket. The outline and details of the bodies, the stele and the basket are in yellow, the taeniae and some markings on the stele in light grey.

¹ *JHS* lvi. 273.

² *JHS* xlviii. 79–85, 94, 243–6.

³ *JHS* lvi. 276.

The white lekythos was found in Athens in 1821, and the three red-figured vases also in Athens, in 1823. They were nos. 6, 7, 9, and 12 respectively of a collection presented in 1844 by the sixth Viscount Strangford, whose son, the Hon. G. A. F. P. S. Smythe, was then M.P. for

Canterbury. They are here published by kind permission of Mr. H. T. Mead, custodian of the Beane Institute.

GODFREY G. COOK.

91 Guilford St.,
W.C. 1.



H 113.

H 124.

H 125.

H 116.

FIG. 1.—ATTIC LEKYTHI IN CANTERBURY.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Journal and Letters of Stephen MacKenna.

Edited with a Memoir by E. R. DODDS.
Pp. xviii + 330, with four illustrations.
London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1936.
18s.

Readers of Stephen MacKenna's *Plotinus* must often have wondered about the life and personality of a translator who seemed to be as unknown to professional scholars as to the English public at large. His name had appeared in no University Class Lists, and no one could say 'he was my pupil.' And yet he had written a translation of one of the most difficult of Greek authors, which all competent judges admitted to be a masterpiece. The veil has now been lifted by this deeply interesting volume which Professor Dodds has prepared with the help of other of MacKenna's friends.

Stephen MacKenna was born in 1872. He was the son of an Irish soldier who after fighting for Garibaldi wrote romantic fiction for his livelihood. As the boy showed considerable literary gifts at his Catholic boarding-school, it was decided that he should read for a classical degree at London University. But unhappily its Intermediate Examiners were not satisfied with the English paper of a candidate who was to be, in the words of Sir John Squire, 'one of the greatest prose-writers of our time.' The consequences of this failure were serious, for, as Professor Dodds observes, 'it robbed the young MacKenna of a training in method whose absence he felt cruelly in later life.' Giving up the idea of a University degree, he entered a religious order, but soon left it, thinking the discipline absurd. He was then a bank clerk in Dublin for some six years, next a reporter for a London newspaper, and afterwards correspondent for an English Catholic newspaper in Paris, where he lived with Synge in considerable poverty. In 1897, fired with Philhellenic enthusiasm, he volunteered for service with the Greeks in their war against Turkey, but his amateur soldiering seems to have been amusing rather than warlike. After this episode he returned to journalism, and from 1903 to 1907 was continental representative of the *New York World* with an office in Paris, a fine flat and a handsome salary. 'At this period MacKenna had his first and last taste of what is

called success.' He visited Russia and with Michael Davitt called upon Count Tolstoi, 'after which he never felt quite easy again about the doctrine trumpeted forth from that stagy shrine.' It was apparently in Russia that he began to feel interest in the *Enneads*. He bought editions of Plotinus in St. Petersburg and Moscow, and 'at the beginning of 1907 we find him definitely contemplating the vast task of translating the whole of Plotinus for the first time into English.' A little earlier he had tried his hand at versions of Marcus Aurelius, the *Menexenus* and Pindar, and 'these early experiments seem to have brought home to him the inadequacy of his equipment as a scholar: his note-books show him toiling at Greek irregular verbs and working through Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* as he rushed about Europe to interview this and that political notability.' At about the same time he became profoundly dissatisfied with his journalistic work and, writing in 1908, speaks of the need he feels 'of having on the work-table some piece of writing, serious and linked, which every day I might bring nearer to an end firmly set for some gravely formed purpose.' For twenty years Plotinus satisfied that need. At least from this period MacKenna was almost morbidly preoccupied with the question of style. 'In 1907 he set himself to learn to write,' and the *Journal* which belongs to the years 1907-9 reads rather like a series of literary exercises. It has not the vigour and spontaneity of the letters which fill nearly 200 pages of the book and are as admirable and entertaining a collection of correspondence as one has ever had the good luck to see.

In 1908 MacKenna was back in Ireland, where he lived until 1913, acting as leader-writer for the *Freeman's Journal*, known as one of the most brilliant of Irish conversationalists, keenly interested in Irish nationalism and the revival of Gaelic, and at intervals busy with Plotinus. It is noteworthy that Plotinus and the Gaelic League contended for the mastery of his will, and Plotinus won. Towards the end of 1908 his translation of *Ennead I. vi* had been published as a separate booklet, and in 1912 Mr. E. R. (subsequently Sir Ernest) Debenham, who was an entire stranger to MacKenna, but had ad-

mired the version, wrote to ask when the complete Plotinus might be expected. Had it not been for this inquiry the work might, or rather would, never have seen the light, for, as is well known, Sir Ernest financed the whole publication. Nothing can be more admirable than the tact and patience with which he handled MacKenna, proud, neurotic, despondent, often ill and harassed by the long illness of a wife whom he dearly loved. The *Plotinus* was the fruit of incredible travail—the publication of its five volumes was spread over thirteen years, from 1917 to 1930—and even Professor Dodds is moved to ask whether it was worth the enormous price that was paid for it. 'But two things are certain: it is a noble monument to an Irishman's courage, an Englishman's generosity, and the idealism of both.'

In 1924 MacKenna left Ireland for good and lived in self-chosen exile in various parts of the south of England, devoted to children, Buddhas, guitars, concertinas and a motor-tricycle. His last home was a workman's cottage near Camborne, where he lived on two pounds a week, gravely ill, but looking forward to the blossoming of his flaming scarlet magnolias (doesn't he mean rhododendrons?) in the spring. But this he was never to see. Keeping his movements a secret, early in 1934 he entered a London hospital, where he died on March 8th, without seeing any of his friends except one who discovered his address from his Cornish landlord.

MacKenna's somewhat sad story has been written by Professor Dodds with deep feeling, which the reader cannot but share. But when he turns to the letters, he will find refreshment and entertainment to the full—scintillating wit and at times a positively inspired silliness, jocular allusions to the exacting 'Plotty,' much shrewd comment on literature and style ('The "Thou wottedst notedst" style is not forgiven in heaven or on earth, and no fires will purge it'), and throughout an indomitable courage and common sense shining through all MacKenna's unhappinesses and quixotries. (He refused a gold medal from the Royal Irish Academy because he could accept no honour 'from a Society whose title seems to imply any connection between Ireland and the English throne'). It is somewhat of a mystery why MacKenna was ever drawn to the study of Plotinus, and on p. 69 Professor Dodds does his best with the difficult question. In one of his last letters he himself says, 'my conscience won't allow me to pass as a Plotinian: I loved the work (except for the awful strain of it), but I was never convinced by the logic or the ethic of it.'

J. H. S.

Index to The Palace of Minos. By JOAN EVANS, D.Litt., with special Sections classified in detail and chronologically arranged, by SIR ARTHUR EVANS, D.Litt., F.R.S., F.B.A. Macmillan and Co., 1936. Pp. vi + 221. 31s. 6d.

This handsome volume is uniform with the volumes to which it serves as a guide. An index of 221 pages seems a formidable affair, but here it has to serve a book in four volumes, or six parts, of nearly four thousand pages, and indeed the quantity and variety of matter in *The Palace of Minos* demanded more than usually elaborate indexing. This Dr. Joan Evans has now given us, with almost infinite labour and insight, and it is a real key to her brother's great work. Among the entries of an ordinary index we find a number, marked A. E., by Sir Arthur himself: Frescoes; Pottery—this runs to fifty columns; Genii; Religion, and so on. In these 'the received canons of index-making' have been set aside in favour of an 'approximately chronological succession.' This is perhaps a bold departure, but the result amply justifies it. If the reader looks up the successive references under each of these headings, he gets an uninterrupted view of the whole development of his subject. A man who copied out the passages quoted would have in outline a series of treatises on Minoan frescoes, seal-stones, script, and so on for each of these headings. That the subject was constantly growing while the book was being written is an additional reason for these special entries. Of Dr. Joan Evans' devoted labour hardly enough can be said: nor could anyone but a deeply skilled antiquary have carried through so heavy a task. We have now a real key to the door of the Labyrinth and a clue to all its windings.

R. M. D.

Excavations at Thermi in Lesbos. By WINIFRED LAMB. Pp. xii + 226: 50 plates, 7 plans, 61 figures. Cambridge University Press, 1936. £2 12s. 6d.

Schliemann's excavations introduced archaeologists to a distinctive and highly specialised Anatolian culture, but left open many problems that could not be settled by finds from looted cemeteries or small-scale digs. The systematic exploration over an area of 3500 sq. metres (no areas are ever mentioned in the text!) of a succession of Bronze Age villages is the first effective contribution towards settling such problems scientifically. In particular the 'five' successive Early Bronze Age 'Towns' (Towns III and IV are each subdivided) reveal for the first time a picture of the background out of

which the familiar civilisation of Troy II developed, comparable in clarity to that view of Early Minoan civilisation afforded by the excavations at Mochlos and Palaikastro. The well-known types of the mature phases (b and c) of Troy II are indeed conspicuously absent, and the subsequent Troadic phases down to L.M. III are represented only by fragmentary remains. Still, the ceramic parallelism between Thermi Towns III to V (phases B and C) on the one hand and Troy 'I' and IIa on the other is so close that, however repugnant the idea of a gap in an archaeological record may be to certain prehistorians, we have to admit that the occupation of this site was really interrupted at a point somewhere equivalent to Troy IIb. (Since types of late Troy II such as two-handled goblets are represented as far away as Orchomenos on the one hand and Alisar on the other, they could hardly fail to have been represented so near home, had Thermi been occupied during the period of their currency.) We have accordingly to accept Phases B and C at Thermi as supplements to our knowledge of Troy I and IIa, while phase A denotes a stage of culture not hitherto recognised at Hissarlik.

Unfortunately for the archaeologist, the Thermiotes were disgustingly self-sufficient. Certainly they were working metal even before they built their first 'Town' (a crucible was found beneath the lowest floor level), and from Town I onwards occasionally used ornaments containing tin (a bronze pin is reported from Town I, a bracelet of twisted tin wire from Town IV). But on the whole they relied on local materials for everyday needs; stone and bone tools were common at all levels, and not even obsidian was utilised. The only manufactured imports discovered were a few not very characteristic marble bowls, presumably Cycladic, from Towns I, II and III, and one or two other objects. Save for a small fragment from a face-urn in Town V not a single dateable type actually imported is available to afford a *precise* synchronism with any foreign culture, so that we have to rely on the parallelism already mentioned. Thermi's direct contribution to the absolute chronology of West Anatolia is just nil, but luckily that chronology is being satisfactorily settled by excavations at Troy and Alisar, as Miss Lamb explains.

The impression produced by architecture and pottery alike is one of continuous internal development. Throughout we find the same type of long rectangular houses on stone foundations; the herring-bone masonry (which has well-known Troadic and Helladic analogies, but

should also be compared with the plano-convex brickwork of Sumer) occurs both in I and in IV. But the area occupied varies, contracting after IIIa; bothroi appear first in IIIa; anticipations of the megaron type are noted in V, and this Town was certainly fortified. The same continuity is illustrated by most of the relics. Well-developed stone battle-axes with a swelling round the shaft-hole occur in Town I as much as in Town V. Unperforated stone axes and adzes (in describing 'celts' it would be well to remember their function and call the specimens illustrated in fig. 55 adzes); pins with ornate heads of bone or metal are just as evenly distributed, though copper bird-headed pins with parallels at Chalandriani on Naxos are confined to I.

Practically only the pottery exhibits significant variations, but these do not constitute breaks in tradition. Miss Lamb recognises three classes. Class A is found in Towns I and II, and comprises the best black polished ware, but also red ware; it may be decorated with bosses, ribs, ripples, incisions, punctures or white paint, and presents already a wide range of distinctively West Anatolian shapes such as the pyxis, the bowl with inverted rim, jugs with cut-away necks and tripod vessels. Class B in Towns III and IVa carries on the old tradition, though the black and red vases are inferior and often blotchy, white paint is commoner than in A and ripple decoration rarer. The horned tubular lug distinctive of Troy I appears first in this phase, and vessels with human feet are peculiar to it. Finally, class C in Towns IVb and V reproduces the same forms in grey, brown and red fabrics that may be slipped. To this group belong winged amphorae precisely like those from Troy II, jugs with twisted handles and a sauce-boat.

The Aegean parallels to the pottery and other relics are discussed exhaustively in the text: the affinities of phases A and B at Thermi clearly lie at first wholly with Asia Minor (Yortan, Troy, etc.). Only later ('jugs' like 207 and 253, horned tubular lugs, and then the sauce-boat, etc.) do we get significant parallels also in Macedonia and Mainland Greece. This demonstration is important as establishing irreversibly the direction of relations between Anatolian and Early Helladic cultures. Danubian parallels are not cited, for the very good reason that significant analogies are missing in that quarter. Of course vases on human feet occur on Danubian II sites, and 'socketed ladles' like the crucible No. 31.71 from Thermi III are common there. But we look in vain for pedestalled dishes such

as Schliemann allegedly found in Troy I and tankards that Frankfort regards as Danubian. It would be premature to say whether this deficiency means that the Anatolian elements in Danubian II are older than anything represented at Thermi (there is a pedestalled dish from the 'neolithic' level at Alişar) or are later accretions. A genuinely Danubian element at Thermi is not detectable. The stone battle-axes for which Northern analogues are quoted are not Danubian, and cannot be derived from Jutland, on chronological grounds. Parallels from Early Dynastic levels at Tell Agrab and Kish in Mesopotamia can now be cited just as relevantly.

The general effect of this admirably presented report is to enhance our estimate of West Anatolian culture's age. Thermi I discloses a culture already fully developed in architecture and metallurgy and highly specialised in its ceramic repertory by 3000 B.C. It must have a long series of precursors, to be sought, not in Europe, but in Asia Minor. This demonstration reacts also on estimates of the antiquity of Cycladic culture which Åberg has so ingeniously challenged—Cycladic imports in Thermi I presumably imply a contemporary culture in the Islands. Yet Anatolian culture as illustrated at Thermi seems incapable of development; there at least its authors, instead of creating a new urban economy based on secondary industry and commerce to support a growing population (as the Minoans did), let their numbers decline, and presumably sought outlets in migration. If this be true of other Anatolian sites—and the indications point that way—it will account for the supposed spread of Anatolians into Greece and for their cultural stagnation at home.

It should be added that Miss Lamb's publication is in every way a model work. The plans, on loose plates, are convenient and exhaustive, and supplemented by admirable photographs. All relevant objects, even of bone, are illustrated by photographs and/or drawings with sections added where necessary. Experts have contributed invaluable appendices on metallurgy, geology and bones. But I cannot help feeling it a pity that the way the community got their livelihood should be mentioned only in an appendix.

V. G. C.

Controverses autour de Troie. By CHARLES VELLAY. Pp. 176; 2 plans, 4 figs. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936.

Mr. Vellay consolidates his position. The Greek camp is still not at Besika (p. 5). Did Homer know its position? The Pergamum of

Priam was not at Kara-Your, which is too large (p. 13), nor at Hissarlik, which is too small (*passim*). Blegen, *Korakou*, should have been consulted about Mycenaean Corinth (p. 63), not Strabo nor the English, though the latter have provided relevant information about Sparta and about Thermi in Lesbos, not far from Hissarlik.

Xerxes (p. 80) and Alexander (p. 103) visited Homeric Troy at Ἰλίου Κώμη. Euripides, Lykurgus (p. 106) and others describe Troy as a deserted solitude, 'tableau en désaccord manifeste avec les hautes murailles d'Hissarlik, intactes à tous les yeux.' Mr. Vellay has forgotten that Schliemann dug them up.

In *Nouveaux Aspects de la question de Troie*, Mr. Vellay thought the internal walls of Hissarlik II unsuitable for a city. The Greeks made them inside the wall of their polyandron (Hissarlik II, fortification wall) and fortified it with the big wall (Hissarlik VI, Dörpfeld). To please Miss Lamb (p. 43), he now modifies this theory. Hissarlik II was, after all, a city, probably built by Cretan immigrants (p. 44) about 2000 B.C. The Greeks found it when making their military platform (p. 16) and utilised it for their polyandron. No evidence is offered for either Middle Minoans or a military platform at Hissarlik. To Mr. Scott's objection (p. 37) that it is a large building programme for a truce of a few hours, Mr. Vellay replies that the time of the truce is unspecified; it may have been ten days or more. Besides, we must remember that the programme is now reduced, only Troy III-VIIa (Blegen) and two miles of wall to the sea, in addition to collecting the corpses and baking them in the ovens found by Mr. Blegen (pp. 145-6). It is surprising that Mr. Vellay noticed the ovens, for he did not consult Mr. Blegen's plans (p. 94), because there was nothing left for Mr. Blegen to excavate.

Mr. Vellay should see that 'nothing' for himself, the army of vase-menders, the tons of pottery. Let him measure it, weigh it, date it. Then let him go on to Bali Dag and find more and better pottery, with wider foreign contacts, before he writes his next book.

S. B.

Ἡπειρωτικοὶ Ἑρευνῶν I;—Ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς Δωδώνης. By D. EVANGELIDES. Pp. 76; 28 plates. Jannina, 1936.

This volume cannot be the final report on the new excavations at Dodona, so it is possible to plead for new illustrations and a somewhat different treatment in the final publication. The prehistoric pottery found at Dodona was rough,

and cannot yet be placed in any existing category. The division suggested by the author into decorated and undecorated vases may leave the rims in one category and the bases in another. As the deposit was only 0.40–0.60 m. deep, it is possible that it may have belonged to squatters of different periods. Therefore it is important to know what sherds come from the same area. Section drawings of rims of unknown diameter and uncertain inclination are not valuable. Nos. 5, 11, 9 (p. 202) may be neolithic, and so may the base No. 32 (p. 203) figured as a rim. Section drawings, and not photographs, should be made of bases. Any shapes which can be connected with 'pellet' ware (pls. 6 and 7) would be particularly valuable. An amphora in this ware has been found in Ithaca.

The handles figured on pl. 3a (p. 199, top) seem to be plain round handles, not 'wish-bone' handles, which are to be seen on pl. 2 β, and on pl. 5a. Mr. Evangelides need not therefore be taken seriously when he suggests that we should derive the 'hall-mark of Macedonia' from Epiros (p. 209). A similar misconception leads him to think that the handle on pl. 2 β is Minyan (p. 198). The conclusion to be drawn from this prehistoric settlement is the poverty of its inhabitants.

Some of the bronzes found are interesting or beautiful, and deserve better illustrations. The painting out of the backgrounds of bronze statuettes is to be deplored. No. 1 (pl. 12) is close to a geometric statuette found at Polis Ithaca, which belongs to a cast tripod-cauldron. (There is a tantalising description of two objects, nos. 42 and 43, p. 234, pl. 21 β 25, 26, which seems to be handles of hammered tripod-caldrons, made to imitate cast handles. Moreover, they are said to be silver-plated.) No. 2 is a warrior represented with leather flaps attached to his cuirass. Good evidence is given by A. Hagemann (*Griechische Panzerung*, p. 17) that this fashion began about 490 B.C. I should like to see the rest of the handle no. 12 (pl. 18 β, γ) ending in rams' heads. The following should be grouped together as probably belonging to tripod-stands—no. 5 (pl. 19 α 3; cf. the stand from Metapontum in Berlin, *Führer*, pl. 18); no. 8 (pl. 19 β 14; cf. the stand from Trebenishte); no. 51 (pl. 19 β 26); no. 56 (pl. 20 α 1); no. 58 (pl. 20 α 7). Nos. 26, 27 (pl. 20 β 8, 10) are handles of kotylai. Cup handles, nos. 28, 29 (pl. 20 β 13, 17). Kantharos handles on pl. 20 β 12 (which probably joins 19), 9, 15, 9; pl. 21 β 8.

The most interesting of the epigraphical finds is the question of Aeschylinos (no. 9) whether it would be a good thing to go to the Tisates in

Adria, but the oracle replied, 'Do not sail' (cf. nos. 13 and 35). No. 9 must be referred to the site near the mouth of the Po (see R. Schöne, *Le Antichità del Museo Bocchi di Adria*). Partsch (*RE* 1, 417) did not think that 'Aḡplōs' referred to a gulf or a sea (p. 253). There was a Tisia in Bruttium in the time of Hannibal (App. *Hann.* 44). We may hope that further study may clear up more of the obscurities. The name of the festival Nāa (p. 249) is well attested (see ref. Dow, *Hesperia*, iv. p. 90, no. 38).
S. B.

Corinth, Vol. III, Part II. The Defences of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town. By RHYS CARPENTER and ANTOINE BON, with contributions by A. W. PARSONS. Pp. xvi + 315; 242 text illustrations and 10 plates; folding-map in pocket. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

In his acknowledgments at the beginning of this volume Dr. Rhys Carpenter mentions the names of several others who assisted him, besides Mr. A. W. Parsons, and a work which depends so largely on architectural drawings and photographs is bound to be one of collaboration. The material is comprised in two sections—Classical and Mediaeval—dealt with respectively by Dr. Carpenter and M. Bon. The work of the classical period is arranged under three headings—The Classical Fortifications of Acrocorinth, the City Walls of Corinth, and the Long Walls to the Gulf. The work of the (so-called) mediaeval period is also subdivided into three, of which only the first two—Byzantine and Frankish—are strictly mediaeval, the third division being Turkish and Venetian.

Dr. Carpenter concludes against the existence of Mycenaean or Helladic walling on Acrocorinth (pp. 30–7), both from character of masonry and lack of pottery evidence. He certainly might appear to be right from the illustrations which he gives (figs. 24–31) of irregular masonry in large blocks. He extends his argument (note on p. 34) to a doubt about the Pelargikon and other ancient walls on the Athenian Acropolis being pre-classical. In the absence of any comprehensive study of Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean walling, as such, on known prehistoric sites, Dr. Carpenter's conclusion that there is no walling earlier than the seventh century B.C. on Acrocorinth should be accepted as most probable, but it is time that responsible publications became more knowledgeable in the definitions of masonry. The wall in fig. 18 is described on p. 24 as 'accurately

fitted poros ashlar,' but such a wall as this is quite clearly squared rubble, as a wall can only be called 'ashlar' that is of perfectly fitted blocks, which is dressed on the face to the finest finish that the stone can take. The title 'ashlar polygonal' of the wall in fig. 29 is frankly absurd, as this wall is built of stones that are not dressed or perfectly trued on any surface, and it is not much beyond random-rubble.

Following on Mr. Parsons' discourse on the Long Walls to the Gulf, Dr. Carpenter gives a valuable chronological summary of the historic facts about the classical walling on p. 126. Some page-referencing in this summary would be useful.

The 'Mediaeval' Section is treated with equal thoroughness, and the excellent account of the periods 1204-1460, and 1458-1821, with seventeenth-century illustrations, is particularly welcome.

The architectural drawings throughout are thoroughly competent, but a few minor points might be noted. There is no indication of whether fig. 83c is a plan or a section. The curious method of hatching the wall-blocks in figs. 48-51 is distinctly puzzling in the last-mentioned figure. The technique of the 'panelled . . . broad strip' on p. 13 might have been explained by a geometrical drawing, as parallels elsewhere are cited. The 'cross sections' in figs. 104 and 130 and in pl. VII are really 'long sections,' as the axis of a gateway is at right angles to the direction of the wall in which it is placed. Neither plan nor long section (*sic*) is given of the important gateway in fig. 104. There is no elevation of the interesting rear-wall opening of the 'Second Gate' (see fig. 114), and the plan of this gateway on pl. VI, besides having no north point, is obscure. It is not mentioned on p. 262 if the 'annular vault' (a term that should be explained, as it is unusual) shown in fig. 216 was originally intended to be closed at the top. There is apparently a crack in one of the long voussoirs of the arch shown in fig. 108, and, if so, it might have been mentioned.

Acrocorinth as a whole is fully planned, the large folding-map (which also has contour lines) being most comprehensive and thorough, but the lack of a map showing the hill site in relation to the Long Walls to the Gulf is a serious omission; and indeed one would like to see the whole of the work which is described shown by a key map in relation to the city site of Corinth and the Isthmus, as there are historical references to the strategic value of the latter. That there was a definite relationship in classical times between the Rock and the City is made abundantly clear

in the book, and the Peirene spring had its source in Acrocorinth.

The book, like all the other Corinth publications, is finely produced, and the photographic illustrations are worthy of all praise. The Index of Proper Names is a good feature. The general ('Analytic') Index is under grouped headings, and this system has certain advantages. The headings 'City Wall' (p. 304) and 'Long Walls to Lechacum' (p. 306) might have been in larger type, as they represent important sub-sections of the text. In the 'Contents' these sub-sections might have been mentioned, with page references, to make them consistent with the classical section. There are two Appendices—A, 'The North-East Sector of the City Wall,' and B, 'A Chamber Tomb with Stone Funeral Bed from the Fifth Century B.C.' Architectural drawings of the latter, by Dr. Stillwell, are given on pls. IX and X. T. F.

Il Tempio e l'Altare di Apollo a Cirene.

By LUIGI PERNIER. Pp. vi, 152; 126 text figures and 12 plates, 2 in colour. Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'arti grafiche, 1935.

This monograph by Prof. Pernier, excellently written, illustrated and produced, is exceedingly important as the authoritative account of what must always be most fascinating to the student of classical architecture—an archaic Doric temple; and the first 'Apollonion' at Cyrene is placed by the author, with Prof. Weickert concurring, as a foundation of the end of the seventh century B.C., though the structure proper belonged to the sixth century. It is therefore one of the earliest Doric temples known, of which there are standing remains—earlier, as is pointed out, than any of the Sicilian Doric temples. The temple had an opisthodomos, but no pronaos, and the author cites Weickert's opinion that this was a 'Graeco-oriental' form pre-dating one believed to be peculiar to Magna Grecia and Sicily. Fortunately, fragments of capital exist which enabled the profile of its most essential parts to be drawn accurately (see fig. 36). We are thus aware that it had the heavy-bowl form of echinus that we find at Metaponto. The very top of this is gone, but it can be restored with approximate accuracy. The annulets—three boldly-projecting convex beadings—and the beginning of the neckings curve fortunately exist. The other facts (except the spacing and the frieze shown in the restoration on Pl. X) are apparently assumptions, but the remains of complete triglyph blocks are most valuable. The details can be studied in fig. 40. The glyphs are slightly flatter than right

angles, and the tops are normal in front elevation. The undercut, with its sweeping curve, is of great interest. Other important fragments of the first temple are from the internal colonnades (of which there are several long fluted monoliths), the acroteria, the antefixae, the marble tiles, and the relief sculpture. Apparently the whole of the setting out of the ground plan can be made out (see pls. IV and VIII), and we can see that the temple was of normal proportions (11 x 6 in columns), and was some 16 metres (about 55 feet) wide on the top step. From the evidence of the internal columns, it is probable that the columns of the peristyle are correctly restored as belonging to the considerably diminished but relatively slender type like those of Athena Pronaia at Delphi.

There were two later rebuildings, the evidences of which are fully described and illustrated. The second (or Hellenistic) temple belonged to the fourth century B.C., and was destroyed by fire in 117 A.D. The third temple was a work of the second and third centuries A.D., but was still essentially Greek in feeling. The very useful chronological summary on p. 141 gives all the facts.

Like the competent excavator he is, Prof. Pernier goes fully into the successive investigations of the temple between 1913 and 1934. A short section of the work is devoted to the altar ('grande altare dell' Apollonion'), which was also a work of the fourth century B.C. The indices are excellent. T. F.

Eleusis: a guide to the excavations and Museum. By K. KOUROUNIOTES. Translated by O. BRONEER. (*Ancient Cities and Museums of Greece*, 2.) Pp. 127; 71 figs, and a map. Athens: The Archaeological Society, 1936.

Dr. Kourouniotes has written a very pleasant guide to Eleusis. With the help of a very good plan and some useful lettered photographs, he makes his description of the ruins perfectly clear. This is prefaced by a sketch of the history of the site and a note on the Mysteries, which are just what the uninstructed tourist wants to give life and interest to what he is going to see. The translation shows too strong an impress of the original Greek to be pleasing, and it is obvious that its author had no opportunity to correct the proofs. J. P. D.

Pausanias à Delphes. By GEORGES DAUX. Pp. ii + 203; 9 plates, 6 figs. Paris: A. Picard, 1936.

This book was, we presume, 'written' in the

destiny of Delphi. It is one of the inevitable consequences of the intensive study of the site. It has, however, a general rather than a specially Delphic value: for in it Pausanias is as it were put on his trial, and the verdict returned gives us the measure of trust that we may place in his descriptions. As a result of M. Daux's investigations we learn that, though we may think Pausanias stupid, though his vanity may have kept him from spoiling what he thought was a work of literature by the insertion of a proper number of sign-posts and topographical indications, yet he was perfectly honest. He did see with his own eyes whatever he says he saw. He described things in the order in which he saw them.

In these pages he is cleared completely from the suspicion that he had incurred, through omitting the mention of any object more recent than 260 B.C., of having copied the work of an earlier tourist compiled at about that date.

His omission of all late monuments is explained as due to the fact that he was an antiquary interested in the ancient history of independent Greece, the comparatively modern had no appeal for him. Of works of art he had no appreciation, and he had no archaeological knowledge or interest in the development or evolution of artistic forms that might have led him to compare the older with more recent dedications. Moreover he was a pious antiquary. It was the *εὐσεβήματα* in the sanctuary that interested him, the evidences of piety towards the god. And M. Daux shows that from this point of view there is a difference between old offerings like the Bull of Corcyra and the statues of rich Actolians and Hellenistic princes which are evidence of human vanity rather than of piety, a difference sufficiently fundamental to account for Pausanias' omissions.

The book is prefaced by a text with a translation facing, the commentary checks each statement by the archaeological evidence, and a final chapter is devoted to Pausanias' method, motives and literary style. There is a bibliography, an adequate plan and some photographs very well reproduced. J. P. D.

Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder. By R. HAMPE. Pp. 112; 42 plates, 31 figures in text. Athens: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1936.

The heterogeneous but eminently interesting contents of this book are linked together either by their association with Boeotia or by their date: the ninth, eighth and seventh centuries. Part I deals with the scenes engraved on fibulae;

Part II with Boeotian geometric and subgeometric pottery and with certain early statuettes; Part III with the mythological and literary aspect of the subjects; Part IV with the pithoi ornamented by pictures in relief.

The fibulae decorated with human figures, animals and the like take an important place in early art because they are more lively, unexpected and spontaneous than most other products of the period. Dr. Hampe assigns to Boeotia both the lunate fibulae, Blinkenberg's group IX, and the fibulae with large catch plates belonging to Blinkenberg's eighth group; indeed, he succeeds in demonstrating that the two types might come from the same workshop. Evidence of origin is given by graves rather than by sanctuaries, and here we are faced by a problem which he fully recognises: the earliest fibulae come only from graves in Attica, while the later fibulae, far more numerous, come chiefly from Boeotian graves. Hence the older name 'Attico-Boeotian' for which he substitutes 'Boeotian.' Four main stylistic groups are distinguished, each work of one workshop or of one hand. The specimens are well reproduced, some for the first time, and a catalogue will be found at the end of the book.

In the delicate task of dating the fibulae, we receive some help from the grave contexts, but less than we should expect, so that much depends on the evidence of style. This is the pretext for discussions on the Boeotian vases and on the statuettes, discussions which are so useful that even without pretext they would have been welcome. Dr. Hampe's aim is to emphasise the points of contact between statuettes, vases and fibulae, and to group the objects in a coherent chronological series, checked where possible by reference to fabrics which, like the Corinthian and Proto-Attic, can be dated with greater certainty. The Boeotian vases of the geometric and subgeometric periods are not always easy to isolate from the Euboean and Cycladic, but the difficulty will be lessened in the future, thanks to the analysis which they receive here and to the illustrations of reliable specimens. The relation in which they stand to the fibulae is close enough to justify some useful comparisons, though the difference in technique, necessitating different conventions, prevents many of the parallels cited from being obvious. Can the very primitive fibula, no. 105 on pl. 16, really belong to the same stage of development as the sophisticated amphora, no. 2 on pl. 18?

Still farther removed from the fibulae are the statuettes, some Attic, some Peloponnesian, one East Greek, which must themselves first be

dated and then used as guides. The subject is still controversial: there is a difference of a century between the years to which Dr. Hampe and Dr. Kunze (*AM*, lv, 1930, pp. 141 ff.) assign the ivory figure from the Dipylon, and the verdicts of these two authorities rarely coincide. But the dates Dr. Hampe proposes for many of his examples are convincing, and even those scholars who question his conclusions in detail will appreciate his sound and sympathetic knowledge of the traditions of geometric and subgeometric art.

The account of the subjects chosen by the Boeotian craftsmen to engrave on their fibulae, or represent plastically on their pithoi, gives the book its title. These subjects appear to be influenced by the *Iliad*, and to consist of heroic or mythological scenes, almost to the exclusion of scenes from everyday life.

It is obviously not possible to give an adequate account of a publication which is so many-sided. Each section is in itself a valuable contribution, methodically arranged and easy to read, while the combined whole should take its place among the most important works on the geometric and subgeometric periods. Our only complaint is that the author does not pay it the compliment of writing an index, which the varied nature of the material demands and a book as excellent as this richly deserves. W. L.

Altsamische Standbilder III. By ERNST BUSCHOR. Pp. 62, 40 plates. Berlin, Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches: Gebr. Mann, 1935. 10 m.

Now that the last instalment of this series has appeared, we realise more clearly than ever how far our knowledge of early Greek art has progressed in the last ten years. In 1927, for instance, theories as to the archaic schools of sculpture were to a large extent hypothetical because, with few exceptions, there were not sufficient examples of the same style from the same site to provide reliable evidence for attributions. During the decade between then and now we have been suddenly enriched, since definite information on one of the chief schools of the Peloponnese has been supplied by the excavations at Perachora, while that important centre of East Greek art concerning which literary records are particularly suggestive has been amply illustrated by the products of the excavations and studies of the German Institute in Samos.

Certainly Professor Buschor's third volume, which cannot profitably be read without the other two, brings vividly before us the diversity

of subject which the Samian artist could create, and his mastery of various materials. Of bronze is the already famous flute-player, here published in detail; of stone (what kind?) is the most beautiful of the sandalled feet (Pls. 158-9); of terracotta the kneeling figures (fragmentary in Samos but supplemented by a complete specimen from Rhodes); of ivory the splendid early lion's head. Nor did the artist hesitate to experiment with figures in lively motion, not only on a small scale in bronze, but on a surprisingly large scale in stone. Scarcely less adventurous in the grouping of two or more figures, he advanced from the stage where mere juxtaposition was enough, as in the Geneleos group, to that where the participants are in contact, as in the struggle for the tripod, and finally—though here the evidence is incomplete—rose to a conception as complex as the carrying of one person by another.

Much of the Samian sculpture survives only in fragments, in the study of which we get peculiar pleasure from observing the skill with which Professor Buschor reconstructs the whole from the part.

The last section of the book is, on the whole, the most appealing. Here are the animals: among others, the frog sitting, stout but decorative, on a lion's-head water-spout; the head of a shy and lovely deer with the veins carefully modelled in bronze; and one of the nicest dogs that ancient art has produced. Much discernment and appreciation went to their making, an obvious enjoyment has inspired their description, and all these things will be remembered by the reader with gratitude.

W. L.

Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage. Vol.

III. By OSKAR WALDHAUER. Pp. 85; 44 plates and 107 figures in the text. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1936.

This third volume completes the late Dr. Waldhauer's catalogue of the sculptures of the Hermitage. The text now contained in volumes II and III was originally intended for one volume, and had been completed by him some years ago. Later a division was made: the last part follows the second after some delay, and Dr. Kurt Gebauer has therefore added references to recent literature, without, however, revising the text.

The remainder of the collection contains few surprises and, to modern eyes, displays little of beauty, though something of archaeological interest. For example, the replica of the Barberini suppliant (261), never of much merit,

is now a wreck, weathered, damaged, restored; but Hauser was able to suggest from it that the object held in the right hand was a snake. Waldhauer follows him and makes a plausible identification—an Erinyes.

But there are pleasing pieces too: 259, a triple Hecate, slight, but so fresh as to make one think it close to Alcámenes; 270 (from Olbia) claimed as an original of the late fifth century and certainly resembling the basis of Nemesis; and 336, a small but pretty fragment of an original head, perhaps late fifth rather than mid fourth century; 334, too, resembles Berlin K 173 (Blümel, *Katalog* IV, p. 36) rather than the 'matron from Herculaneum,' and so should be the copy of a work of 400 B.C. or thereabouts, possibly even earlier. 247 is a rare, I think unique, fourth-century type of goddess, draped, but holding her breasts, and 275 is an interesting seated Hygieia. There is much also, not surpassing in beauty or interest, of which an authoritative publication is nevertheless welcome; and to have the whole of this remote collection, for Russia still is remote for most scholars, thus properly photographed and described, is most useful. The illustrations, both half-tone and collotype, are of very high quality.

B. A.

Grieksche Ceramiek. By C. W. LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER. Pp. 208; 56 plates. Rotterdam: Nijgh and van Ditmar, 1936.

Dr. Scheurleer's published work on Greek art is distinguished and his collection, formerly in the Carnegie Museum at the Hague and now at Amsterdam, is well known. The book is well illustrated, and a number of the pictures are new or at least have not yet penetrated into the standard works. The following are notable: figs. 12 and 14, Cretan situla and pithos; fig. 44, Early Attic fragment with Menelaus and riders at Halle; fig. 47, Sophilos fragment with the games of Patroclus; fig. 50, krater by Lydos in New York; fig. 70, fragment of Caeretan hydria with the embassy to Achilles; fig. 99, detail of late white lekythos; fig. 101, bilingual aryballos by the Eretria painter; fig. 111, Tarentine fragment with perspective drawing of palace. It is convenient to have pictures of these important pieces collected in one work. The text deals first with uses of vases and technique, and then gives an historical account from the geometric period to Roman imperial times, ending with chapters on bucchero vases, vases in fayence and plastic vases. Dr. Scheurleer has written a careful text in which he describes all the various groups of vases, gives their dates,

and discusses the problems connected with them. It is remarkable how many individual vases he manages to mention in a small space and how much of the recent literature he manages to quote. The book is a very sane and useful account of Greek vases, and gives students in addition the necessary signposts for further study. An English translation would fill a long-felt want.

T. B. L. W.

Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona.

By P. N. URE. *Reading University Studies*. Pp. 107 + xii; 21 plates, 9 figs. Cambridge University Press, 1934.

This book carries on the Rhitsona tradition. Theoretically it is an admirable thing to put down everything, since every act of selection must betray, however slightly, the author's prejudices. In fact, however, we are but human, and the whole truth about Rhitsona is more than most mortals can digest. Intrinsically there is scarcely an object chronicled in this volume which is worth looking at twice, and not many that are worth looking at once. The whole interest of these graves lies in the fact that they render possible a more precise dating for the smaller and cheaper Corinthian pots, which, being widely distributed, are themselves important for the dating and relating of better things. The material then is important, and a careful publication of it is desirable. Professor Ure's work is very careful, but some of that care would have been better directed to the problem of selection. Selection no doubt implies some loss, but when completeness renders a book unreadable, the loss is greater. For there is matter of real interest buried here. The book was largely written before the appearance of Payne's *Necrocorinthia* and the conclusions were arrived at independently of that work. Professor Ure has carefully related his conclusions to Payne's, and where he differs from him shows good reason. Payne, as Professor Ure justly says, dealt with these small vases only as an incidental part of his larger study, and this detailed consideration of them makes a valuable scholium to Payne's work. The evidence of these graves points to an earlier dating, or at least an earlier demise, for many types, and Professor Ure adduces material from other sites to support this view. Other interesting points are the late survival of 'Argive Monochrome,' appearing in graves dated by Ure to c. 590-570 B.C., and the late appearance of primitive Boeotian figurines of 'Geometric' type, which do not begin before the sixth century. The backgrounds of the photographs are almost all painted out—a practice not really justified

by the aesthetic unimportance of the material; the cantharoi pl. XI, for instance, would look quite nice if properly presented. These two vases, by the way, are certainly, as Payne said, imitations of Attic, and cannot, as Professor Ure suggests, 'derive directly from Corinth.' That might possibly be maintained for the padded dancers, but the lions and sirens are closely Atticizing in every detail and quite remote from Corinthian.

M. R.

Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. By GISELA M. A. RICHTER. With eighty-three drawings

by LINDSLEY F. HALL. Vol. I, pp. xlvii + 249; 33 figs. Vol. II, 181 plates.

This book sets out in the first place to be a text to drawings and photographs of the better Attic red-figure vases in New York; in the second to be a general history of Attic red-figure vase-painting. Miss Richter's previous studies in this field make our expectations high, and they are not disappointed. First as a catalogue: there is a small photograph giving the shape of each complete vase—these all collected at the end—and a drawing or photograph of each scene. We are told that 'drawings have been made only of those scenes which could not be properly appreciated in photographs because of their state of preservation or their pronounced curvature.' All the same, in some cases supplementary photographs would have been nice, and in a few—e.g. the Thamyras hydria no. 162—a drawing would have made the composition more intelligible. This principle, however, would lead to the indefinite enlargement of a book of already princely proportions. The quality of Mr. Hall's drawings is very high, though, like Reichhold's, they occasionally lack spontaneity—perhaps the inevitable result of such strenuous accuracy. A searching test can be put on him by a comparison of his drawing of the Meletos Painter's old warrior (pl. 118) with the well-known detail photograph, e.g. Pfuhl, fig. 496. He stands it well; the fine lines seem a shade less sure in the drawing, and the extraordinary sadness of the expression is less immediately striking, so that one becomes more conscious of the almost caricatured features, but this is a peculiarly hard example. He is at his best where his originals are most quietly and nobly classical—his splendid drawings of the great Methyse and Persephone craters carry complete conviction. The standard of photography and reproduction is of course equally high. Plate 37, however, should surely be placed at a different angle: the ground-line

shows what the artist intended, even if it makes Herakles lean rather sharply forward. The present arrangement would appear grotesque if more of the small figure were preserved. Miss Richter's text to the illustrations is a model. Each vase is fully but succinctly described, with a date and where possible an ascription, and there is an analysis of the style of each artist represented. These analyses are sensitive and valuable, though Miss Richter is perhaps too widely appreciative. The 'singular charm' of pl. 48 escapes me, and if one wastes such terms on this kind of work, one has nothing left to say about such enchanting pieces as the amorous cups of the Kiss Painter (pl. 8) and Makron (pls. 51-54), the Pan Painter's Ganymede (pl. 69), the Akestorides Painter's young lyrist (pl. 107) or the sub-Meidian aryballos with romping children and a puppy (pl. 161). Likewise to describe pl. 94 as 'grandly conceived and finely worked' is to debase a phrase that might fitly be applied to the Methyse crater (pl. 109) or to the wonderful vase (pl. 124) with the return of Persephone. In dealing with a collection of this quality one could and should keep a very high standard. On the other hand, though Makron does sometimes draw hands clumsily, it is unkind to say so three times. Difficulties of interpretation are never shirked and often elucidated. I list a few queries, with one or two false references. P. 35: the signed vase in Berlin is a pelike, not an amphora. P. 60: 'Herakles . . . is about to give young Klytios . . . a crushing blow'; surely the blow has already been given, and the boy is falling stunned—note the parted lips and upturned eye. P. 83: references to the Antiphon Group: add Beazley, *Der Kleophradesmaler*, p. 16, where the Antiphon Painter is shown to have probably been influenced by the Kleophrades Painter. P. 118f., no. 88; Jason and the Golden Fleece: Miss Richter takes this vase for a regular heroic scene, possibly inspired by a tragedy, while the Bologna vase by the same hand, with a satyr in place of Jason, is a parody possibly inspired by a satyric drama. The mesquin, capering figure of the hero she regards as 'that rare thing in Greek art—an individualised human being,' adding that his insignificance is 'an effective foil for the dragon and the goddess.' True, but the effect is comic, I think intentionally. I cannot see the vase as the serious original of the Bologna parody—both seem to me parodies. The satyr on the Bologna vase is amusing παρά προσδοκίαν: one expects a Hyperion. The Jason on the New York vase is amusing for the same reason; he makes no

contrast to the satyr. One small point: Jason, like the satyr, is infibulated—surely not done among heroes. The question is puzzling, but I do not feel that the simple antithesis, New York serious—Bologna comic, is satisfactory. P. 143, note 2: for 'pl. 170,' read 'p. 308, fig. 148 (text to pl. 170).' P. 162, note 6: for 'p. 31 . . . pl. 4' read 'p. 65 . . . pls. 17-18.' P. 164, no. 130 (departure scene): 'his friend Antimachos . . . holds helmet and shield in readiness.' But the shield is not in readiness; it is hung on his back, with a string across his chest to keep it in place—he is the squire, who is going to carry it till it is wanted. P. 174, note 9, περιβαρίδες: may not one point of Kephisodoros's line be the joke, popular at many periods, about servant-girls these days putting on airs and dressing smarter than their mistresses? P. 196, no. 155: 'each wears a shaggy garment (μαλλωτὸς χιτῶν).' Surely they are rather, as Miss Richter describes them above, 'satyrs covered with white fleece.' No doubt, as the inscription implies, the picture was inspired by a theatrical representation, but the artist has drawn not dressed-up actors but old satyrs in their natural state.

As a general history of Attic red-figure vase-painting the book is also admirable. There is a comprehensive and very useful introduction—General Characteristics, Subjects, Ornaments, Shapes, Inscriptions, Technique—and separate introductions to each of the seven periods into which Miss Richter divides the style. The stylistic analyses of these periods are good and helpful, but they are treated perhaps too absolutely, with too little emphasis on the various lines of general development that march through them. Terms like Archaic and Classical have real meaning, representing ages with different styles and outlooks, but the vases grouped, for instance, under 'Early Free Style' have no coherence among themselves and are mostly inseparable either from what precedes or from what follows. It would better be called 'Transitional'—a heading under which one need not pretend to discover homogeneity. Miss Richter is at pains to relate vase-painting to the major arts, and her observations here, too, are often of value. On the dangers, however, of parallels in drapery treatment between sculpture and vase-painting (p. 10) see Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, p. 9, note 1. The relation with major painting is an even more delicate problem. It is pretty clear, as Miss Richter points out, that, before the advances in free painting associated with Polygnotos, vase-painting and free painting were arts of similar quality, but that after that time vase-painting got left behind, and became

gradually more of a craft and less of an art. Miss Richter, however, on p. 190 and elsewhere, gives the impression that the vase-paintings of c. 430 B.C. and onwards are as good evidence for contemporary free painting as those of earlier periods for the free painting of their time. This, I think, is wrong. The rift began with the Polygnotan advances in free painting, which made impossible demands on the shapes and technique of vases. A few vase-painters failed to perceive this and simply went ahead, using their vase fields as the others used their panels or walls, with results like the craters pls. 97-99. Since these are all we have of Polygnotan painting they are of value to us, but their authors were rather the blindest than the 'most ambitious' artists of their time. Others, clearer sighted but cautious, ignored the new movements and looked to the past. The real experimenters of this generation are those who, like the Penthesilea Painter and to a lesser degree Hermonax, sought to express the breadth and grandeur of the new compositions in terms suitable to vase decoration. Thereafter the arts follow different courses. No doubt in details of drawing—faces, drapery, foreshortenings, poses—vases reflect contemporary work in the larger sphere, but not in composition, nor *a fortiori* in general character. When vases of this period are composed on several levels, they seem not to be in direct relation to the major compositions of the time, but rather the development of a new vase-painter's style on the basis of the scheme imported from major painting a generation before. The Eretria Painter's pretty ballet on an Amazonomachy (pl. 144) clearly belongs to this class, and a still more instructive piece is the fine Centauromachy fragment (pl. 161) from the very end of the fifth century. Miss Richter says of this that 'the influence of Pheidian sculpture is apparent'—an unhappy compromise. The types are post-Pheidian, while the composition is practically that of Olympia and the Niobid Painter's Berlin fragments. The craters pls. 97-99 inevitably recall, poor as they are, the great battle-pieces of Uccello and Piero della Francesca. They are the shadow of something great, and looking at them, one feels that one has a faint notion of the sort of art that was practised by Polygnotos and Mikon. The vases of the Meidian era tell us much about the fashions and taste of the period, even about the style of drawing, but who looking at them can really say that he knows, however faintly and momentarily, anything vital about the art of Zeuxis and Parrhasios?

I have criticised this book at length because it

is a work of importance deserving to be judged by the strictest standards, and because it seems worth while to stress those problems and aspects which are comparatively neglected by the author. This is a worthy presentation of a splendid collection, and will stand after Beazley's books as one that must be digested by any student of Attic red-figure vase-painting. M. R.

Paestan Pottery. By A. D. TRENDALL. Pp. xiv + 141; 36 plates, 1 figure. London: The British School at Rome (Macmillan and Co.), 1936.

In producing this exhaustive account of Paestan Pottery Mr. Trendall renders a most valuable service to all students of vase-painting and offers a very substantial contribution to the history of South Italian ceramics. The Paestan style has long been distinguished and its main features described, and there are important articles on individual vases published in Furtwängler-Reichhold, but nothing like a complete survey of the fabric has hitherto been made.

Excavations at Paestum date back to 1805, when the Hesperides lekythos, signed by Asteas, was found. By 1864 five signed pieces, three from Paestum itself, were known. Gradually unsigned vases were attributed to Asteas and others brought into close stylistic relationship. Tillyard later showed that there were vases in the Paestan style earlier than the productions of Asteas which had at first been taken as the starting point. But the actual origins of the fabric have remained obscure until now convincingly demonstrated by Mr. Trendall in his first chapter. Following a careful and incontrovertible analysis which the reader may check from the illustrations, he connects the vases by the Dirce painter and his successors with those of Asteas and his circle.

Three of the kraters by the Dirce painter (named by Beazley) come from Fusco near Syracuse. They have been variously attributed to different fabrics, the possibility of Sicilian workmanship being one suggestion. Mr. Trendall explains his disagreement with this view, preferring, with Pace, to connect them on the one hand with the Dolon vase and other South Italian volute kraters of the early fourth century, and on the other to link them to Asteas. The thirty vases attributed to the Dirce painter and his followers are indeed what Mr. Trendall calls 'Early Paestan'; (some of them found a place in Tillyard's early group). The decidedly provincial character of the Dirce painter's work can readily be seen from the illustrations. It is just off the main line of Early South Italian

vase-painting; at the same time, the connection is apparent. Mr. Trendall compares, for instance, the Patroclus vase with the Dolon krater. Perhaps a faint echo of the style of the Amykos painter may be found in the seated figure of Electra on the Orestes vase (pl. I). Now, the Dolon painter is a link between artists of the main line and those of the Lucanian style proper. He and the Creusa painter, who has roots in the Attic tradition, lead away from the main stem in a Lucanian direction. So we see that the earliest Paestan painter, the Dirce painter, worked in a semi-provincial style that has at least affinities with Lucanian. Mr. Trendall refers to the Lucanian conquest of Paestum, which he says may reasonably be dated to the early years of the fourth century—in any case before 390. He agrees with Pace in dating the Fusco kraters to about 380, but does not suggest any inference. A range of about 25 years is given to these early Paestan vases, and interesting comparisons with two Athenian reliefs dated 362 and 355 are made.

The earliest vases by Asteas touch this group. Figures on the Molon relief (362/1) are compared to Hope 263, by a follower of the Dirce painter, and to Aiopis on the Hesperides lekythos, and many similarities between the work of the Dirce painter and Asteas are pointed out. Paestan vase-painting is, of course, still pre-eminently Asteas, and some of his vases, particularly those with parodies or phlyax pictures, are, in their way, as good as any that South Italy has produced. Mr. Trendall discusses all the signed pieces, together with the six unsigned phlyax vases, and describes and illustrates many minor works. These last are in some cases flattered by the excellence of the illustrations which conceals their essential dinginess; the palmette frame, so useful as a chronological datum, remains an intolerable feature right to the end of the fabric. A short chapter is devoted to the Asteas Group, which comprises a fairly large number of vases very near his style.

Of the vases signed by Asteas, special prominence is rightly given to the Madrid krater with the madness of Herakles, and the Buccino fragments. There seems to be no doubt that Mr. Trendall is justified in his criticism of Rizzo's restoration of the vase to which the latter belong, and that his alternative dimensions are correct. On the Madrid vase he draws attention, as others have done, to the very curious attire of Herakles, but does not suggest what seems the obvious explanation. The fantastic plumed helmet, fringed chiton of thin spotted material (fringes are not uncommon with

Asteas but only otherwise on women's clothes) and chains of beads at the waist, all intensify at a glance, and in a slightly comic way, the mental derangement of the hero. Such a device is entirely in keeping with the genius of Asteas, and to have suggested, as did Hirtzel, that the *raison d'être* of the helmet was to fill the loggia space above, is an insult to his talent for parody. The slender girlish arm of Ajax on the fragment is another touch in this vein.

Python's vases are admirably described and dated on stylistic grounds round about 340–20. The minor vases are very conveniently grouped according to subject, and throughout the likenesses to and divergences from the style of Asteas his master are faithfully noted. Possibly here, and more especially later, in dealing with the lesser painters, Mr. Trendall's penetrating observation of detail leads him occasionally to infer too much, and in explaining similarities between one vase and another as the result of direct influence of one painter on another, to imply closer contacts between painters and a greater degree of organisation within the fabric than can be proved. Occasionally, also, the proposed chronological order of a painter's works seems to rest on too formal a basis, disregarding the possibility of bad work being merely careless rather than late, and leading one to forget that we are in any case dealing only with a selection of the total products. But in both cases this is only a question of emphasis.

Mr. Trendall tackles with the greatest courage the period of the transition and the decadence, which he brings to an end about 285, rather before the Roman conquest of Paestum. Lamentable as are most of the vases of this period, their subjects are often not unamusing, and frequently of considerable interest. Several show scenes that are still unexplained; and while many are less good than their reproductions, others gain something in actual life from their varied colouring. We have now reached the period, of which Mr. Trendall quotes Aristoxenos of Tarentum as recording 'that the Paestans had sunk almost to the level of barbarians, though they still met once a year to celebrate one of their old Greek festivals.' The later Paestan vases show marked Campanian influence, and it seems clear that the two fabrics were in close contact. Four painters after Python are distinguished, of which the interesting group of the Caivano painter, of the transition period, shows this contact particularly strongly. Samnite warriors appear on some of the vases of this group, many of which have been previously classed as Campanian. Capua 7559, by the

Caivano painter, perhaps represents Electra with Orestes and Pylades rather than the leave-taking of Bellerophon from Proteus, as Mingazzini suggests. The evidence of coins found with some of the Caivano vases helps to date the transition period from about 330-10.

That the fabric long known as Paestan is correctly ascribed to the town of Paestum can hardly be doubted. Other suggestions are honestly examined by the author, who readily admits that the scanty records of early excavations make it impossible to speak of absolute proof. But the conclusion reached in the last chapter rests on sufficiently firm foundation to leave little room for doubt.

A comprehensive vase catalogue and museum register completes the book. There is one small error; the Kylix No. 155 (p. 121) should be Vienna 206, not 602; also spelling mistakes on pages 14 and 65.

Now that this fabric has been so admirably set in order, the ground is partly cleared for the full history of South Italian Vase painting which Mr. Trendall hopes to produce in due course.

N. R. O.

The Rendel Harris papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham. Edited by J. ENOCH POWELL. Pp. xii + 134; 5 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1936. 15s.

The chief interest of this collection will probably be found in the unidentified literary fragments, of which there are 34, all but two quite small: they offer a field for speculation, and it may be suggested that the handwriting and style of some seem to indicate school exercises. Among the fragments of extant authors are two useful papyri, of Euripides, *Medea*, and Demosthenes, *Philippic* iv. There are no remarkable novelties in the official and private documents, but items of value can be gleaned here and there. The transcription, so far as it can be tested, seems well done, and the commentaries are to the point. Altogether, this is a commendable piece of work.

J. G. M.

Herodot: Der erste Geschichtschreiber des Abendlandes. By M. POHLENZ. Pp. 221. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1937. 6.90 m.

The sub-title of this volume (which belongs to the 'Neue Wege zur Antike' series) proclaims its object, which is to re-assert against recent criticism the right of Herodotus to rank as the 'Father of History.' Pohlenz deals effectively but briefly with those who see nothing in Herodotus but a light-hearted purveyor of Decameron

stories, and those others who lose out of view his enlightened pan-Hellenism and dub him a propagandist in the interests of Athens. He argues more elaborately against the theory that Herodotus was primarily a geographer and became a historian by an afterthought. The ground on which he takes his stand here is not altogether firm. Not all of his readers will agree that Herodotus' geographical excursions are organically connected with his main theme and form a suitable prelude to his war-story. But his careful analysis of the structure of Herodotus' work leaves us in no doubt that τὰ Περσικά was, after all, his *Leitmotiv*. (It might be added that the other three great writers on human and cultural geography in ancient times, Polybius, Posidonius and Strabo, were primarily interested in history.)

Pohlenz is also at pains to defend Herodotus against the charge that he knew nothing of historical technique. With Bury, he points out that Herodotus' method of collecting information by *ἑρσις* and *ἀκοή* was a peculiarly exacting method of research; with Grundy, he emphasises that his eyes and ears were remarkably accurate recording instruments. Again, Pohlenz shows that if Herodotus reflected less on the 'Problematic' of history than Thucydides, and was less austere in his logic, yet he exercised great influence on Thucydides, and, far from 'cribbing' his predecessor Hecataeus, he improved on Hecataeus' methods.

ἐν περίργῳ, Pohlenz contends that the ending of Book IX is intolerably abrupt, and infers that Herodotus' unfulfilled intention was to carry on to the capture of Byzantium.

Two small criticisms of detail may be offered here: (1) Herodotus does not absolve the Alcmaeonids of blood-guiltiness by pleading that they killed Cylon in a good cause (p. 167), but by transferring the responsibility for his murder to the mysterious 'πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων' (V. 71.) (2) Is it quite correct to say that in Herodotus' eyes the entire Περσικά were summed up in the name of Salamis (p. 143)? In IX. 64 he describes the battle of Plataea as 'νίκη καλλίστη ἀπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.'

In conclusion, the paternity of History must remain unsettled until we all agree what constitutes a 'historian.' But Pohlenz's re-statement of Herodotus' claims is opportune and deserves to carry much weight. It is based on a wide and mature acquaintance with Herodotus' work; and, above all, it takes into proper account the general mental atmosphere of Herodotus' age. Instead of dissecting a dead book, Pohlenz studies a living author.

M. C.

Histoire Grecque, Tome III : La Grèce au iv^e siècle ; la lutte pour l'hégémonie (404-336). By G. GLOTZ, assisted by R. COHEN. Pp. 539. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires, 1936. 60 fr.

No one could have been better equipped than Gustave Glotz to tell the complicated story of fourth-century Greece. He lived to bring the third volume of his *Histoire Grecque* almost to completion, and again enjoyed the collaboration of R. Cohen, who modestly implies that his own contribution is confined to the collection of material.

The authors present their narrative with the lucidity which distinguishes their previous volumes, and they punctuate it with brilliant character-studies and penetrating summaries of political situations. They do not allow themselves to be led into controversy or speculation, evidently believing that the office of a general history, however detailed it may be, is rather to absorb the more convincing contributions of others than to produce new theories. The documentation is most thorough, and they do not over-stress the importance of works written in their own language. Very few notable works in English escape them, though reference might have been made to Ferguson's account of the Thirty in *CAH V*, to Seltman's *Greek Coins*, and to Cross' *Epirus*.

The period from 404 to 362 must remain a depressing one, but much of its dreariness can be removed by modern writers who discard the old-fashioned belief that Agesilaus was its most important personality and the *Hellenica* of Xenophon its only important source. The insistence of Glotz and Cohen on political issues enables them to go far beyond their predecessors in this respect; their main interest lies, not in military operations, but in inter-state relations, the organisation of confederacies, and constitutional and financial reform. Concentration on such topics means concentration on Athens, thanks to the comparative abundance of evidence afforded by Attic inscriptions and Attic orators; and this attitude lends unity to their narrative, though it does not blind them to the many follies of Athenian policy. Spartan and, to a lesser degree, Theban imperialism is dismissed with scant respect.

The Macedonian period is prefaced by a chapter describing Macedonia and its people and summarising its history down to 359 (356 is surely a mistake). This very happy innovation throws into relief the achievement of Philip, whose struggle with Athens and destruction of Greek autonomy fills four comprehensive and

often highly dramatic chapters. The portrait of Demosthenes is not altogether satisfying and remains incomplete, since the later stages of his career are excluded from this volume owing to a modification of Glotz' original plan. On the whole the authors accept the high estimate of his statesmanship contained in P. Cloché's *La politique étrangère d'Athènes*, but it is difficult to believe that his patriotic aims were realisable when political and social conditions were such as they describe in their introduction. Aeschines is correspondingly depreciated, the strength of his defence in the trial of 343 and the skill of his diplomacy at Delphi being somewhat underrated. In the chapter on the western Greeks full justice is done to the practical genius of Dionysius I, while Dion is treated with a severity which, if shocking to many Platonists, is substantially merited. It might, however, be argued that he was lacking in statecraft and tact rather than in sincerity. The book closes with attractive chapters on *La vie intellectuelle* and *La vie artistique*, the latter being largely the work of Ch. Picard.

A few notes may be added on points of detail. Pp. 226-33: should it be assumed that Philip acted as regent from 359 to 356? This is the view of Beloch, which has been accepted by others, but he does not claim that the evidence is conclusive (*Gr. Gesch.* III. 1, 232, n. 3), and it seems *a priori* unlikely that the regency lasted three years. P. 303: the tetrarch Daochus was not an Aleuad of Larisa, but a Pharsalian (as correctly stated on p. 489), and he is not specifically defended by Polybius. P. 417: the statement that Tarentum enlisted the services of Phalaecus and his mercenaries is inaccurate.

Many will regret that a work which will continue to be a standard text-book for many years has not been better produced. The price is low, and economy may account for many blemishes, but careful proof-reading could have reduced the large number of misprints. It is strange that the English, Italian, and German equivalents of 'la Sicile' are incorrectly reproduced (p. 380 *Bibl.*; p. 393, n. 43; p. 409, n. 102), and that a false reference in Beloch (*loc. cit.*, 186, n. 2, where Paus. VII should read Paus. VIII) has apparently been copied without verification (p. 155, n. 33). Whoever is responsible for the errata on the final page has not been very observant. Several maps and a chronological table would have been welcome.

But such trifles scarcely diminish our gratitude to the authors of an invaluable work.

H. D. W.

H

Euagoras I. von Salamis: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kyprischen Königs. By K. SPYRIDAKIS. Pp. 123, with 1 plate. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935.

Nearly a generation has passed since the last substantial account of the most striking figure in the history of Cyprus was published, in Swoboda's article in Pauly-Wissowa (1907). It was therefore perhaps time that the subject should be resumed; and it is significant of the rate at which research proceeds that hardly any of the authorities whose opinions are quoted by Swoboda figure in the pages of this dissertation. And yet the result is very much the same so far as the place of Euagoras in history is concerned. It comes to this, that he was the first true forerunner of 'Hellenismus.' Our author's handling of the theme is somewhat overweighted by the excessive amount of space—about a quarter of the book—devoted to the estimate of Isocrates; he only succeeds in showing that the orator gives a highly distorted image of his hero, which can hardly be used at all for historical purposes unless it is otherwise confirmed. The image is that of the ideal 'tyrant,' in the good sense of the word, and representative of Greek, or rather Athenian, culture in opposition to the barbarian. Anything that is likely to spoil this picture is ignored or slurred over, as in the case of the nasty scandal which led to the murder of the king. However, we may be grateful to the author for providing a very patient and careful analysis of all the material for the biography, both literary and archaeological, although his handling of the latter is not always to be commended. His over-elaborate account of the coinage, for instance, would have been the better for revision by an experienced numismatist, who would have saved him from the suggestion (if we understand him aright) that some of the coins were struck in two processes with two hand-dies (the second process would have obliterated the result of the first); from the acceptance as true bronze issues of coins which are probably the cores of pieces originally plated with silver; and from the quite impossible attribution to Euagoras of the gold coins with the initial of Nikokles, which he reads as a Greek E with four arms. The Cypriote sign for ν is unmistakable. On the other hand, the suggestions as to the interpretation of some of the coin-types will probably find general acceptance: Heracles as the champion of Greek culture, the goat as an astrological symbol. The plate of coins is good.

G. H.

Die Alexandergeschichte des Königs Ptolemaios I. von Aegypten: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion. By ERNST KORNE-MANN. Pp. vi + 267. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1935. 7.50 m.

Since his controversial essay on Alexander and the Macedonians in *Staaten, Völker, Männer*, we have been eagerly awaiting this fuller exposition of Professor Kornemann's views on Ptolemy's *History of Alexander*. In the present volume he claims that Ptolemy's work was not a mere military diary, but a full history of the type later represented by the *Memoirs of Aratos* or *Caesar's Commentarii*. This may be true; but it cannot be said to emerge as a proved fact from Kornemann's book.

The basis for reconstruction is, of course, in the main Arrian; and Kornemann's method is first to subject to close criticism the passages which are known (or all but known) with certainty to be from Ptolemy, then to use the material thus gleaned—details of language and subject matter, traces of a 'Macedonian' attitude, etc.—as a basis for dissecting the rest of Arrian: simultaneously, as a second criterion, all that is known not to be Ptolemy or is even considered doubtful is to be excluded. The result will be Ptolemy; and Kornemann recommends that in future such passages should be referred to as 'Ptolemy in Arrian.' It is on this basis that he builds up his fascinating accounts of Ptolemy's literary characteristics and the influence of his Macedonian upbringing, his position as a monarch and his Egyptian policy upon his writing. Unfortunately, most of these chapters must be read with a caveat. The fact is, in practice the author's criteria for disentangling Ptolemy from Arrian prove inadequate. In the first place, he ignores the possibility that a passage may be unquestionably based upon Ptolemy, yet its vocabulary may still be that of Arrian; hence there is no justification for treating such favourite words as παραγγελλειν or ἀναλαμβάνειν as an invariable sign that Ptolemy is here the source. Secondly, the author shows a tendency to dogmatise in his interpretation of such phrases as μέγιστοι (which may be Ptolemy or the vulgate) or οὐδὲ ἐγὼ ἔπαινω (which may be either Ptolemy or Arrian himself); too often they are simply stated to be one or the other and no evidence is adduced.

The author claims as his most important conclusion (p. 33) that the final character-sketch of Alexander is not from Arrian's own hand, but is a verbal transcript from Ptolemy, to whose work it formed a climax; it is sufficient

to draw attention to the very valid criticisms of this theory made by Dr. Tarn in *CR* 1936, 137. On the other hand, the analysis of the speech at Opis is very valuable, and Kornemann makes a good case for attributing it to Ptolemy; similarly, he has an excellent discussion of the introduction of Sarapis into the account of Alexander's death, and he strengthens his previous argument that Ptolemy was responsible for an edition of the *Ephemerides*.

Thus as an analysis of Arrian's *Anabasis* and a compendium of the critical work done on the subject of Ptolemy's *History*, Kornemann's study will prove of very real value; moreover, it makes a large number of excellent original contributions to the discussion. But its real danger is signalled by the author himself when, on the episode of Cleitos' death, he writes: 'Nach heissem Bemühen ist es mir auch hier gelungen, seinen (sc. Ptolemaios') Bericht zu finden.' It is precisely because of this 'heisses Bemühen' to reconstruct the work of Ptolemy where there is simply not the evidence for certainty that Kornemann's arguments often go amiss. Consequently, until that further evidence is forthcoming we shall be wise to treat his Ptolemy as not very much more than a subjective reconstruction.

F. W. W.

Delphes au II^e et au I^{er} Siècle depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine, 191-31 av. J.-C. By GEORGES DAUX. Pp. iii + 745; 5 plates and 8 sketches. Paris: de Boccard, 1936. 100 fr.

The French excavations at Delphi and four decades of subsequent editing and publishing have at last made it possible to write a continuous account of the history and the life of the town for the Hellenistic period. The later years, from the end of the Aetolian hegemony down to 31 B.C., are the subject of this study by M. Daux, and it is not easy to see how it could have been bettered. The book is divided into three sections dealing with the chronology (which is worked out afresh *ab initio*), the history proper and, finally, a survey of certain selected aspects of Delphic institutions and external relations. In all three the author combines acute powers of criticism with a delightful style of presentation; above all—and this is perhaps the supreme merit in a work of this type—he never fails to recognise the point at which the evidence stops and hypothesis begins. Consequently his book is likely to become the standard work on the subject for many years to come.

The main basis for the chronological reconstruction is twofold, the manumission records

of slaves 'sold' by a legal fiction to Apollo and the valuable list of proxenoi from the polygonal wall (Ditt. *Syll.* ³ 585); for the latter M. Daux reproduces a clear facsimile of Nikitsky's squeeze, and we are thus able to check the argument at every step. Among the more important results for the earlier years the author assigns the archonship of Mantias definitely to 200-199, and casts doubts upon the order of Euangelos and Mantias in 180-178; the position of the two names upon the stone is not in itself sufficient evidence for the usual order, and, on the other hand, if the Lochagos who appears in the Amphictyonic list of 178 is the Aetolian general who held office during the archonship of Euangelos, we have here a good reason for assigning his generalship (and with it the archonship of Euangelos) to 180-179 rather than the following year. Other archonships which receive special attention are those of Amphistratos (160-159), Aristion (134-3) and Kleodamos Κλεάμων (102-1), the last-named being, in fact, the pivot for the whole of the later (and more hypothetical) chronology. By its completeness and scrupulous treatment of the evidence, this section provides a solid foundation for all future work on the second- and first-century Delphic chronology.

The historical chapters are also based mainly on epigraphical material, and offer a salutary contrast to the slipshod and arbitrary conclusions of Pomtow. The results are illuminating not only for Delphi, but also for the general history of Greece and Macedon, particularly during the period down to 166; and in general the author has a detailed knowledge of this wider background. On p. 264, however, misled by the annalist account of Livy 37, 49, he is a little too ready to assume that the Aetolians broke the truce of 190; the recrudescence of war in Greece during that year was scarcely earlier than December. And on the position of Phocis during the First Macedonian War his account rather suggests (p. 239 note) that Tithronion and Drymaea went to Philip by the Aetolian peace of 206, whereas they were in fact taken by him in 208 (Livy 28, 7, 13). But generally the author is both accurate and penetrating, and his account of the part played by Delphi in the settlements of 191-190 and the subsequent alignment of Delphi, Thessaly, Aetolia and Macedon inside and outside the Amphictyony, as revealed in such inscriptions as Ditt. *Syll.* ³ 609-13 and 630, will be welcomed by all students of this period. For the later years of the second century and the whole of the first the narrative is necessarily less connected; but full

treatment is given to whatever facts have survived, in particular to the Delphic scandal of 125 (which has an appendix to itself) and the sack of the sanctuary by the Thracians, which M. Daux gives good reason for dating in 84.

In his third division the author voluntarily limits himself to certain topics, the actual institutions of Delphi, its population and the relations of the town with central Greece, Athens, Rome and the Hellenistic monarchies (excluding Macedon). Many aspects of life at Delphi require, as M. Daux points out, a 'vertical' rather than a 'horizontal' approach; they do not fit well within a study limited chronologically at either end. For others, again—for instance, for a complete prosopography—not all the evidence is yet to hand. Nevertheless, in spite of these handicaps, which are fully recognised, M. Daux contrives to give us a rich and valuable survey; he shows the central Greek character of the sanctuary gradually coming to the fore as the second century advances, and he demonstrates the affiliations with Ozolian Locris, determined in part by geography and in part by the Aetolian domination. One of the most interesting sections of this part of M. Daux's work is his development of Boethius' theory respecting the Attic Pythaid processions sent both from Athens and the Tetrapolis of Marathon to Pythian Apollo at Delphi and Delos.

The book is well produced and errors are few; the plates and sketches are clearly printed and form an integral part of the argument. I note two misprints, in the Greek, Εὐάγγελος for Εὐάγγελος (p. 190) and Ἀλεξομενός for Ἀλεξομενός (p. 629); one would welcome some explanation why the Aetolian general of 218–217 is called Hagetas, since in Polybios (v. 91,1), *GDI* 2049 and *Ditt. Syll.*³ 553a he is Ἀρχέτας; and there is some wavering on pp. 96 and 216–7 between the forms Archelaos and Archelas for the same archon. These points are, of course, insignificant in proportion to the work and what it contains. It covers an extremely wide range of topic, from religious ceremonies to political intrigues, and almost always the author has valuable and original contributions to make. His readers will look forward with keen interest to the companion volume by M. R. Flacelière on Delphi under the Aetolians, which is promised for this year.

F. W. W.

Ploutarchos' Leven van Aratos: met historisch-topographisch Commentaar. By W. P. THEUNISSEN. Pp. xx + 327. Nijmegen: Berkhout, 1935.

For a long time a historical commentary on

Plutarch's *Aratos* has been badly needed; unfortunately, in spite of its pretentious format, this doctor's thesis from Nijmegen does little to fill the gap.

Its size is impressive: we are given 26 pages on the sources (divided into a general survey of all the sources for our knowledge of Aratos and a close analysis of Plutarch's *Life*, chapter by chapter), a historical introduction, embracing Gonatas' policy in Greece and a sketch of the two Leagues, a text (Lindskog and Ziegler) and Dutch translation of the *Aratos* and, finally, the commentary itself and a criticism of previous writers in the same field.

This impressive façade hides an infinitesimal amount of original work. Not only does T. go to his predecessors for ideas, but he ransacks them for metaphors, phrases, sentences and paragraphs, and reproduces whole pages from them without acknowledgment. Examples abound: the account of the freeing of Sicyon in 251 (T. 161–9) is taken from an article by M. A. Levi (*Athenaeum*, VIII. 1930, 508), the discussion of Gonatas' 'tyrant-system' (T. 180–4) from Fellmann (*Antigonos Gonatas*, Diss. Würzburg, 1930, 59–60) and the 'overzicht der bronnen' (T. 14–26) is a mere reproduction of the arguments of Schulz (*Quib. ex font. fluxerint Ag. Cleom. Ar. vitae Plutarchae*, Diss. Berlin, 1886). In each case the debt is unacknowledged. Moreover, T. disparages his predecessors even when copying their work; for example, the present reviewer finds himself dismissed as 'geheel van Ferrabino afhankelijk' (T. 253, n. 160), while his criticism of that writer is reproduced as T.'s own in the same note! Indeed, one could fill many pages unprofitably with passages in which T. echoes the very phrase or, as on page 199, n. 112, copies the inaccurate references of his own 'bronnen.'

T. tries vainly to rescue the theory of an early appeal to Macedon from the searching criticisms of Cary, Porter and Treves; he puts the despatch of the Megalopolitans (Pol. II. 48, 7) in April 228, instead of in 229, with Ferrabino and myself, in order to give Doson time to finish his northern wars and make peace with Aetolia. But this hypothesis leaves unexplained why, in that case, Doson broke off such a swift and successful campaign—for we know that he recovered Hestiacotis and Thessaliotis before making peace—instead of going on and driving the Aetolians out of Phthiotid Achaea too. Nor does it answer the old objection that in April 228 Aratos was still busy freeing Athens.

T.'s translation of the *Life* is in the main adequate, though occasional inaccuracies creep

in (e.g. *φέρων* in 9, 6 is not 'uit eigen beweging'). The topographical sections on Argos, Corinth, Sicyon and Phylacia suffer from the general lack of originality. The comments on former scholars are drawn chiefly from their various reviewers. In short, the main importance of this book is to show once again the need for a more strict criterion in the publishing of doctorate-theses.

F. W. W.

**Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*. By S. PELEKIDES. Pp. 129; 32 plates. University of Salonika, 1934. 250 dr.

This book provides interesting additions to our knowledge of ancient Thessalonike as a result of recently discovered epigraphical material. Attention may be drawn to the following matters elucidated by these inscriptions: the worship of Sarapis, which existed in the city at least as early as the beginning of the second century B.C., as is shown by a decree of Philip V of Macedon ordering that revenues of a Sarapeion should not be alienated; new evidence relating to the Politarchs, which proves that they functioned as magistrates as early as the third century B.C.; a series of monuments of altar-form, which throw fresh light on the New Pythian games held in the city from 240 after Christ, and in particular on the worship (hitherto unknown) of a *Θεὸς Φοῦλβος*. Though the list of priests of this deified Fulvus extends, so far as the evidence is available, only from 219 to 269 after Christ, the editor brings forward arguments which make it probable that the worship in question was that of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. The use of the name Fulvus points to some special worship of him at Thessalonike in the third century.

An appendix discusses the relative positions of officials of Thessalonike and of the *Κοινὸν* of Macedonia, and also the title *Νεωκόρος*. When this is preceded by a numeral—β' or δ'—it seems to refer to the number of the deified members of the Imperial family living at the time.

The book is characterised by thoroughness and scholarly ability. It is furnished with clearly produced plates of the inscriptions and useful indexes of persons and subject-matter.

F. H. M.

The Story of Instruction: the beginnings.

By E. C. MOORE. Pp. vii + 380. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. \$3.00.

The author's object in writing this book is to show how the civilisations of Greece and Rome 'appraised and sought to preserve their gains by making them over into the secure possession of

the young.' It may be doubted whether that object has been attained. The method employed consists mainly of a narrative, often attractively written, describing the chief features in the history of Sparta, Athens, Hellenistic Greece, and Rome; but the story so told is seen through the eyes of the author, and not through those of the children of antiquity. As if to compensate for this, certain passages are introduced which deal with ancient systems of education; but these tend to divert the reader from the author's original thesis: in particular, Chapter III (on the 'Golden Age of Athens') loses much of its unity through this unintentional dualism of purpose. Perhaps the author's chief difficulty may arise from an over-stated thesis; a reading of this book suggests that, where temporal gains (either spiritual or mental) were concerned, the ancients looked far more often to the present than to the future.

The book as a whole shows signs of hasty preparation. Wide citation of the views of other scholars has led to errors such as 'Professor J. L. Myers' (p. 16), 'N. D. Tod' (p. 78); we read of 'Massilots' (p. 318), and of the reign of Vespasian dated 'A.D. 69-70' (p. 367). And it is surprising to find in a book otherwise well printed and produced (and not inexpensive) an absence of the σ form of *sigma*, seen in such examples as 'γραμματιστής' (p. 134), 'σοφός' (p. 203); such misprinting is consummated in 'ψήφισμα' (p. 69).

C. H. V. S.

Sphairopoia: Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des Krates von Pergamon. By H. J. METTE. Pp. xx + 316. München: Beck, 1936. 11.25 m.

Many to whom Crates, the rival of Aristarchus as a Homeric critic, has been known mostly from an occasional allusion must have wondered how a person so intolerably dull and stupid as those allusions suggest can have attained so great a reputation as apparently he once had. Their wonder will be increased by the perusal of the neat volume before us, in which Herr Mette, with care and diligence beyond all praise, has collected, annotated and illustrated all the passages which bear upon the scientific conceptions embodied in the explanation given by Crates of the Homeric cosmography. Alike in his studies of 'The Poet,' and in divagations to lesser lights like Euripides and Aratus, Crates appears as the dullest and most prosaic of mankind, whose desire to interpret poetry to others must have arisen because he had found it so completely unintelligible to himself. It is true that we hear of him largely from critics who

found a pleasure in pointing out his mistakes. But indeed it is not surprising if, as a passage in Plutarch seems to suggest, there were people in whose presence it was hardly safe to mention his name.

Of course it is rather as a scientific writer than as a poetical critic that Crates is here considered. But is Herr Mette right in taking him seriously as a cosmographer, a successor to Plato and Aristotle, to Eudoxus and Eratosthenes? Surely not. To say, and even to prove, that his conception of the universe is much that of Cleomedes, or of his own very hostile critic, the writer whom we know as Geminus means merely that Crates was an educated man, who 'flourished'—if such a word can be used of him—in the second century B.C. He could not fail to know that the earth was a globe, and to understand 'the use of the globes' better than most educated men do now. Only his folly, in maintaining that Homer too had possessed this knowledge, caused his cosmology to differ—for the worse—from anyone else's.

As to the details of his Homeric geography, based on the assumption that Homer's Ocean was not an imaginary stream encompassing a flat earth, but a Great Outer Sea occupying the torrid zone, and sending off branches as far as the North and South Poles of a spherical earth, Mette has, with amazing industry, worked out a complete scheme. One would feel more confidence in it were he himself not so confident of the remarkable theory which he advances—that Crates made Homer place the Cimmerians, not at the North Pole, but at the South. Of several objections which seem fatal to this conception one only need be mentioned—that Geminus clearly understood the North Pole to be intended. Geminus usually knew what he was talking about, and there seems a little arrogance in asserting him to be 'mistaken' on a point about which he had so much better means of information than we. However, anyone who wishes to investigate the subject will find that all the hard work—and very hard some of it must have been—has been done for him. And one can congratulate the author on the completion of his labour the more heartily because one can hardly suppose that it has been entirely a labour of love.

E. J. W.

Herbarius: Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques. By A. DELATTE. Pp. 126. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936.

The author has here made a remarkable study

of the rites connected with the gathering of herbs, concerning which there exists a considerable literature. The choice of the moment for plucking with relation to the hour, the state of the moon or the aspect of the planets, the purification of the person of the gatherer, the drawing of magic circles, the use of incantations and of prayers and offerings, whether addressed to the plant, its genius or a god, the instrument used to uproot the plant and the means of preserving its virtues when uprooted—all these are the subject of minute, yet widely inconsistent directions by ancient authors. M. Delatte shows that these rituals were modified to accord with the religious theories of the times, finally becoming a remarkable medley of pagan and Christian beliefs. The book displays wide and scholarly learning and research. The reviewer detected the omission of only one passage having reference to the gathering of plants, namely the direction to gather plants in due season "ἐν καιροῖς γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἡμέραις ἱεραῖς τρυγήσατε αὐτά." contained in the second century (?) *Dialogue of Cleopatra and the Philosophers*.¹ The book can be warmly recommended to those interested either in herbals or in folk-lore and mythology.

F. S. T.

Studien zur Gorgo. By KAISER WILHELM II. Pp. 163; 114 illustrations, 6 folding sketch-maps. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1936.

This is an excellent example of the quaint results which may be reached by an enthusiastic amateur with some knowledge of miscellaneous facts and a picturesque theory or two. The ex-Kaiser begins with the very fine Gorgon discovered at Corfu during his stay there in 1911. It formed, as is clear from other fragments excavated at the same time, a centre-piece to a pediment, and, as is not uncommon in archaic works of art, seems to have been merely an ornament, perhaps at the same time an amulet, having no essential relation to the rest of the composition. Having described it, he proceeds to determine what the Gorgon and her attributes mean, and arrives, by ways which it is not necessary to particularise, at the conclusion (p. 81) that she is the night-sun, and therefore the enemy overcome by the 'solar' hero Perseus.

All this sounds like a reminiscence of the days of Max Müller, some of whose ideas have had a recrudescence in later times, now that there is no Andrew Lang to laugh them out of court. The rest of the monograph goes on to connect sundry features more or less Gorgonian with

¹ Berthelot, *Collection des Alchimistes Grecs*, p. 292, ll. 7-8.

theories concerning the history of human culture due to the wide learning and lively imagination of Leo Frobenius. Thus we are introduced to totemistic, manistic (*i.e.*, ghost-worshipping), cosmogonic and other 'cultures,' all of a sort rather popular just now in many parts of the Continent and given to multiplying and driving each other from the field. As this is not an anthropological journal, it would be out of place to criticise them in detail.

The plain fact—too plain for so romantic a work as this—is that the Gorgon is an ugly face, of the sort which children make and older persons portray, or have portrayed in the past, all over the world, quite independently of one another, though often a particularly hideous or elaborate type has found favour, been adopted by others than the near neighbours of the gifted artist, and so attained a wide distribution, again not necessarily in connection with any other cultural elements. The Greek Gorgon has had a body found to fit her, somewhat as, much later, the Ianus-head was provided with a trunk in Rome. With the body came, naturally, among the greatest tellers of tales in the world, a genealogy, a legend, and a connection with the heroic ancestor of a half-forgotten princely house. World-wide researches, in themselves perfectly legitimate when the material calls for them, are not wanted here.

It should in fairness be added that here and there, when the theories do not interfere, some shrewd remark indicates what the author might have done had he been less carried away by the spurious cleverness of others. H. J. R.

Die pergamenische Zauberscheibe und das Tarockspiel. By S. AGRELL. Pp. 130; 68 illustrations in text. Lund, Gleerup, 1936.

This very interesting monograph is part of the *Bulletin de la Société royale des lettres de Lund* for 1935-36. Its author is an authority on the Runic alphabet, concerning the origins of which he holds original theories; these it is not necessary to discuss here, even if the present reviewer were competent to do so. But all forms of hieroglyphic, magic or secret writing seem to attract him, and here he gives the fruits of most ingenious research on two apparently disconnected series of mystical signs.

The first is found on a piece of divinatory apparatus discovered at Pergamon in the closing years of the last century and published with a full commentary by the late R. Wünsch in 1905. It is a triangular plate of bronze, decorated with reliefs of the three forms of Hekate and

having in the middle a sort of large stud of the same metal, topped by a circular cap. The upper surface of this seems to be the important part of the whole appliance, the triangle being merely the base; for it is elaborately divided into zones, four in number, whereof the three outer ones are further divided by radial lines into eight equal sections each, the central circular portion again into eight, four larger and four smaller. These are inscribed with sundry magical letters (the most familiar group is the name of Yahweh in one of its many forms, IEAΩ), also with mysterious signs; the other sectors have no letters, but signs only. Since there are 24 of them in all, it is no wild conjecture that they correspond to the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet; and accordingly Agrell, by a series of interpretations which he adopts or originates, finds that the marks in each, often distorted Greek characters or Egyptian hieroglyphics, do compose an alphabetical list. For instance, the second compartment contains a fish-like sign and what seems to be an elaborated T; remembering that the Egyptian fish-hieroglyphic means 'horror, disgust,' and the fish is connected with Set, Agrell, following Wünsch, supposes that we are to understand the name Βίβων, Βάβυς or Babo, one of the magical equivalents of Set,¹ and see in the T-shaped sign the initial of Typhon. In like manner all the 24 fields are interpreted, always with plausibility, sometimes with a very near approach to certainty. Even if some details are wrong, as is highly likely, the general conclusion may well be accepted; each compartment stood for an idea or group of ideas which could be epitomised by some Greek word. By the help of these, complicated no doubt by the figures of the central area, the inquirer could have his answer given him. Presumably the expert who owned the apparatus would bid him throw dice, or touch the surface at random with a pin, or in some way indicate a division; it remained then only to interpret for him the signs contained therein; for instance, the segment which Agrell numbers 10 contains a sickle, the emblem of Kronos, and so is to be lettered K and might signify, *e.g.*, that the malignant influence of the planet Saturn was hindering some project.

The author now pursues his researches into more modern times. The tarot or taroc-pack of cards is the oldest known; it is perhaps more widely used for telling fortunes than for playing any game; and its most important cards number 22, each having a traditional figure

¹ One might also suggest βέλυνμα.

upon it. Thus we have the possibility of another alphabetic series, this time Latin,¹ and it is not hard to show that some at least of the figures will fit this interpretation, if, that is, we suppose that behind the cards there lies an older apparatus, not a game but purely divinatory in its use, and historically connected, not of course with the Pergamene appliance itself but with the order of ideas which produced it. Thus, No. 6 has the figure of a Pope. It is nowise impossible that this was once a pre-Christian priest, a *flamen*, giving the necessary *F*. No. 9 is Justice, precisely where, on Agrell's theory, the *I* should come; and so on. By no means all the equations are so easy as these, but that a case has been made out cannot be denied.² We thus have at least a plausible origin for one of the oldest of modern pastimes and the outline of a chapter in the extremely complicated history of European magic.

H. J. R.

A Glossary of Greek Birds. By D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON. (*St. Andrews University Publications*, No. xxxix.) A new edition. Pp. viii + 342. Frontispiece and numerous illustrations in text. Oxford University Press, 1936. 12s. 6d.

It is rumoured that ill-informed circles speak of a certain Professor Thompson, reputed to be very learned. This book is the typical work of one whom the elect, specialists in at least three subjects and specialists in nothing in particular, know as D'Arcy. Through no fault of the author, it swarms with every misprint which can be inflicted by an incompetent compositor followed by a slovenly reader; there was once a time when the imprint of the Clarendon Press guaranteed a reasonable degree of accuracy, but now, owing to the march of progress, it would seem that he who entrusts his MS. to that machinery of reproduction must resign himself

¹ K is of course omitted.

² One of the most forced explanations is connected with some bad etymology. The card which Agrell would put first bears the figure of a fool or jester. By means of the equation fool = ox and the further equation ox = Apis-bull he gets the letter A. He further supposes that the name of the pack is itself derived from one of the Romance derivatives of *taurus*. But *tarocco* implies something very different. Its *a* cannot originate from *au*, for that gives rise to an open *o*, not to *a*; and if a vulgar Latin word *tauruccu*—is postulated, as Agrell does, p. 65, its second syllable would result in a close *o*, but the first *o* in *tarocco* is open. However, such difficulties do not invalidate the whole theory, but only some of its details.

to long hours spent in replacing κ by τ in his proofs, shifting lines and groups of lines to their place on the page, and generally doing what should have been done for him before his galleys left the chapel. There is also a certain amount of lumber, as on p. 113, where a marvellous excerpt from 'Pherecydes' is taken from Savigny, *Histoire naturelle et mythologique de l'Ibis*, Paris, 1805, p. 167, who had it from A. Kircher, *Obeliscus Pamphilus*, 1650, p. 325, who had it from his own diseased imagination. There is abundance of mystical and astral interpretation of all manner of things. There is probably a great deal of very good and sound ornithology, but of this the reviewer cannot judge, since friendship with the book's author and with W. Warde Fowler leaves him still quite incapable of telling one bird from another, if they are less unlike than a wren and a seagull. And there is great store of the very things a reader most wants to know, if he deals with the ancients in the many places where they speak truly or falsely of birds real or imaginary. For example; he is interested in the saga of Diomedes and would learn why his comrades, when they turned into birds, sprinkled and to this day sprinkle his shrine with water. Let him turn to p. 90, where the habits of the Great Shearwater, *Puffinus Kuhli*, are discussed. It is their custom 'to dive with wings outspread, and, on rising again, to shake the water off their dripping wings. This is the simple origin of the legend that they asperge the Hero's tomb.' Would he know exactly what manner of fowl a *λέρος* may be? Under that heading he may learn that it is not one, but several. Is he a naturalist, desirous of finding out something of the history of his own science? Any of the longer articles will give him, side by side, the descriptions of moderns and extracts, printed in full, from those of the ancients, and he may draw his own conclusions as to the trustworthiness of Aristotle or Aelian. And if he is a folklorist, a topographer, or one who θέσιν διαφυλάττει, he may turn to the various sections, under this bird-name or that, which treat of etymology (the author is perhaps a little too fond of Egyptian names but generally right in assuming that the creatures of Greece had not to wait for their appellations till the Achaioi came), legend, varieties and distribution.

As to the amount which has been added to the old edition of 1895, that was but 204 pages long, so we have gained by some 70 per cent. here. If we look for details, the articles ΣΤΡΟΥΘΟΣ will furnish examples. There are now two, the second of which includes all that once came under ΣΤΡΟΥΘΟΚΑΜΗΛΟΣ. Instead of a little under three pages, they now fill over four; instead of

being unillustrated, they show us a lovable Egyptian ostrich. Lesbia's *passer* is still left unidentified, but Dissel's suggestion that it was a Bluethrush is given, with a reference to his article; the quotations regarding ostriches are more numerous and some references are more accurate. Against this it is a small thing to set that De Quincey is still cited from somebody's Selections, without any guide as to who selected him, where the book was published, or from what work of De Quincey the passage is taken.¹

Altogether, a great treasure has been enriched, and the odds and ends of rubbish stand out so clearly against the gold, silver and precious stones that they will give but little trouble to the wise possessor. H. J. R.

Mode in Ancient Greek Music. By R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM. Pp. viii + 90. Cambridge: University Press, 1936. 7s. 6d.

This book, which is the second volume to be issued in the new Cambridge *Classical Studies*, is a necessary and salutary astringent. It does not profess to survey all the problems of Greek music, but is confined to a study of the element of modality in the various Greek scales (*ἀρμολαί, εἶδη τοῦ διὰ πασῶν, τόνοι*). Since the publication of Boeckh's *De Metris Pindari* (1814), which may be said to have inaugurated the modern investigation of the subject, many theories of the Greek modes have been propounded by classical scholars, musicians, acousticians and anthropologists; and although nearly every student of the subject admits that Greek music was modal, we cannot set down on paper in any sort of musical or mathematical notation, nor can we play even on a specially constructed instrument, more than two or three scales which can be proved beyond doubt to be *exactly* what Plato might have heard. All too often theories have been advanced which were based upon a partial knowledge of the evidence, or upon a biased assessment of it, or in deliberate contradiction of it. At the present time, not a single one of the better-known expositions, such as those of Westphal, Gevaert, Monro, and Riemann, is generally accepted.

Mr. Winnington-Ingram does not aim primarily at any new theory; he simply sets out to re-examine the available evidence. This he does with a cool and admirable thoroughness. He passes in review the pertinent passages of ancient theorists like Aristoxenus, Aristides Quintilianus

and Ptolemy, and analyses the extant fragments of Greek music (though these are not here reprinted); with impartial eye he looks to see what his texts actually say, and does not neglect to place them in their historical setting; he carefully indicates what can be taken as definite fact, and distinguishes it from the interpretations which have been placed upon it. In the course of these discussions he offers shrewd criticisms of his predecessors, and undermines the foundations of several imposing structures; and when, as is frequently the case, he feels it necessary to bow the evidence out of court with a *non liquet*, he does not shrink from the task. At the end, however, he has a brief chapter (pp. 81-84) in which, while admitting that no very definite conclusions can be based upon the evidence examined, he summarises his own views. The early *ἀρμολαί*, he believes, were indeed modal, but did not form part of a logical scale-system; though the theory of Aristoxenus may suggest a period of standardisation, the modes survived in practice; and in the pages of Ptolemy the modal nature of Greek music is once again evident. If the reader should think the catch is small, he may reflect that a few minnows in a creel serve the purposes of truth better than the fine trout which was never landed.

Only three criticisms of importance suggest themselves. The first concerns the scope of the inquiry. A mode has two inter-related elements: a sequence of intervals and a focal point or tonic; on the one hand, without a tonic a sequence of intervals is musically meaningless; on the other hand, a tonic can only operate as a focus in relation to a given sequence of intervals. Though it is evident from a number of passages that this inter-relation was present to the author's mind, he seems in this treatise to concentrate too exclusively on the mere existence of a tonic and to say too little about the detailed structure of the scales in which it functions. It must be admitted, however, that an adequate discussion of the interval-sequences might easily have enlarged the book beyond the limits of the series in which it appears. The second point is not unconnected with the first: the author indicates intervals by the use of Roman letters (in accordance with a convention applicable to Western music) or by such phrases as 'a minor third.' This procedure is typographically convenient, but it partly obscures the issue, since in dealing with any musical system, and especially with a non-Western one, it is only by the use of interval-ratios mathematically expressed that we can hope to attain precision and avoid the misconceptions inherent in a

¹ In general, the book contains more Latin than it did, and does not stop short either on approaching the Fathers or on coming to mediaeval bestiaries.

vague terminology. Finally, the author makes only casual references to the Greek musical notation. Although no musical notation is perfect, all of them are in some degree a reflection of the music for which they were evolved; and it was at least worth discussion whether there does not lie within the Greek notation some evidence which might be pertinent to the present inquiry. Any theory of the Greek modes must, to be acceptable, provide an explanation of the system of notation; conversely, the notation may, in conjunction with the ancient treatises, provide a priceless clue. But here again a proper investigation might easily have doubled the size of the book.

These few remarks, however, must not be allowed to obscure in any way the great and positive merits of a book which is of such high quality in its sane outlook and critical method that future work on this topic can only be undertaken after a careful pondering of each one of Mr. Winnington-Ingram's pages. Above all, he has cleared away a vast quantity of lumber; that was a task well worth doing, and has been well done.

J. F. M.

Epidaurische Hymnen. By PAUL MAAS.
(*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, IX, Heft 5.) Pp. 36; 3 Plates.
Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933.

The two stones whose contents were first published in *IG* IV 1, 129-34 here receive editorial rehandling. Stone B is the less interesting and is briefly treated: it does, however, contain fragments of Ariphron's Paean to Health, so Maas includes also a re-edition of the Cassel Stone (*IG* III 1, 171), which contains that poem along with other hymns. In establishing the text of the Paean Maas seems to pay too much respect to these two epigraphic sources. The other hymns on Stone B are very fragmentary and mainly interesting because of cult-directions attached; the collection is part 'eines heidnischen Breviers.'

On Stone A are assembled, for reasons not now discoverable, three hymns; a fourth has probably been lost. That the Hymn to All the Gods (No. 129 in *IG*) is a late composition cult and stylistic lapses alike indicate. The Hymns to Pan and the Mother of the Gods (Nos. 130 and 131) may have been written long before they were inscribed here: Maas finds no objection to assigning the former to the fourth or early third century B.C.—the fifth is unlikely rather because of a tendency to artificiality in style than because of Pan as 'Schöpfer des Alls'—or the latter, written in her eponymous metre, to Telesilla

herself. The matter of this hymn receives very full illustration; especially, the Mother Chorus from Euripides' *Helena* (1301 sq.) is quoted, critically rehandled, and annotated in full. It does not, however, seem clear that the Epidaurian hymn need fit so closely into the frame of the Demeter story as Maas seems to think.

Throughout the texts are further defined from *IG*. Textual difficulties Maas emphasises rather than solves: he is satisfied with no suggestion for *ev* . . . in the Pan hymn (εὐφορ' and εὐρών are later suggestions). In the Mother hymn he despairs of improvement in the text, but is perhaps too uncompromising in his devotion to strict metre and grammar. His deletion twice of τὰ τύμπαν' ἐλάβανε ('über der Herkunft . . . wage ich keine Vermutung') is unsatisfactory, and in vv. 17-19 no possible emendation can at once make the grammar acceptable to Maas and at the same time preserve his stanzas.

The stones are fully described, with plates from *IG*, and the survival of older hymns in cult discussed, along with the qualities most approved in hymns in Imperial times.

The detailed commentary is very full, and, conclusions on the two important hymns being necessarily tentative and open to scepticism (Manche wichtige Frage freilich muss ich . . . ungelöst lassen, says Maas), is the most valuable contribution of the book. But the author's appreciation of the literary merit of these two hymns is also very welcome.

W. E. M.

The Greek Language in its Evolution. By ANATOL F. SEMENOV. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936. 7s. 6d.

This is a courageous and praiseworthy attempt on the part of a Russian scholar to write in English a linguistic history of Greek from the earliest to modern times. He deals particularly with the spoken language, and in this connection the chapter on the κοινή is illuminating. The transition to modern Greek is illustrated by copious examples. He stresses the essential unity of the language throughout, but he is moderate and fair-minded in his discussion of Slavonic elements and in the καθαρεύουσα—δημοτική controversy. There is a chapter on the dialects of modern Greek, and the whole of the second part is devoted to a brief history of syntax. The book is intended chiefly for beginners, and if it is too hard for them, it is the fault of the subject rather than of the author. The weakest part is that on classical Greek. The most serious error is the total disregard of the pitch accent. He mentions accent (p. 28), but

appears to know nothing of its nature in classical Greek. The English needs improvement, e.g. Roman for Romance, Arian for Aryan.

T. A. S.

Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur. I, 2.
Die Griechische Literatur in der Zeit der attischen Hegemonie vor dem Eingreifen der Sophistik. By W. SCHMID (and O. STÄHLIN). Pp. xii + 782. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1934. 32 M.

In this volume, which deals with fifth-century literature not fundamentally affected by the Sophistic movement, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Herodotus naturally claim most space, but so generous is the scale of treatment that all the lesser figures also are given unusual scope: Ion of Chios, Hellanicus, pamphleteers and *λογογράφοι*, Homeric allegorists, the men who brought philosophy to Athens (Anaxagoras, Archelaus, in Schmid's opinion also a Milesian, Diogenes of Apollonia), Damon, Meton, Choerilus of Samos, and the very early tragedians and comic poets—none of them is cramped. Comedy appears only in its beginnings: Cratinus and the great period wait over till the next volume. The book is a complete guide to the information available, the problems it involves, and the attempts at their solution: the value of its guidance being greatly enhanced by its author's extraordinary grasp of his material. The index is reasonably full, the cross-references plentiful, and the bibliographies practically exhaustive.

Such a book cannot avoid literary valuations, and here not only the individual judgements, but also the underlying conceptions are not beyond criticism. The approach to tragedy, and therefore to the whole period, is the not unfamiliar one. The old-Attic spirit is one of piety and belief in a righteous Providence: this 'theodicy' had already found expression in Solon, and now saga is dramatised 'im Sinn der Theodizee': Aeschylus, with his Zeus, gives it its highest utterance. The poet is 'Erzieher': for the audience the performance is 'Erbauung.' Aristotle's *κάθαρσις* view is unsympathetically treated: it even seems to be suggested that Aristotle scarcely thought it applied to Aeschylean tragedy at all: Professor Schmid certainly thinks it does not: Aeschylean tragedy has nothing to do with rousing pity and fear as such, though it does inculcate fear of sin and punishment. The point of view has obvious sympathies with the intellectualist side of Plato.

This hypothesis having been made to suit Aeschylus, Aeschylus next has to be made to suit the hypothesis. Plato, indeed, thought that no

drama could satisfy the requirements, not even Aeschylus. But Schmid (who has, of course, dropped the *Prometheus*: and some of his arguments, incidentally referred to in this volume, are good ones if Aeschylus is a religious teacher with a system in which Zeus, Moira, and the rest all have their fixed place) finds no insuperable difficulty in making him fit; personal guilt, theomachy, or, failing these, inherited guilt, *πάθει μάθος*, punishment, everything fits the theodicy. One may not agree that this does Aeschylus justice, but it at any rate still allows the writer to be wholehearted, enthusiastic, and clear about the six plays which Aeschylus still possesses.

The treatment of Sophocles is more bewildering. Sophocles knew how to do justice to both the older and the younger generation, 'jener in der Gesinnung, dieser in der Technik.' But, as it turns out, when we come down to detail he was far from doing justice to the older generation. In fact, his technique determined what he was going to say: for instance, he turned away from guilt-punishment tragedy 'weil unverschuldetes Unglück die Nerven stärker erschüttert.' And, so interested was he in 'erschütternde Bühnenwirkung' and 'edle Formgebung' that he surrendered the reins of the spiritual guidance of his people into the powerful and all-too-willing hands of 'Sophistik.' That is to say, surely, that he betrayed the ideals of the older generation. That we know Sophocles to have held these ideals, that we know, in fact, what he had to say when he so rarely said it, remains a mystery. 'Mit weltanschaulichen Fragen sollte man an den König Oidipus gar nicht herantreten'; but we can still use the lines of the *O.T.* to build up Sophocles' Weltanschauung. The play, the voice of the poet, can tell us nothing of what he thought on important subjects, but the line, the voice of Tiresias or Jocasta, can. Though he talks, too, of 'edle Formgebung,' as most writers on Sophocles do, no one who read his criticisms of the individual plays would think they were reading of a master of form: only the *O.T.* and the *Electra* could, on this showing, be compared with Aeschylus for formal perfection. Like everybody else, Professor Schmid feels that Sophocles is a great poet and dramatist: but he fails to explain why. And it is difficult not to believe that it is mainly because he writes of Sophocles with Aeschylus ringing in his ears and some of the authentic voice of Sophocles is lost in the surge and thunder of Theodicy.

In spite of all the good things he has to say of him and a keen appreciation of many of his excellences, it appears that Professor Schmid is

fundamentally in difficulties about Sophocles. He has approached him with the conviction that the great tragedian is an 'Erzieher': but Sophocles turns out not to be really interested in 'Erziehung.' To a poet who is not an educator there is no other category to apply except 'Künstler,' 'master of technique' and the like, and Sophocles comes in danger of ceasing to be a significant poet at all.

Moreover, had Sophocles 'der Liebling des attischen Volkes' no generation of his own, that he must look to an older and a younger, to neither of which he belonged? If he had, it is little in evidence in this volume. The influences which meet Anaxagoras and Herodotus when they come to Athens are largely Aeschylean influences. The treatment of Herodotus is brilliant and persuasive, but it is Aeschylean tragedy that affects him most: and it is the 'Vorsehungsgedanken' to which Aeschylus had given the highest expression which move Anaxagoras to the introduction of νοῦς. Symptomatic is the sketch of the persistence of this belief in providence from Solon to Aeschylus, Herodotus, the immigrant philosophers, Socrates, and Xenophon, all finding it deeply rooted in the Attic mind. Sophocles is omitted as being only mildly relevant. Many will feel that in following such tendencies this volume is not leading us into the real heart of Attic literature.

Professor Schmid is, of course, not voicing any mere fads of his own in all this. The education and religion view of Greek literature is often proclaimed: he is only following it, with more learning and consistency than most, to its logical conclusions, and the book brings us nearer to a choice between this theory on the one hand and on the other not only a seven-play Aeschylus, but also a Sophocles whom we can still read with a clear conscience, and an Athens which for at least a short time in its history was able to strike a balance between the extremely moral-religious and the extremely rationalistic. But those who do not agree with Professor Schmid on points like these will regret that they should have so largely determined the framework for a handling of the facts which is otherwise masterly and authoritative.

W. E. M.

Pindar: a Poet of Eternal Ideas. By D. M. ROBINSON. (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology*, No. 21.) Pp. vii + 118. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. 13s. 6d.

This monograph sets out to combat the view

that Pindar's Odes contain more of music than of matter, and the author has gone far afield to collect passages from later literature in which the influence of Pindar may be traceable. It may be that a long series of quotations from Pindar in an English prose version produces a rather pedestrian effect; in any case, the result is not wholly satisfactory in proving the author's thesis. There is, of course, no doubt that Pindar did give expression to many ideas which will perish only with humanity; in this sense his ideas are often eternal. But their eternity is too frequently the result of their proverbial nature, and it is due to this that a great number of them have been expressed by other writers—a fact which, while it does not rob Pindar of the credit for being among the first to formulate so many of these aphorisms, must certainly modify our estimate of the probable extent, and of the quality of, his influence on later literature.

The book contains some interesting information about Milton's knowledge of Pindar; the underlinings and marginalia in Milton's own copy in the library at Harvard are valuable for the study of the English poet. C. H. V. S.

Πλουτάρχου τῶν Ἑπτὰ Σοφῶν Συμπόσιον, κείμενον, μετάφρασις καὶ ἐρμηνεία. By EMMANUEL DAVID. (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Ἀρ. 3.) Pp. 31 + 113. Athens: Kollaros, 1936. 35 dr.

The first volume of this centenary revival of Koraes' 'Greek Library' was noticed in *JHS* LV, p. 266. It was an excellent edition of Plato's *Symposium*. The present edition of Plutarch's *Symposium* maintains the high standard set by the opening volume of the series. It consists of an introduction which analyses and discusses the character of the work; of the text, with a translation into Modern Greek on the opposite pages, accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* (including some unpublished emendations of Koraes) and brief explanatory notes; and of two indexes of proper names and subject-matter respectively.

Plutarch's *Symposium* does not of course bear comparison with Plato's in respect of sublimity of subject, style or poetic fire. But these rather disjointed discussions of the Seven Sages, brought together at a banquet, where they discourse on the merits of Monarchy and Democracy, house-management, food, the story of Arion and much else, are not without interest. The edition can be highly commended. It is unpretentious, but very thorough and practical.

F. H. M.

Euripidis quae in codice Veneto Marciano 471 inveniuntur phototypice expressa cura et impensis J. A. SPRANGER. 2 vols.; pp. 20 + 109; 162. Florence: Alinari, 1935.

Mr. Spranger—whom I believe to be an American resident in Florence—is a nursing mother unto Euripides. In 1920 he published a facsimile of the very large MS. Laur. 32, 2 (a vile book, to speak palaeographically); now he gives us Marc. 471, which contains only Hec. Or. Phoen. Androm. Hipp. It is in a small current hand, and the scholia are in a smaller. Its age has been misjudged. Zanetti and Wattenbach and von Velsen (who ought to have known better) put it in the twelfth century, and Mr. Spranger quotes someone in Pauly who puts it in the thirteenth! I find on consulting my note-books that since 1889 I have referred it to the eleventh. It was written early in that century, before the Venetian Aristophanes (no. 474). It is as old as the Paris Euripides, *grec* 2713, which M. Omont puts in the same century.

The tradition of Euripides is very different from that of the two other tragedians, partly owing I presume to his bulk. This does not concern me here.

T. W. A.

Dated Greek minuscule manuscripts to the year 1200. Edited by KIRSOPP LAKE and SILVA LAKE. V. *Manuscripts in Paris Part II, Oxford, Berlin, Vienna and Jerusalem.* Pp. 21: 73 plates. Boston, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1936. £2 2s.

This volume contains a mixed bag. The Paris MSS. call for no comment. The six Christ Church (Oxford) MSS. are new, but, my friends at the House must allow me to say, without interest. I examined them many years ago, and have done so again by permission of Mr. J. G. Barrington-Ward. The dates given in G. W. Kitchen's catalogue are correct with the exception of that of MS. Wake 70, which was written not in A.D. 1107, but in A.D. 1104. The year-number in the Greek is σϭϭβ, not σϭϭε. Mr. and Mrs. Lake have copied this correctly, but they say notwithstanding 'A.D. 1107 (?)'. As to Wake 42, of which they say 'A.D. 1185 (?)', it is true that a note at the end is 'not a colophon, but a statement concerning the cycles of the sun, moon, etc.', but it is to my eye contemporary, and as the scribe would naturally begin by calculating the cycle of his own year, I think 1185 is correct. There are other Oxford colleges beside Christ Church, and some of them have dated MSS. I presume

that these will appear in a later volume. Four Berlin MSS. follow. They are new and without interest. The nine Vienna MSS. which come next are nearly all already in Bick, and are uninteresting, but the copy of Alcinous of A.D. 924 or 925 is in such a charming nonchalant hand that we are glad to have three more sheets of it. As the editors say, the second column of the third sheet is in a later hand than that of the others. The volume closes with one MS. from Jerusalem. It is new.

Volume VI contains a number of leaves from Moscow and a place which the editors call Leningrad. Some are interesting, but all were known before from Cereteli and Sobolevsky. No. 226 has a good show of abbreviations. We are not sorry to have a page or two more of the Uspensky Gospels (A.D. 835).

T. W. A.

Μουσείον Μπενάκι: Κατάλογος τῶν εἰκόνων. By A. XYNGOPOULOS. 102 pp. of descriptive catalogue; 53 plates in half-tone. Athens, 1936.

The Benaki Museum at Athens contains one of the most important and best-chosen collections of icons in Greece, and M. Xyngopoulos' catalogue is most welcome. The student of Byzantine panel painting has hitherto been hampered by the difficulty of access of his material, so little of which has been published. Such catalogues are essential to him, and this one may well serve as a model for future volumes. It is well produced and elaborately illustrated, and the text, consisting of a short preface, followed by detailed descriptions and studies of each panel, is throughout careful and thoroughly scientific. M. Xyngopoulos is to be congratulated on being the first to produce a really detailed study of a definite group of material.

The majority of the descriptions and studies call forth the highest admiration, but the author's conclusions regarding three of the panels must be questioned. The first is the Madonna and Child illustrated on plates I to IV. Xyngopoulos regards this panel as Byzantine, and assigns it to the twelfth century. The style and drawing, the colouring, and more especially the shape and character of the Madonna's face, are, however, distinctly Sieneese. The main subject is surrounded by a border of small partitions, which contain subjects in relief and in painting upon glass. The former are Byzantine, but the latter are quite unlike anything known from the Byzantine world. Both their technique and drawing (see especially plate IV, nos. Z and H) are distinctly Italian. Similar paintings on glass

formed the original border of an icon at Korakou in Cyprus, recently examined by the reviewer, and the style of this icon was again distinctly Sienese. There seems to be every reason to assign the Benaki Madonna to Siena, and but very slight reason for assigning it to Byzantium. If it be Sienese, as we suggest, the date would be in the thirteenth rather than in the twelfth century.

The second conclusion is that respecting the date of the superb icon of the Transfiguration shown on plate 12 (no. 11). Xyngopoulos states that the triangles to right and left of our Lord appear only with the fourteenth century, that Moses with hat and beard comes in only after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (1453), and that James is not usually shown among the Apostles as he is here before the same date. These features are all common in the sixteenth century, and because of this, and also because of the similarity between the icon and a wall painting of the same scene in the chapel of St. George in the monastery of St. Paul on Mount Athos (1555), the icon is assigned to the mid-sixteenth century.

Xyngopoulos is no doubt correct as to the date at which these features became common; but this affords by no means decisive evidence. The triangle appears on a fresco at Nakouralichi in Georgia, which is presumably to be dated to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century;¹ Moses wears a hat at Boiana in 1259; he has hat and beard at Studenica in 1314; all features appear together on the Cantacuzenus miniature (Bib. Nat. Gr. 1242) of between 1347 and 1355; the groups of Apostles are the same on a fourteenth-century icon of the Novgorod school illustrated by Wulff and Alpatov.² Without entering further into an iconographical discussion, it may be safely affirmed that the disposition and nature of the figures could well appear in the fourteenth, perhaps even in the thirteenth century; the immediately previous stage in the development of the scene is to be seen in such a monument as the Boiana painting of 1259.

The most important factor for dating this icon is, in the reviewer's opinion, that of style, and Xyngopoulos fails to take this into account. The style, technique and manner of painting are all quite foreign to the sixteenth century, and in these respects the icon is much more definitely of the fourteenth; a fresco of 1380 at Kovalevo in Russia may be aptly compared.³ Though

the icon cannot, perhaps, be assigned to the thirteenth century, as the reviewer suggested in his book on Byzantine art (pl. 20), it is certainly not to be considered later than the fifteenth, and probably not later than the fourteenth century; it would be hard to date it after the fourteenth-century Novgorod icon referred to above.

Finally, a painting representing the Adoration of the Magi may be noted (no. 77, pl. 52). It is a mediocre work of the sixteenth century in an Italian style, and the fact that it bears the signature Χειρ Δομηνικοῦ seems no adequate reason to assign it to el Greco, even though Meyer's support of this attribution is cited. Greco's essentially Italian work, like the Expulsion from the Temple in the Cook collection, is not only of far higher quality, but also of a very different style. It would be much more reasonable either to regard the signature as a forgery, or, if it be authentic, to assign the panel to one of the numerous Greeks who were working in Italy at this time. The name Domenicos is by no means unusual, and at least one painter of the name is known in Greece already.⁴

D. T. R.

La Jeunesse d'Origène. By RENÉ CADIOU. (*Études de Théologie Historique.*) Pp. vi + 424. Paris: Beauchesne, 1935 (on cover 1936). 38 fr.

A book devoted to the detailed analysis of a system of Christian theology would not normally be reviewed in the *JHS*, but the sub-title of the present work is 'Histoire de l'École d'Alexandrie au début du III^e siècle.' It is as a study of later Greek philosophy that it may be briefly noticed here.

At the outset of the last great persecution the opposition to the Christian Church was led by Neo-Platonist philosophers, and it is easy to regard this hostility as the constant attitude of pagan philosophy towards the new faith. But there was a time when the pagan and the Christian thinkers were very closely associated. Origen, the son of a martyr, could attend the lectures of Ammonius Saccas; in a recent book, to which Dr. Cadiou does not refer, it has been

Russian). This parallel is suggestive, for M. Macridy, of the Benaki Museum, informs me that there is reason to believe that the icon was brought to Constantinople from Theodosia in the Crimea at the time of the Turkish conquest of that city in 1475; cf. Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται*, Constantinople, 1877, p. 306.

⁴ Δημητρίου Ειδιλιάνου *Ελληνες ἀγιογράφοι, Athens, 1935, p. 78.

¹ Millet, *Iconographie de l'évangile*, p. 224, fig. 188.

² *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei*, Leipzig, 1925, fig. 70, p. 167.

³ Grabar, *History of Russian Art*, vol. vi. p. 187 (in

shown how wide is the fundamental agreement in outlook which united Celsus and Origen (Anna Miura-Stange, *Celsus und Origenes. Das Gemeinsame ihrer Weltanschauung*. Beiheft 4 to *Z.N.W.* Giessen, 1926). Indeed, there is plausibility in the suggestion that Celsus, in the course of his argument, had been led away from his original conciliatory purpose: it must be remembered that the ἀληθὴς λόγος closes, not with a demand for the extermination of the Christians, but with an appeal for their co-operation. Dr. Cadiou is concerned not with Celsus, but rather with the early days of Neo-Platonism in Alexandria, and in particular with the teaching of Ammonius Saccas. He defends the authenticity of the summaries of the philosophy of Ammonius given by Nemesius or preserved in the scholia of Ammonius cited by Priscian. The fact that Ammonius abandoned the Greek view of the eternity of matter and held that the will of the Creator sufficed to produce the world out of nothing removed one of the obstacles which hindered an approximation of Christian and pagan thought. For Ammonius Destiny is no blind force: it becomes the activity of a justice which is derived from Providence—the fatherly rule of the Creator which aims at the education or the healing of beings who possess freedom of action. This freedom was for Origen also the corner-stone of his whole philosophical system: 'le règne de la liberté est aussi étendu que le domaine des âmes, dont l'univers est rempli. Elle est donc universelle et perpétuelle. C'était le point le plus nouveau de la cosmologie d'Origène.' (R. Cadiou, *Introduction au Système d'Origène*. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1932, p. 31: see ch. 8 of this book *Ame et Liberté*.) The pressure of Christian opinion led Origen to modify the early statement of his theology, but 'malgré son éloignement rapide c'est peut-être au théologien du Didascalée qu'il faut demander le témoignage le plus fidèle sur le premier néoplatonisme.' Origen accepted more profoundly than any of his Christian contemporaries the Greek humanism of his own day.¹ For a short space of time Alexandrian theology and Neo-Platonism, each pursuing its own way, were united against the same enemies—the fatalists, magicians and astrologers—against all those who failed to realise the primacy of the soul and that liberty which was man's prerogative.

We are now reaping the fruits of the devoted labours which Koetschau expended upon the text of Origen's masterpiece, the *De Principiis*.

We possess an English translation of Koetschau's text (*Origen on First Principles*, by G. W. Butterworth; S.P.C.K., 1936), while the analysis of Origen's work down to his Commentary on the Prologue to St. John's Gospel, given in this book by Dr. Cadiou, will be of high service towards the understanding of 'the greatest teacher of the Church after the Apostles.' That majestic intellectualism—no one, as Dr. Cadiou says, has carried to greater lengths the maxim 'intellege ut credas'—is the lasting memorial of the living force of Greek philosophy under the Roman Empire. From a rhetoric which concentrated its highly self-conscious efforts upon verbal dexterity the student turns with relief to the work of men who were wrestling with the ultimate problems, above all with the religious problem of the participation of man in that divine life which was the source of all wisdom.

And Dr. Cadiou gives more than that in this book. Perhaps the most urgent problem with which in the second and third centuries the Christian Church was faced was that of authority. Authority must declare itself against heresy—against the dualism of Marcion, against the adventurous speculations of gnosticism, that strange effort 'to represent Jesus and the salvation which He brought in an aspect suitable for the acceptance of educated and cultivated men and women.' Authority must determine how the Church was to test and control the operations of the Spirit: how should the faithful be guarded against the perils of Christian ecstasy—the New Prophecy of Phrygian Montanism? Origen had turned the Alexandrian school for catechumens into a University, and for the Christian savant he claimed a sacred function which had been symbolised by the priesthood of Aaron. The teacher is the priest of the new Israel: he is in the apostolic succession. Apostles, presbyters, didaskaloi—these are the representatives of the historic development of the Church. How should the Church control the leaders of its own school? The claim of Origen, accompanied as it was by a criticism of those who were bishops only in name, led to the storm which expelled the teacher and drove him as an exile into Asia. Of this chapter in the history of the formation of ecclesiastical authority Dr. Cadiou gives an admirable account.

This is a stimulating book; it should not be neglected by students of the thought of the Greeks.²

N. H. B.

¹ Cf. E. De Faye, *Origen and his Work* (Allen and Unwin, 1926) pp. 170-171.

² In note ² on p. 336 the study of *La cité du Monde et la cité du Soleil* is by Bidez and not by Cumont.

Studies in Libanius and Antiochene Society under Theodosius. By ROGER A. PACK. Pp. xi + 126. Dissertation of the University of Michigan, 1935.

In 1907 J. Milton Vance in a Jena dissertation collected from the works of Chrysostom evidence for the social life of the empire at the close of the fourth century,¹ and now another American student has done a similar service by this work on the 'reform' speeches of Libanius. Primarily Dr. Pack's aim was to provide a translation of and a commentary upon the oration 'Concerning the Prisoners' (*Or.* xlv), but he has extended the scope of his thesis, and has given a valuable picture of the actual working of the imperial and municipal administration in the capital city of Roman Asia. The translation of the speech is not without inaccuracies; three mistranslations which destroy the sense of the passage have been already noticed by a reviewer:² c. 17 εἰ μὲν ἐώρων . . . , c. 31 τοῦ δέδοσθαι μένοντος, c. 32 περὶ τὸν χρόνον; it is strange that Dr. Pack, who refers to Godefroy's *Opera iuridica minora*, should not have consulted that scholar's translation of the speech where all these passages are rightly rendered. In c. 4 τῶν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπηρετούντων is, I think, 'the administrative staff,' not 'those fellows who support the magistrates'; in c. 20 'how could they fail to take care of themselves?' is surely 'is it not to invite themselves when . . .'; in c. 21 τῶν καλῶς ἀφαιμένων is translated by Dr. Pack 'the horses that make a pretty start'; he has, I would suggest, missed the parallelism of the passage: καίτοι πόσω βέλτιον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον τοῖς ἡττημένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων βοηθεῖν εἰς ὅσον ἐξεστὶν ἢ ἐν περιτοῖς θιάμασι ἀναμένειν τὰς νύκτας, καὶ δειπνοῦντα ποιῆσαι λόγους ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶς ἀφαιμένων ἢ ὅσα τοῖς ἡνίοχοις ἐπ' ἀλλήλους εἰρήται: 'how much better to talk at dinner of the prisoners who have been justly set at liberty than to discuss the tricks of the charioteers.' In c. 24 εἰκόντων and φθορούντων agree with πραγμάτων: Libanius' point is lost in Dr. Pack's translation. In c. 26 μάτην νομισθεῖς: not 'even if he had been chosen at random,' but 'though without adequate reason regarded as a criminal.' In c. 28 the sentence σὺ δὲ βραδύς μὲν ὢν . . . is a question, and as an interrogation is rhetorically more forceful. In c. 33 ἀλλ' ὅταν σὺ μὲν, ὦ ἐγγυαίε, νομοθετῇς . . . οὔτε οὐκ εἶδέναι ταῦτα ὑμᾶς καλὸν οὔτε εἰδότες φέρειν

βραδύς Dr. Pack renders 'it is not good for you and your subordinates to remain ignorant'; but in the whole of this remarkable passage it is the emperor's duty alone which is in question: σὺ μὲν because the law in question was in fact issued by Theodosius, ὑμᾶς = the emperors both of East and West.

In his notes on the speech Dr. Pack has collected much useful material, but there are signs of haste in their composition: the note on c. 6 χάριν τὴν μεγίστην begins by definitely adopting one explanation, and closes with the assumption that that explanation should be abandoned. Mommsen long ago pointed out that, if the text of C. Th. 15, 5, 2 is sound, it must be wrongly dated to A.D. 386; this difficulty is recognised by Dr. Pack on p. 93, but on p. 113 the constitution is dated without comment to A.D. 386; the explanation of νομίων on p. 105 is surely impossible in the context of c. 7. In the Bibliography it is not clear why collections of original texts (e.g. Gebhardt, Ruinart) are placed under 'Modern Authorities' and not under 'Ancient Works,' and if the book by M. A. Krauss, *Im Kerker*, were cited at all, it might have saved the reader's time if it had been pointed out that the references to Libanius in that work are taken simply at second-hand from M. Beltrami-Scalia's *Su governo e sulla riforma delle carceri in Italia* (Torino, 1867).

Dr. Pack accepts Professor Rostovtzeff's theory of the alliance between the peasant of the countryside and the peasant of the army against the urban bourgeoisie (Pack, p. 47). Dr. Pack, I feel, at times forgets that Libanius was a landed proprietor and naturally regarded economic conditions from the standpoint of his class. When the agents of the curials attempt to collect the dues from the peasants, they find themselves opposed by the farmers and by the soldiers living in the village. That both soldiers and farmers are thus united on this single occasion does not necessarily imply any wide community of interest. Consider the situation: the soldiers have been billeted in the village; they rob the peasants, just as in the towns they would rob the wine-sellers. When the agents of the curia or the landlord arrive, the soldiers naturally oppose the carrying off of that which has not yet been seized by themselves, while the peasants, already sorely tried by the depredations of the soldiers, equally naturally defend the possession of what is left to them. That which to the landed proprietor Libanius appeared to be an alliance between peasant and soldier may rather be explained as the expression of the brutal greed of the army and the desperation of a

¹ Cf. 'Antike Grossstädte im Spiegel der Chrysostomus-Homilien,' by J. Stiglmayr, *Stimmen der Zeit*, 115 (1928) pp. 81-98.

² M. J. Boyd, *CR* for February 1937.

peasantry which was the victim alike of the exactions of the landed proprietor and of the soldiery. In this speech (*Or.* xlv. c. 5) we read of proprietors who treat those working on their farms as slaves: for unless they consent to the rapacities which their masters practise against them, *ὀλίγοι συλλαβαί, καὶ στρατιώτης διὰ ἀλύσειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ δεδαιμένους τὸ οἶκημα δέχεται*. The soldier is the terror, not the ally of the peasants.¹

The interest of this speech is many-sided: from it we get an admirably clear statement of the real difficulty which faced an emperor in the fourth century. The governor urges—and with truth—*δεῖσθαι γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν χρημάτων*: the revenues must be secured (p. 367¹¹); but the emperor desires good government, and issues a law to protect the subject from violence. But that, alas!, is not enough: the plea of Libanius addressed to the emperor is worth quoting in his own words (p. 375^{9B}): *καὶ ὡς μὲν ἐθηκας νόμον βοηθοῦντα τοῖς δεθεῖσι περὶ τὸν χρόνον, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν, οἶδα. οἶδα μὲντοι κάκεινο, ὅτι ἂν οὐ κειμένου τοῦ νόμου, ταῦτα καὶ γεγραμμένον πέπρακται. οὐ γὰρ ὄντων τῶν βεβαίουν αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων δικαστῶν γράμματα εἰσι μόνον, τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις δὲ οὐ παρέπονται ποιοῦντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς παρ' ἐαυτῶν ἔργοις τῶν ἡδίκηκτων κρείττονας*. The emperor could not control his own agents.

The curiosi were a scourge to the subjects; Libanius states the fact frequently. Yet the favour of the imperial agents was all-important, and Libanius was a rhetorician. When he addresses individual *agentes in rebus*, their character is always above reproach. Dr. Pack endeavours to reconcile this discrepancy: 'the pictures of the more respectable curiosi,' he writes, 'go back, for the most part, to the years before or not long after the sojourn of Julian in Antioch, whereas the grimmer view, as found in the orations, belongs to the post-Julianic period' (p. 20). The optimism of Dr. Pack is somewhat naïve. The *Historia Augusta* knew better: the best of emperors is sold. The reader must never forget the prejudices and the profession of Libanius.

This dissertation contains much useful work: it is to be hoped that Dr. Pack will continue his study of the social life of the later empire.

N. H. B.

Byzance et les Arabes. Tome I, La Dynastie d'Amorium. By A. A. VASILIEV. Edition française préparée par HENRI GRÉGOIRE ET MARIUS CANARD. Pp. xv + 451. 100 fr.

¹ Cf. F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, p. 219, note², pp. 471-473.

Tome III. Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches im 363 bis 1071. By ERNST HONIGMANN. Pp. 269. 100 fr. (*Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae*.) Brussels: Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales, 1935.

Over thirty years ago Professor Vasiliev published in Russian two volumes dealing with Arabo-Byzantine relations from A.D. 820 to 959 (*Vizantiya i Araby*, St. Petersburg, Vol. I 1900, Vol. II 1902). These two volumes at once became the standard works on this important aspect of Byzantine history. They were additionally valuable in that each volume contained at the end translations of the relevant passages in Arab historians. But, though every serious student of Byzantium must sooner or later learn to read Slavonic languages, the fact that these books were published in Russia and in Russian has made them inaccessible to a large number of scholars; and MM. Grégoire and Canard have placed all Byzantinists in their debt by providing a French translation of them, embodying the latest research on the subject. Of these the second volume has yet to appear.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the new edition is the small number of emendations that the editors have found it necessary to make. Vasiliev's thoroughness and judgment have admirably stood the test of time. But the emendations are nevertheless all-important and valuable. Most are due to the use of the full text of Michael the Syrian, whose work was only known in 1900 in the garbled Armenian version and the excerpts in Bar-Hebraeus, and of one or two Arabic writers, such as Al Kindi and the contemporary Arabic poets, and by a fuller use of the lives of the Greek saints; and certain of Vasiliev's conclusions have been modified by Bury's *Eastern Roman Empire*, the one great modern work to deal with the period, and by occasional learned articles by M. Grégoire himself and others, notably E. W. Brooks.

The main alterations to be noted in the first volume are as follows:

- p. 29 (French edition) an additional paragraph from Michael the Syrian about the rebel Thomas at Harun's court.
- pp. 54 ff. The date of the Arab conquest of Crete is placed in 827 or 828 as opposed to 825 (Russian edition p. 47), the date given by Tabari.
- p. 67 n. 1. Photinus is no longer identified with the Strategus Constantine.
- p. 90. An additional paragraph based on Brooks about the reconquest of the Greek Isles by Ooryphas.

- p. 90 n. 4 and p. 91. Additional information about civil wars in the Caliphate at the beginning of Mamūn's reign.
- p. 98. A paragraph in the Russian edition (p. 82) about Theophobus is omitted, the whole question being discussed later very fully on pp. 124 ff., and Appendix B IV, and additional matter about Theophobus is added on pp. 158-9.
- pp. 99-100. The events of the 830 campaign and the career of Manuel are emended, with amplifications in Appendix B IV.
- pp. 135-6. The date of Alexius Musele's career in Sicily is altered from 831-2 to 857.
- pp. 147 ff. Additional notes are given to the story of the capture of Amorium. On pp. 152-3 the editors assign the inscription on the walls of Ancyra to Michael III's reign (Bury's view) instead of Michael II's (Russian, p. 124). On p. 168 n. 2 the whole question is discussed, and again in an Appendix to the chapter (pp. 188-90).
- pp. 175-7. Two paragraphs, based on Michael the Syrian, are inserted, dealing with campaigns in 839, 840 and 841 and denying Bury's contention that an exchange of prisoners took place in 841.
- p. 191 and n. 2. Michael III's age at his accession is raised from 4 (Russian, p. 153) to 6, and the events of his early reign are discussed more fully.
- pp. 194-5. Theoctistus's expedition to Crete is slightly differently told in the two versions. Long footnotes are added to the French version; a note in the Russian as to the position of Mavropotamos (Russian, p. 155 n. 2) is translated in full, with the comment that it is probably false.
- p. 199 n. 1. Additional evidence from hagiographical sources as to the 845 embassy is quoted.
- p. 214 n. 3. Additional discussion about the sources for the Damietta episode of 853.
- p. 217. A conjecture as to the operations of the Byzantine fleet during part of this campaign (Russian, p. 173) is omitted.
- pp. 227 n. 1 ff. A large amount of additional evidence about the Paulicians and a discussion of the source of Petrus Siculus and Photius's works on them are given, together with references to modern works on Paulician doctrines. [In the opinion of the present reviewer, the *Key of Truth* (ed. by Conybeare, Oxford 1898) cannot be taken as giving any indication as to ninth-century Paulician tenets.]
- p. 235. Michael III's defeat in 859 (Russian,

- p. 186) is relegated to a footnote and discredited.
- pp. 242-3. The Russian invasion of 860 is slightly altered from the Russian version.
- p. 245. The defeat of Michael III at Anzen (Russian, pp. 193-5) is relegated to a footnote and discredited.
- pp. 250-1. New evidence about the 863 campaign is given and an amendment to the text of Genesius suggested, which makes the geographical data more possible.
- p. 257. The first paragraph is more qualified than the equivalent in the Russian edition (p. 203).

In the excerpts from Arabic authors following the main text, few alterations are made. A paragraph by Ya'qūbī on the death of Muzāhim is left out; a note by M. Canard on Tabari is put in, with a correction of Vasiliev's views on the Cambridge Chronicle, and several notes on Ibn al-Atfir. Excerpts from Ibn Tāfir and Kind are added.

In the original edition Vasiliev included appendices on the date of the re-establishment of Orthodoxy by Theodora, and on the dates of the Patriarchs of Constantinople of the time and a chronological table. To these are added three appendices by M. Canard: one on the allusions in the Arabic poets to the wars against Byzantium—Abū Tamman and Buhturī being specially quoted: one on the dates of the Byzantine-Arab embassies of 831-53 (he inclines to place two in 831, one in 832, one in 833 and perhaps one at the end of 837): and one on the situation of Marg-al-Usguf. There is also an appendix by M. Grégoire on the question of Manuel, Theophobus and the embassy of John the Grammarian, on which he relies largely on articles by E. W. Brooks, and one by M. Abel on the religious controversies between Christian and Moslem in the eighth and ninth centuries, with a bibliography added; and Mlle. Louillet provides a useful list of all the relevant hagiographical works. Finally, as addenda, M. Canard adjoins a slight change in his opinion about the Emir of Melitene's presence in the 838 campaign—interesting because it justifies Genesius—and the problem of John the Grammarian's embassy is furthered by a reference to Dvornik's *Les Légendes de Constantin et Méthode*.

The foregoing summary will show the great utility of the new edition. There are one or two minor points where the editors' new conclusions may be questioned or where possible errors in the original text have gone uncorrected, but they are negligible. The present reviewer is fortunate enough to possess Bury's copy of the Russian

edition. His frequent pencil annotations illustrate how carefully he studied the book and what use he made of it. It is interesting to see corrections published in his *Eastern Roman Empire* first appearing in manuscript comments at the side of Vasiliev's pages, and now embodied in Vasiliev's text or footnotes. There are also occasions on which he did not publish his corrections. For example, about the name *Palata* he comments, 'Palata perhaps represents Palatinus' (on the Russian p. 60); but in the *Eastern Roman Empire* (p. 480) he merely says that Palata was 'an official probably invested with a palatine dignity.' The editors of the French edition (pp. 70-1) identify Palata with the definite title Palatinus, basing the identification on an argument of Dvornik, who reached the same conclusion. Sometimes these unpublished notes could correct the new edition. On p. 88 n. 2 of the Russian, Bury notes that στρατοπεδάρχην does not mean 'to be a strategus' as Vasiliev took it. On p. 104 n. 4 of the French edition the editors get into difficulties because they accept unquestioning the mistranslation. On p. 120 n. 5 of the Russian, where Vasiliev emends Genesis's 'γραφὴν ἐνδηλοῦντος τοῦ Ἀμορίου συζήτησιν' into 'γραφὴ ἐνδηλοῦν τοῦ . . . κτλ.', Bury inserts the word 'τὴν' after 'ἐνδηλοῦν', which is more convincing and makes better sense. Unfortunately he never published this emendation, and the new editors copy Vasiliev's reading. They have (p. 72) curiously ignored his comment, written in MS. on the Russian p. 62 and published in the *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 298, that the Arab-Sicilian treaty of 813, which was to last for ten years, must have been renewed for the Arabs to break it in 827.

I have noticed only one serious misprint. On p. 117 n. 4, fourth line, last word, for *mois* read *ans*. As it stand the note is meaningless.

Byzantinists will await eagerly the publication of the second volume, promised shortly. In the meantime, as a third volume, Herr Honigsmann has published in German a supplementary work on the Eastern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire from 363 to 1071. This is an admirably indexed and fully referenced account of the frontier line at various stages during this period, the position and identification of the various frontier towns and districts being minutely discussed. As an encyclopaedia of the historical geography of Eastern Asia Minor it will be invaluable. It is not, however, very carefully arranged; and there is a pointless and irritating absence of a Table of Contents. There are three main chapters: on the Roman-Persian frontier, 363-603 (pp. 3-37); on the Byzantine-

Arab frontier seventh century to 959 (pp. 39-92), with subdivisions on the Arab frontier zone, the Byzantine frontier zone, the new Themes of the Eastern frontier, and the Taurus frontier; and on the frontier from 960 to 1071, with subdivisions on Syria, Edessa, Armenia and the Byzantine bishoprics in Armenia. Actually the discussion on the Syrian frontier overflows the chronological limit, being largely concerned with the twelfth century. There are appendices on the Iberian sources of information about the Patriarchs of Antioch and on Gregory Pacuvianus. At the end of the volume are four useful maps, with explanatory notes.

It would be difficult to criticise Herr Honigsmann's details. His references are ample, careful and up-to-date, derived from innumerable Byzantine, Arab and modern authorities. He is not always definitive—a wise precaution. One regrets the absence of a discussion of the Byzantine vassal-cities beyond the frontier, which certainly were important in, for example, the tenth century. His references to Western medieval writers are remarkably few, even when he deals with twelfth-century Syria; and he might have made use of the accounts of Western pilgrims. For instance, the voyage of Lietbert Bishop of Cambrai in 1054 shows the Strategus of Laodicea to have been the official in charge of the frontier passport regulations at that time. But though such additions and further discussions would have been welcome, Herr Honigsmann's book remains an invaluable work of reference, especially when used in conjunction with Vasiliev's great volumes. S. R.

Οἱ Αὐτοκρατορικοὶ Γάλλοι εἰς Παξοὺς 250 Αὐγούστου 1807—18 Φεβρουαρίου 1814. By DIONYSIOS D. ZERBAS. Pp. 65. Athens, 1936.

Based upon unpublished Italian and Greek documents from the archives at Paxo, this monograph describes the miserable condition of that island during the second French occupation of the Ionian Islands. During the Napoleonic wars it was difficult to provision barren Paxo, which also suffered from the Continental Blockade. The British bombarded it in 1808, and in consequence the Venetian fort of St. Nicola on the islet commanding the two entrances to the harbour of Gaïon, originally built in 1423, was repaired by forced labour. Though the French sent two Paxiot youths to study in France, took a census showing 4700 inhabitants, introduced the new calendar and liberated islanders enslaved by the Barbary pirates, they were unpopular, and, after the capture of the

southern islands by the British in 1810 there was a rebellion against the French, in which two Francophiles were killed. But, as the British did not arrive, it was quelled and seven ringleaders executed. Four years later, however, the British under Church and Kolokotronis took Paxos, as the author has described at length in an article in the *Greek Naval Review*. The monograph has also linguistic interest, for some of the documents show the corrupt Greek then spoken in Paxos, containing many Italian words.

W. M.

Les forts de Corfou et leur démolition.

By SPYROS D. MINOTTO. Pp. viii + 79. Athens, 1937. 20 fr.

When Great Britain ceded the Ionian Islands to Greece, it was decided by the treaty of 14 November, 1863, mainly at the instigation of Austria, that the fortifications of Corfu were to be destroyed. In spite of the protests of Trikoupi against this 'immolation of Greece to Austria,' the marine defences of the 'New Fort,' 'Fort Abraham' and the costly fortifications of the islet of Vido, where the reviewer has seen the date of 1837 on a block of masonry, were blown up. The author of this monograph, a distinguished Ionian, takes the Greek standpoint, that the forts had been largely constructed with Ionian money, whereas Palmerston quoted as a precedent the demolition of the Belgian fortresses. He admits however that this act was not directed against Greece, which was grateful to Britain for the cession, although he quotes a true prophecy of Ward that 'Corfu,' after the Union, 'will sink to the rank of a small provincial town.' The Italians, as he remarks, bombarded the 'Old Fort' in 1923, the Serbs made 'neutral' Corfu the centre of their organisation in 1916 and Vido became their cemetery. He also narrates the history of the erection of the fortresses under the Venetians, and during the Russo-Turkish siege of 1799 and the second French occupation, when Napoleon fortified Vido. There are an introduction on the legal aspect of the demolition, contributed by Professor Sepheriades, and a copious bibliography. A Greek edition is being published.

W. M.

Lettres à deux Athéniennes (1868-1881).

By COMTE DE GOBINEAU. Pp. xlix + 284. Athens: 'Castille,' 1936.

The author of these letters to Zoé and Marie Dragoumis was French Minister at Athens from 1864 to 1868, and revisited it with the Emperor of Brazil in 1876. They cover the period from his departure to his death in 1882, and contain

numerous allusions to Greek affairs. But of more value is the introduction by the niece of the 'two Athenians,' Madame N. Melâ, which gives a sketch of Athenian life in the early years of George I's reign. Athens, now containing with its port and suburbs nearly a million inhabitants, was then a small town of 45,000, but socially interesting owing to the Phanariote families and the Greeks who had returned from Marseilles, London and Trieste. There was plenty of amusement; the King was often a guest of the Gobineau, whose daughter married his aide-de-camp, Guldencrone, and lived to publish a book on Frankish Greece, *L'Achaïe féodale*. But politics made this literary diplomat despair, the Cretan insurrection he considered to be only an affair of brigands, and ignored the heroic sacrifice of the monastery of Arkadi; yet he absolved Greece from responsibility for the brigandage at Marathon in 1870, and in the eastern crisis of 1876 pleaded to Slavophil Britons that she, too, should be an heiress of Turkey. A portrait of the author and medallions of his two correspondents, daughters of a famous Greek family, adorn this well-printed volume.

W. M.

Ἡ ἱστορία τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἐπαναστάσεων 1824-1935. By DEMOS BRATSANOS. Pp. 388. Athens: 'Techné,' 1936. 100 dr.

To write contemporary Greek history impartially is a difficult task for a Greek journalist and former deputy, like the author. The second half of this volume, which covers the period from the insurrection by the Military League at Goudi in 1909 down to March 1936, is accordingly marked by anti-Venizelist feeling, while the former half, which begins with the squandering of the first loan in civil war, is more historical. The writer calculates that there have been in these 111 years thirty-eight 'revolutions'—the now fashionable word *κινήματα*, reminiscent of the 'movies,' is more appropriate to these rapid changes—and attributes them to the 'individualism' of the Greek character. The fact is that from the September revolution of 1843 to date every one of these 'movements' has been caused by the army, which has been mixed up in politics. The book, especially in the latter part, contains little about the lucid intervals between the revolutions, and the reader might have been spared the long lists of names of persons participating therein. The earlier part has an interesting account of Bouboulina, the heroine of Spetsai. In describing the 'movement' at Goudi, whence contemporary Greek history began,

the writer mentions that, while the artillery only wanted to remove the Princes from the army, the infantry wanted to depose the King. He omits the name of the British emissary, sent to try to prevent the execution of 'the Six' in 1922—Sir Gerald Talbot, who told the reviewer the story. Writing before the latest change, that of 4th August, 1936, he alludes to the present Premier's participation in the abortive 'Counter-revolution' of October 1923, and quotes the Pope's appeal for mercy. The last of the recorded 'revolutions,' that of March 1935, is rather sketchily described, and the attempt to murder Venizelos, which was one of the psychological factors contributing to his part therein, is omitted. There are numerous illustrations of the chief personages of the drama. Capo d'Istria's Venetian title was not due to the fact that 'one of his ancestors had been chief of Istria,' but was derived from the town of that name. The Bulgarian union with Eastern Roumelia was in 1885 (pp. 30, 242). The moral is that, when the official slogan, 'the army is absolutely devoted to its professional duties,' is also true, there are no 'revolutions.'

W. M.

N. Γ. Κυριαζής. — Κυπριακή Βιβλιογραφία. Pp. xix + 343. 'Εν Λάρνακι, 1935. 6 s.

The more a bibliography is needed, the more difficult one may say it becomes to compile it, and this can hardly be truer for any subject than for Cyprus. A beginning was made by the late C. D. Cobham in 1886 with 152 titles; in 1908 he produced in his *Excerpta Cypria* a fifth edition with 860 titles; Mr. George Jeffery in 1929 produced a further bibliography, and now we have this very substantial volume by Mr. Kyriazis. He has been helped by Mr. Sykoutris and by the late Mr. Pieridis, both scholars of Cyprus.

A very welcome feature of this book is the list of the works of the popular poets, the ποιητάριδες, of Cyprus. For some years the local Greek of the island has been used by a

flourishing school of versifiers, who produce for the most part small pamphlets of verse hardly to be obtained outside the island. Here we have thirty-nine pages, perhaps some 800 titles, of their works, dated from 1892 onwards, but for the most part printed in the last ten years or so. Of modern Greeks only the Cypriots have used their dialect as a regular medium for verse, and both for their language and their content these little books are of interest and value.

To a careless printer and not very careful proof-reading we must ascribe the main fault of this book: a certain absence of the neatness essential to the perfect bibliographer. Possibly, too, Mr. Sykoutris has not found it easy to get personal access to all the books he quotes. There are two pages of misprints, mainly for the non-Greek words, and these do not exhaust the list; sometimes they even introduce fresh errors. Cartography on p. 145 produces the correction: 'For Cartagrafy read Cartografy.' Hlffrich on p. 103 is corrected to Helffrich; his real name is Helfferich. On p. 41 is an odd entry: 'Le Strange, H.—Hamon Lestrangle marries Isabeau Queen of Cyprus 1272. London 1916.' This refers to Mr. Hamon Le Strange's book, *Le Strange Records*, published in London in 1916. On p. 147 the author tells us that in 1272 Hamon Le Strange married Isabelle d'Ybelin, Queen of Cyprus. On p. 106 'evclos der chresmologe' looks odd for 'Euklos der Chresmologe,' and, though the work may have been issued separately, we should have been told that it appeared in the *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, IX, 1860. But any reader can set most of these things right by himself, though 'Reflex on' instead of 'The Text of' on p. 25, line 21, is, may be, rather a puzzle, and, when all is said, a great debt is owing to the author for his industry in compiling a very useful book; especially to the man who is to write what is so much needed, a full history of the island of Cyprus.

R. M. D.



ETRUSCAN CUP IN THE RODIN MUSEUM, PARIS.



ATTIC CUP IN THE VATICAN.



MARBLE RELIEF FROM KNOSSOS.



STELE IN RETHYMNO. CRETE.



ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1936-37

[PLATES V, VI.]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS are due to all those who have kindly supplied information and photographs: particularly to Dr. Riemann, of the German Archaeological Institute, who generously gave me a copy of his forthcoming report in *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, and allowed me to make free use of it; to Professor G. Oikonomos, the Director of the Greek Archaeological Department; to Professors Shear and Morgan, and others of the American School; to M. Paul Lemerle, the Secretary-General of the French School; to Drs. Hampe and Kübler of the German Institute; and to Dr. Sjöflund of the Swedish excavations. They are in no way responsible for errors in this account.

ATHENS AND ATTICA

In August 1937 the National Museum received an acquisition of the first importance. It had been known for some time that a marble kouros had been dug up at Anavysos in Attica by a gang of tomb-robbers in 1932, and smuggled out of the country. The general activities of this gang came afterwards to the notice of the authorities, and the men were brought to trial. In the course of the evidence the story of the kouros was disclosed, and subsequent investigations revealed the fact that it had come into the hands of a Greek dealer in Paris. The latter was induced to restore it to the Greek authorities, who conveyed it to Athens. The statue is in ten fragments, which are now in the workshops of the National Museum awaiting reconstruction. Most of the breaks are new. The smugglers had severed the torso and arms, and broken off the hands at the wrists and at the points where they touch the thighs. The head and upper part of the torso are in good preservation except for a slight break in the nose. The statue is a magnificent work of the middle of the sixth century.

The excavations of the American School under Shear's direction in and around the *Agora* were continued, with important results, between the end of January and the middle of June. A large area was cleared on the north-west slopes of the Acropolis, to the south-east of the previous excavation. Here ran the ancient way, now uncovered, from the *Agora* to the Acropolis, in the same general alignment as was afterwards followed by the Valerian wall, which lies over the roadway along its eastern edge. At a point just north of the new motor road, now being constructed on the north side of the Acropolis, the ancient road seems to have curved away towards the west, and so round to the foot of the Acropolis ascent, in order to provide a suitable gradient for vehicles. There must also have been a

footway leading direct to the Acropolis ascent. This was enlarged in the first or second century A.D. into a stair ten metres in width, of which little now remains beyond the foundations of the parapets and the traces of ramps. In the neighbourhood of the Klepsydra, towards the southern end of the Valerian wall, the stairway was traversed by the Turkish fortification wall which ran round the Acropolis. The stairway and its surroundings at this point were practically obliterated by the explosion of a Turkish mine in 1822.

In July Parsons cleared out and examined the ancient basin of the Klepsydra, entering it by a shaft which descends about 8.50 metres from the floor of the 'Chapel of the Holy Apostles.' At about half a metre below the bottom of this shaft he came upon the floor of the basin. This runs nearly north and south, and measures about 4.50×2.25 metres. The original walls are preserved almost intact. They and the floor are constructed of poros blocks, beautifully cut and jointed. The north, east and south walls are built up to the overhanging rock. The west wall rises to a height of four metres above the floor, leaving a space of three metres between its summit and the rock above. Rope and bucket marks show clearly that it was over this parapet that water was drawn. At a much later date the west wall was carried up to the rock, and a narrow entrance made from the north. Later still, but certainly before the construction of the Valerian wall in the last quarter of the third century, a new well-house of concrete masonry was built on the overhanging shelf, on the east side, and connected with the Acropolis by a stairway cut in the rock. This is, in fact, the building now used as a chapel, and the present shaft belongs to it. The basin was fed by four inlets on the east side. One of these was subsequently blocked up. They are very carefully constructed and lined with archaic roof-tiles of island marble. There is no external evidence as yet for the date of construction, but the style and workmanship are not incompatible with a date in the late fifth century. The examination will be continued next year.

A noteworthy discovery in the section lying east of the Valerian wall was the foundation of a late archaic building on the rising ground to the south of the Stoa of Attalos. A small portion of this foundation was uncovered last year. The building had originally a length of 15.60 metres and a width of 8.70 metres extended by additions, which appear to have been almost contemporary, to 18.05 and 11.10 metres respectively. The foundation blocks, on which lifting bosses still remain, are of very fine workmanship. The building stood on ground rising steeply towards the south, and was supported on the north side by a retaining wall. It lay in a small temenos enclosed by a polygonal wall. Farther to the south are the remains of an early Roman circular building, containing poros blocks apparently taken from an earlier and larger circular building which may have occupied the same site.

The whole area east of the Valerian wall is much disturbed, but produced nevertheless some important finds. One of these was a statue base, with an inscription recording that the statue upon it was of Archippe, wife of Cleogenes of Aixone, dedicated by her mother Archippe, and made

by Praxiteles. The base of a bronze statue dedicated by Herodes Atticus to his friend the Consul Civica Barbarus was also found.

A well in this locality produced late Geometric and proto-Attic pottery, including a late Geometric amphora with plastic snakes on rim and shoulder, and a hydria-neck with a continuous frieze of ten women holding hands and carrying palm-branches.

The area on the north-west slopes of the Acropolis produced an important yield of prehistoric pottery from various pits and wells. Many complete vases were found, and a great quantity of sherds. The pottery falls into two main categories, Late Neolithic and Middle Helladic. Some coarse pottery of the Early Helladic period was also found, but no late Helladic pieces. Three of the Middle Helladic vases are illustrated in Fig. 1.

Further north along the Acropolis road and close to the Stoa of Attalos the remains of a row of standing and seated statues of the Roman period were disclosed. Five of these have so far been recovered. Opposite the Stoa the road widens out into a large open space, between which and the



FIG. 1.—ATHENS: MIDDLE HELLADIC VASES FROM NORTH-WEST SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS.

centre of the Stoa foundations, measuring approximately 8.50×6 metres, have been found.

A striking topographical discovery of this season's work is that of the foundations of a Greek peripteral Doric temple, measuring 36.36×16.76 metres, with 6×13 columns lying north-west of the Odeion, and south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. This temple was destroyed probably in Sulla's pillage and completely rebuilt in early Roman times. The only large temple in the Agora area so far unaccounted for is the temple of Ares, and the site answers well enough to Pausanias's description of its position.

Thompson has published the results of his examination of the buildings on the west side of the Agora, as far south as the Bouleuterion (*Hesperia* 1937, 1), and has since turned his attention to the Tholos. Late sixth-century houses were discovered at a low depth around and beneath the Tholos site, and the fill between the west side of the building and the rock yielded late black-figure sherds, and ostraka, of which several bore the name of Themistocles. The original Tholos can accordingly be assigned to about the time of the Persian wars. The building had a diameter of about eighteen metres. Its roof was supported by six columns, arranged so as to form a hexagon, the north and south sides of which are, however,

nearly half as long again as the other sides (the main entrance to the building would seem to have been from the north). The three pillars on each side, east and west, are set upon a wider arc than the curve of the building itself. The building appears to have been restored and added to in the third century B.C., destroyed during Sulla's invasion and rebuilt soon afterwards. In Imperial times a different method of roofing must have been adopted, since a thin pavement of marble belonging to a restoration of this period covered the bases of the six columns. Two pits on the north side of the Tholos contained a large number of plain fifth-century cups, some of which were inscribed with the monogram Ξ (for Demos). They were doubtless State vessels used in the Tholos itself.

The excavations were continued also in the areas north and south of the Hephaisteion. In the former the remains of several more bronze foundries were discovered, with their water-channels and cisterns. A stairway of about eight metres broad, of uncertain date, was located, leading from the Sacred Gate road southwards, up the steep hill to the north of the Hephaisteion, on to the terrace of the temple itself. South of the Hephaisteion numerous wells and cisterns were cleared. One yielded a quantity of late fifth-century pottery and other objects, including an unfinished statuette of Herakles. Among the vases may be mentioned an amphora with a procession of garlanded youths, labelled ΕΥΠΟΜΠΟΙ, led by the mythical ΚΟΠΡΕΥΣ. The precise significance of the scene is not clear. It seems to have no direct connexion with the *Heracleidae* of Euripides. Another vase, a krater, depicts a sacrifice—youths and maidens are dragging a bull to an altar which stands under a tree; a herm is seen in the background.

Among other individual finds may be noted:

(1) a red-figure column-krater, with a youth playing a double flute on one side, and a discobolos on the other, attributed to Myson.

(2) A red-figure fragment, about 470 B.C., showing the Judgment of Paris—part of a large kantharos, fragments of which had been found in previous years.

(3) A red-figure amphora by the painter of the Leningrad Amazonomachy. In front is a charioteer, in long chiton, driving a team of three horses. A Nike wearing a Doric chiton and an embroidered sakkos, and carrying an amphora of Panathenaic shape, flies above. At the back a winged female figure, in a chiton and himation, holds out a patera to a bearded male figure wearing an himation and holding a lotus-tipped staff in his right hand.

(4) An interesting set of three small weights, a stater, a quarter-stater and a one-sixth stater, was found together with the first of the above vases. Each weight bears the words ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ or ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝ engraved on the sides, and a relief on its upper surface. The stater has an astragalos, the quarter-stater a shield, and the one-sixth stater a tortoise.

The finds include also a large number of fragments of inscriptions, which will be published in due course, and sixty ostraka.

Broneer has continued his excavations on the *north-east slopes of the Acropolis*. An area of about 1400 square metres, extending from the περίπατος below the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite down to the modern road, has been cleared. Several of the squatters' houses on the upper slope were acquired by the American School for the purpose, and some twenty-five refugees' houses on the lower slope were removed in the spring of 1937, and their inhabitants housed in permanent dwellings by the Greek Government. In addition to the main area, a small section higher up the slope, directly to the north of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, was excavated, and the underground passage west of the Erechtheion explored. The former produced some prehistoric pottery, and the latter several inscriptions of interest and some sculptural fragments, as well as a great many sherds, mostly Mycenaean. No ancient buildings and few objects of topographical interest came to light. The movable finds are, however, numerous and important.

About 130 fragments of inscriptions were found, ranging from the sixth century B.C. to the Byzantine epoch. These include a fragment of the Athena Promachos inscription, a piece of the Erechtheion accounts, several fragments of inventory records of the fifth and fourth centuries, and numerous pieces of decrees of the fourth and third centuries.

The principal finds came from ancient wells and cuttings. One well, about eighteen metres deep, contained, near the top, an archaic bronze horse and rider, of fine workmanship and in good preservation, except that the horse's feet are missing, and its legs twisted. The statuette is an extreme example of two early archaic features—the diminutiveness of the rider, and his position on the peak of the horse's withers. In the same well, lower down, were found the fragments of a large black-figure krater of Exekias, the following description of which is kindly supplied by Broneer. 'On the one side is depicted the introduction of Herakles into Olympos. The figures of Herakles and Athena are lost, but part of Herakles' name remains. The deities whose figures are preserved are: Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon and Hermes, all with their names affixed, and one other female figure, probably Iris. The horses and the front of the chariot are also preserved. On the other side is a scene of Greek and Trojan warriors fighting over the body of Patrokles. In the lower zone on either side are figures of two lions in the act of killing a bull, and at the handles are figures of women and running satyrs. About one-third of the krater is missing. The base shows signs of having been mended in antiquity. The style of the decoration is typically that of Exekias. Above the figures of the gods is the inscription ONETOPIΔΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. This name, which appears only on vases of Exekias, leaves no room for doubt as to the identity of the artist. It is likely that the signature of Exekias was inscribed on the missing portion above the warrior scene.' The krater and the horseman are now set up in the museum of the American excavations in the Agora.

Other important finds are a fine black-figure hydria, decorated with figures of women carrying wreaths, a black-figure jug with Athena and Dionysos, and a fragment of a painted terracotta plaque, which Broneer

thinks was probably a metope, showing the face and left arm of a bearded figure holding a harp. In the same well as the plaque were found an ostrakon of Kimon son of Miltiades, and no fewer than 192 ostraka of Themistokles, mostly on kylix bases.

The British School spent a week in February examining the large dump of earth from the Acropolis excavations of 1884-89, which lies in front of the cave on the east face. Good pottery fragments have often come to the surface in this locality after rain, and in 1936 Broneer, when examining the cave itself, had found there a number of important sherds, some of which join with Acropolis vases (*Hesperia* V. 2, 247 ff., and *JHS* lvi, 135). This year's search produced some interesting sherds, including good black-figure fragments of the second half of the sixth century, and a quantity of fifth-century red-figure, one piece of which belongs to a known vase (Graef-Langlotz, *Acropolisvasen* II, i, pl. 10, 211). But the outstanding find was a fine bronze fragment, consisting of the legs and feet of a kouros, standing between two rams, one of which is preserved intact. Miss Constantinou, the keeper of the bronzes in the National Museum, identified the fragment as belonging to Acropolis No. 6588 (De Ridder, p. 250, fig. 222), and a further search among the Acropolis bronzes in the Museum disclosed the fact that the bronze lion, Acropolis No. 6650 (De Ridder, p. 168), is part of the same piece. The head of the kouros makes a perfect join with the lion, but the ends of the thighs were unfortunately levelled off when the piece was mounted, and cannot now be joined to the new fragment. The height of the figure (Pl. V) was about 16 centimetres. The fragments belong to an oinochoe handle of a popular archaic pattern, composed of a naked youth, who stands between two rams, and grasps the tails of two lions lying on either side of his head. The youth's body and head are hollow at the back. They must have fitted over an attachment which completed the handle and took the weight of the vase. The lions were similarly hollowed to fit the curves of a trefoil mouth. By this arrangement the designer was enabled to set the figure of the youth in a natural position, instead of bending it violently backwards, as in almost all other known examples. Traces of a similar attachment may be seen at the back of an unpublished handle (without rams) in the Ashmolean (no. 221), and at the back of a fragmentary handle (lower part missing) from Laconia in the Louvre (no. 2785). Except that it belonged to a vessel with a circular mouth, the Louvre handle, in its upper part, is very similar in form to the handle from the Acropolis. It is, however, markedly different in style; and there seems no reason to doubt that the handle from the Acropolis is Attic. It may be dated about 520 B.C.

The German excavation of the *Kerameikos*, under the direction of Kübler, was continued from November to January, and again in the summer. A detailed report, by Johannes and Gebauer, will appear in *AA* 1937. The pottery finds do not compare with those of preceding years, but the topographical results are important. Further excavation between the Dipylon and the Spartans' grave has brought to light the water-heating chamber and connected supply system of the circular bath-house, and the duration of the bath-house itself has been established, with the aid of an ostrakon of Megakles,

as lying between 486 and 404-3, when the bath-house was given up and the Spartans' grave constructed. The first water-heating arrangements were developed out of existing potters' kilns, which are therefore the earliest Attic pottery kilns known to us. The post-holes referred to in *JHS* lvi, 140 are now conjectured to have belonged to a platform, from which funeral orations were delivered. Between the marble Roman sarcophagus in front of the Dipylon and the circular bath-house, many graves were excavated, of which three are Submycenaean, twenty-two Geometric, and four late sixth-century. The Geometric graves belong for the most part to the first half of the eighth century. Kübler associates this series of graves with those previously found in the Hagia Trias section.

Kourouniotis and Travlos have explored sections of the Sacred Way in the region between the temple of Aphrodite and the ancient Rheitoi. They have also finished the excavations in Eleusis itself, and uncovered a large Roman house near the museum.

Further excavations took place in the necropolis at *Vari* (*JHS* lvi, 143) under the direction of Oikonomos in conjunction with Stavropoulos, with funds supplied from the Singer-Polignac foundation. The result has not disappointed the expectations raised by the discovery of the temple deposit in 1934-35 (*JHS* lv, 154), though the majority of the finds, extending as they do from the end of the seventh down into the fifth century, belong to a later period. Most of the pottery was recovered not from the actual graves, but from sacrificial channels and other surroundings. The fragments have been put together in the Archaeological Society's building. They comprise a rich variety of vases of many shapes. Perhaps the most interesting piece of all is a funeral car in terracotta. Four mourning women stand on the platform round the coffin, over which a pall is spread. Two plastic figures, a running man and a bird, lie on the pall. The lid is removable, disclosing the figure of the dead man lying in the coffin. A driver stands on the platform in front. The car is drawn by a single horse, on which a rider is seated. The decoration throughout is in brown on a light background. Other pottery includes: a tall footed cup, with three mourning women on the rim, and several stands with similar decoration; a large plate with heraldic lions; a horned animal on wheels, with six amphoriskoi on its back; a stand, with three pointed jars upside down upon it; several terracotta horses and birds; a large plate with running Gorgon, (Pl. VI, 1); large skyphoi with animal friezes in Corinthian style; a kantharos—in front, Herakles wrestling with a Triton, which has a snake rising out of his back—at the back, a four-horsed chariot (Pl. VI, 4); a black-figure jug with lion and bull (Pl. VI, 2); a four-handled kothon with animal frieze on the rim; three fine cups with gorgoneia; a jug with two warriors attacking a bearded man in himation, standing male figures at the side; lekythos with hunters returning (Pl. VI, 3); black- and red-figure loutrophoroi; and many other vases. In 1937 some more graves were opened, but these were poorly furnished. The excavations will be renewed next year.

THE MEGARID

Threpsiades has excavated on two sites at Megara, in the modern town, and at the cave of Mourmounes. On the former site he found limestone foundations and hypocausts of a large Roman bath.

THE PELOPONNESE

Corinth. The American School has carried on its excavations, directed by Morgan, at Corinth. To the west of the Bouleuterion excavated in 1936 five more shops have been uncovered in the Stoa area. One of these contained a marble head of Serapis, ornamented with gold leaf, of the second century A.D. To the north of the Stoa shops two late Geometric graves were found, containing some undecorated hand-made pottery. West of the Agora, under the site of the demolished church of St. John the Theologian, the foundations of an earlier church of the tenth century were found. These contained three torsos, one of Athena, and two male statues. The statues are very highly polished.

The clearing of the area in the south central section of the Agora was continued, west of the mediaeval church found in the spring of 1936. A narrow marble staircase and an open-air 'waiting-room' were discovered, corresponding to a similar construction previously laid bare on the east. The Roman foundation discovered last year under the church now turns out to be a Bema, and not a Propylaion, as was previously conjectured. It stands on the level of the southern and higher portion of the market, and was approached from the south. Broneer conjectures that this Bema was the scene of St. Paul's arraignment before Gallio.

A small cemetery, containing several graves of the late eighth century and others extending down to the middle of the sixth century, was found to the west of the Bema. Some of the graves had been rifled, but several were undisturbed. There are two instances of a pair of graves lying at right angles to each other, and connected by a shelf cut through the dividing partition. One of these pairs was undisturbed. One grave contained the skeleton of a man, a Geometric skyphos, and an iron knife with a wooden handle. The other, the grave of a woman, produced two heavy gold earrings, of spiral design, and five rings, one gold, three of gold alloy, and one of silver, all on the right hand. At the feet were two iron pins with ivory heads: and in the shelf, two large bronze spits measuring about sixty centimetres. Another eighth-century grave contained a number of large vases, including a krater on a high stand.

A curious shrine was excavated to the south of these graves. It is a small rectangular chamber, cut out of the rock, and contains an altar, and a niche with a base, possibly of a cult statue. In front of the shrine was a prostyle of four columns which sprang from square shafts sunk considerably below the floor level.

Pottery from wells in this area ranges from the transitional period between Protocorinthian and Corinthian to the early fourth century.

The most interesting discovery occurred in the north central portion of the Agora, where a large area was excavated. Here were found the

starting lines of two race-tracks, one dating from the fourth century, and the other from Hellenistic times. The latter is well preserved. It contains places for sixteen competitors, but the cuttings for their feet consist, not of two shallow continuous grooves, as elsewhere, but of separate pairs of holes for each runner, the two holes being more than half a metre apart. In the remains of the earlier, fourth-century, starting-place, the distance is greater still.

The Swedish excavations at *Berbat* (Prosymna) were continued under the direction of Persson during the summer of 1937. Åkerström carried on the examination of the Mycenaean settlement on the eastern slope of the acropolis, with the object of obtaining a clearer idea of the LH III house-complex, which was grouped round a central yard, and included a potter's kiln. Many interesting misfired vases were found here. Säfllund excavated a portion of the south slope, and found well-preserved rectangular house foundations, dating chiefly from the Early Helladic period, and from a period that may be termed transitional between Early and Middle Helladic. Among the EH foundations was a house *in antis* of the megaron type, with a central round terracotta hearth, intact and connected with an ash-pit. The stratification and the pottery indicate an uninterrupted development from Early Helladic to early Middle Helladic. The settlement was destroyed by fire before the appearance of matt-painted ware, but after the introduction of the earlier class of grey Minyan ware.

At *Dendra* Persson cleared a well-preserved rock-cut chamber tomb. This had two rectangular chambers, the secondary one opening on the right of the main chamber, at a right angle to the dromos. Both chambers had a shallow gabled roof. The tomb had been plundered, but two apparently undisturbed pits in the main chamber yielded good specimens of LH I-II, inconspicuous small finds (seals and glass beads) and bones, including a well-preserved skull.

At *Asea*, southwest of Tripolis, Holmberg has found an unbroken succession of settlements from neolithic, Early Helladic and Middle Helladic times. The EH and MH pottery for the most part resembles the ordinary Argolid ware of these periods. The MH however, includes a ware with incised patterns, which probably comes from Messenia. One piece of the same kind has been found in Gonià (Blegen, *Gonià*, fig. 27).

The site seems to have been deserted from the end of the Middle Helladic period until the middle of the 6th century B.C., when a town was built, with a temple on the highest point.

Orlandos has continued his investigation of the gymnasium at *Sikyon*. He has found that the southern side of the lower terrace was closed, and that there were chambers opening off the stoa corresponding to those on the northern side. A small drainage channel ran along the stylobate towards the west of the peristyle and received the drainage water from the upper terrace also. A straight covered stairway of twenty steps, 1.35 metres broad, was also found with traces of stucco on its walls. On the upper terrace the whole of the outer wall of the gymnasium on the south and west was uncovered. This terrace consisted of a row of low buildings arranged on three sides of a rectangle.

Some graves were opened near the neighbouring village of Mulki. They contained some red-figure aryballoid lekythoi of the fourth century. The most important finds came from chance-opened graves at Tragana, in the region of the site of ancient Sikyon. These produced some fifth-century vases and a very fine bronze mirror dating from about 460. The handle consists of a standing kore in a Doric peplos and chiton, gathering a fold of her chiton in her left hand and holding out a flower in



FIG. 2.—OLYMPIA: THE RAVINE.

her right. Above the figure are two erotes, with hare and hounds along the rim.

Kyparissis has excavated some late Mycenaean rock tombs of the prehistoric settlement of *Antheia*, south-east of Patras. One unrifled grave produced fifty-five vases of various shapes, almost all of them complete. The finds have been placed in the museum at Patras.

The German Archaeological Institute carried out excavations at *Olympia* in the autumn of 1936 and the spring of 1937. An area north of the gymnasium, towards the left bank of the Kladeos, was examined, as were also the spaces between the treasuries along the northern edge of the

temenos east of the Heraion. These excavations were relatively unproductive: but an investigation of the area farther east, on the slope of the Kronion hill north-west of the Stadion, has yielded a veritable hoard of bronzes of the sixth and fifth centuries.

The storm-water from this slope of the Kronion hill now collects in a large hollow alongside the modern road, above and eastwards of the site of the excavations, and is drained off from there. In very early times it must have flowed through the site. The excavators came upon a ravine (Fig. 2), through which the torrent once flowed. At the bottom they found prehistoric sherds and obsidian blades. Above was a stratum of sand which contained nothing. At this level the torrent widened out considerably; and immediately above the barren stratum lies the historical site, on the flanks of a large hollow. There is no Mycenaean level. The historical site contains the remains of ten kilns, with bronze and iron



FIG. 3.—OLYMPIA: BRONZE HORSE OF THE GEOMETRIC PERIOD.

objects piled around them. They fall roughly into two groups; the older belongs to the sixth century, and the later to the first half of the fifth century. The discovery confirms the fact, already conjectured from vase-paintings, and illustrated by recent data from the American excavations in Athens, that the Greeks of this period had no standing foundries, but constructed temporary foundries as occasion required, with whatever material was available. This particular site was selected because the stratum of sand provided a fire-proof bed for the moulds.

The finds consist mainly of votives—weapons, tripods, cauldrons, dedications of victors, etc., which have been cleared away from sanctuaries. The iron weapons include 200 spear-heads and many sword-blades. There are twenty-two bronze helmets, and a mass of bronze parts of shields. The latter establish two important features of shield construction. Several strips of bronze reliefs of the style known as 'Argive-Corinthian,' with vertically arranged scenes, were discovered, two of them attached to an arm-loop, which is preserved intact. This shows that these strips ran vertically down the inside of the shield from the upper rim to the arm-

loop, and from the arm-loop to the lower rim. The wooden surface of the shield was in most instances not entirely overlaid with bronze, but carried a band of bronze round the edge, and a crest, in the form of a bronze plaque, fastened with nails into the wood. Two outstanding examples of these crests are a large cock, and a magnificent gorgoneion, with three whirligig wings. The finest of the numerous other bronze reliefs, which are unusually well preserved, and some of which may be architectural, are a seventh-century representation of Kaineus and two centaurs, and a very large cut-out female griffin, suckling her young. This piece was attached by nails to a wooden background. The statuettes include a very fine little Geometric horse (Fig. 3), an old man, and a starting runner. Another interesting find is a standing long-jump weight of stone, with a dedicatory inscription by Akmatidas, a Lacedaemonian, winner of the Pentathlon.

Some terracotta sima fragments were also found, and a painted terracotta female head, about one-third life-size, with an astonishing vivacity of expression. The head has a marked inclination to one side, and might belong to a sphinx-acroterion.

IONIAN ISLANDS

Miss Benton excavated for six weeks in north Ithaca. Three sites were examined, Stavros, Tris Langadas and H. Athanasios. In *Stavros* Hellenic tombs had disturbed prehistoric settlements. Several of the tombs were themselves undisturbed and give grave groups of the fourth and third centuries B.C. The finds include about a dozen small vases, some cooking-pots, four bronze chalices and a mirror. There are traces of two prehistoric settlements of different periods; some Mycenaean pottery occurred with the later settlement.

At *Tris Langadas*, on the slope above the north corner of Polis Bay, a Mycenaean site was discovered. The area covered is 20×5 metres. A road leads up to a ruined building; both are constructed of large stones. A considerable quantity of Mycenaean pottery was found. It is in bad condition, but earlier in date and of better quality than any Mycenaean pottery yet obtained in the island (Fig. 4). It is hoped to continue excavations on this site next year.

The object of the excavation at *Hagios Athanasios* was to examine and date the building mentioned by Vollgraff in *BCH* 1905, 153 ff., over part of which the present church is built. A second rock-cut staircase was found, which passed through the perimeter wall on the edge of the cliff and led up to the building. Two rock-cut basins were found on the north side. The greater part of the pottery connected with the building belongs to the third and second centuries B.C. On the west the building impinges on an earlier rock-cut chamber in which an askos was found in the form of a negro's head (Fig. 5). The chamber dates back to the fourth century, and there is no evidence of any occupation of the site before then.

CENTRAL GREECE

At *Delphi* the French School continued, under the supervision of G. Daux, the work of repairing the damage caused by the torrential flood of

December 1935. The bases of the tripod of Plataea, the chariot of the Rhodians, and the statues of the kings of Pergamon were cleared of debris. The upper part of the Sanctuary, the surroundings of the Treasury of Cyrene, and the damaged portion of the polygonal wall at its eastern end are being taken in hand this year.

The Museum is being enlarged and its contents rearranged under the direction of P. de la Coste-Messelière. The charioteer now occupies a new and well-lit room to himself at the south end of the building, the sculptures will be displayed in more spacious surroundings, and the pottery and small bronzes re-grouped and classified.



FIG. 4.—ITHACA: MYCENAEAN KRATER FROM TRIB LANGADAS.



FIG. 5.—ITHACA, HAGIOS ATHENASIOS: PLASTIC VASE.

Jannoray has continued his excavations in the Gymnasion. On the lower terrace, the western chambers of the Palaistra have been located, and beneath them the ruins, much disturbed, of earlier buildings, possibly contemporary with those destroyed to make room for the archaic temple of Athena Pronaia close by. Protocorinthian sherds were found in association with them. Farther north, on the same terrace, were found the hypocausts of Roman baths. The western end of the upper terrace was found to have rested on a supporting wall. On this terrace, also, the existence of a building and supporting walls anterior to the Gymnasion was established. The building seems to have been disturbed by an extension of the Xystos towards the south in Roman times.

A study of the architectural fragments of the Gymnasium has led to the identification of various parts of the stylobate, columns, and entablature of blue limestone on the lower terrace. In the *Loutron* it is possible to reconstruct the system of water-supply, which came through a series of pipes in the wall. Beneath these pipes were pierced pillars, down which the water ran into the bath-troughs below. On the upper terrace were found parts of the Ionic columns of grey marble which rested on the bases disclosed by earlier excavations. The wide intercolumniation, and the absence of any remains of the entablature, lead to the supposition that the latter was of wood. In late Roman times the Ionic colonnade was replaced by a Doric colonnade of plastered limestone. Among the fragments of this later colonnade was a cornice block, on which traces of polychrome decoration were to be seen at the time of discovery. A general plan of the Gymnasium, with detail drawings, has been prepared for publication.

Krisa. Jannoray and van Effenterre continued the excavations begun in 1935 on St. George's hill. The area examined lies between the church and the ancient cyclopean wall. Here were found traces of prehistoric settlements, ranging from Middle Helladic to Mycenaean, immediately beneath the remains of a Byzantine village. The main excavation took place in the area directly below the church, and was carried to a considerable depth. The lower, Middle Helladic, stratum produced a complex of houses and graves, including also an apsidal store-chamber, in which seven well-preserved pithoi were found in place. A water-channel of this epoch was found below the Mycenaean buildings. The Middle Helladic graves were cists, lined with slabs of limestone or poros. Several were still intact. Some of the adult graves contained matt-painted ware. The Mycenaean settlement was built on the ruins of the Middle Helladic. It consists of rectangular dwellings, lying along a street, the paving of which is partly preserved. One building was a Megaron: its hearth was preserved and was full of ashes. This settlement appears to have lasted until the end of the Mycenaean age.

A considerable quantity of pottery was found with these buildings: more than fifty vases have been put together. The MH vases include blue and yellow 'Minyan,' and some fine matt polychrome sherds with geometric designs. LH I and II pottery was found in abundance. The clay is of fine quality, rather soapy in texture. The vases are of excellent manufacture, but the decoration is monotonous, consisting for the most part of three parallel lines, from which flame designs spread over the vases. Some sherds of Ephyraean ware were found. LH III is also well represented.

There was no trace of occupation of the site between the late Mycenaean and Byzantine epochs. The *Krisa* of the classical age must have lain elsewhere. A brief excavation on the neighbouring site of *Kirrha* produced a fine limestone Doric capital, and a pit filled with small skyphoi and archaic terracottas. This site will be further investigated.

At *Nea Anchialos* Soteriou has completed his excavation of the fourth basilica (Fig. 6; see *JHS* lvi, 147). He has uncovered the atrium and the mosaic floors in chambers lying on either side of the narthex. The

patterns consist of birds, beasts, fishes and vases (Fig. 7). The mosaics and the architectural and sculptural ornaments of the fourth basilica are inferior in technique to the other basilicas of Nea Anchialos, which date



FIG. 6.—NEA ANCHIALOS: THE FOURTH BASILICA.



FIG. 7.—NEA ANCHIALOS: MOSAIC.

from the fifth and sixth centuries. Soteriou proposes to assign the fourth basilica to the early part or middle of the seventh century.

MACEDONIA

Kotzias has continued his excavation of the prehistoric site at *Mesi-mérion* in Chalkidiki, and has opened up a tomba lying towards the north-east. From the evidence obtained it appears that the site served first as a

cemetery: it was later occupied by a fishermen's settlement, and during the third period it was again used as a cemetery. The latest occupation consisted of clay houses built upon stone foundations. Similar houses have been found at Olynthos. The finds suggest a connexion with the Early Thessalian rather than the Macedonian Bronze Age.

Bakalakis has published, in *Ephemeris* 1936, a comprehensive survey of his excavations at *Neapolis* (Kavalla).

Coufry, Lemerle and Roger carried out excavations at *Philippi*, with the assistance of M. Ducoux, the architect. The Macedonian city and Acropolis walls were traced, and found to lie almost everywhere along the line of the Byzantine walls of the tenth century. A fortified gateway was discovered on the west side of the city, corresponding to the eastern, or *Neapolis*, gate. These were the two main gateways of the city, through which the *Via Egnatia* passed. Excavations on the terrace overlooking the forum threw fresh light upon the great basilica and other Christian buildings of the late fourth and early fifth centuries A.D. Inscriptions of the late fourth and third centuries B.C. were found on stones built into the walls of the basilica.

AEGEAN ISLANDS

Della Seta and his colleagues continued the excavation of the prehistoric fortified settlement of *Poliochni* in *Lemnos* in the autumn of 1936.

In the southern sector a long stretch of the city wall was uncovered. The wall is well preserved, and at this point rises to a height of more than four metres. It is built of a mixture of large blocks and flat slabs and has a slight inclination. A series of openings, either windows or loopholes, was found at about two metres' distance from the base. A later tower stood at the corner where the wall turns south-west. A few bronze objects, including a complete handle, some bone implements and several stone weapons and tools, were found in the fill together with some coarse red, brown and black pottery. Much of the black pottery was decorated with white paint.

The wall cannot have served very long as a defence, for before the Early Bronze Age houses had been erected against it on rubbish-heaps which had risen to a height of 1.50 metres above the ground level. These houses were later destroyed by an earthquake. Later still the town wall was covered with an earth rampart, on which the last occupiers of the site, in the Early Bronze Age, constructed their humble dwellings.

Excavations also took place on the summit of the height which rises steeply from the western sector of the wall. This point marks the western limit of the latest Early Bronze Age settlement which was built after the destruction of the earlier settlement by an earthquake. This latest settlement was unfortified and occupied only the top of the hill. The excavated houses are built for the most part on the foundations of older houses. A water-channel was discovered running partly above and partly below ground. The houses, like those found in the previous year, are rectangular with some irregularities and contained one or more large rooms. Houses and pottery of the later settlement both point to a certain degree of prosperity.

The pottery is found in considerable quantity and is of refined clay with a red glaze. It includes also a class of vases, of fine pale clay with polychrome decoration, previously found elsewhere in the Aegean, but not hitherto at Poliochni.

The most important find in this sector was a deposit of about twenty weapons and tools of bronze, including spearheads, sword-blades, daggers, axes and knives. These were found in a house which had collapsed in the earthquake which destroyed the settlement. The date of the settlement lies between 1500 and 1000 B.C.

The southern half of the great cistern measuring 20×6 metres was also excavated. The northern part had already been cleared down to the rock in 1934.

In *Thasos* Launay completed the excavation of the Herakleion which had been carried on in 1934 and 1935. The southern extremity of the great stoa was cleared. Among individual finds were a terracotta antefix with heraldically posed rams, and an inscription, which Launay dates at the close of the fourth century, concerning the sanctuary of the Herakleion.

In *Delos* Coufry has completed the excavation of the house on the south-west slope of Mt. Kynthos, and found a second entrance, and a spacious latrine. Roger has discovered the remains of houses and a large pavement opposite the Dioscourion, on the great Rheumatari.

Young and Brock continued their excavations in *Siphnos* for a period of just over six weeks. Some new areas were explored, for the most part without interesting results. One Roman grave was found close to the group of first-century A.D. Roman graves excavated in 1935. It produced a silver ring and a fragmentary glass vase. On the north-east slope of the Kastro a seventh-century house was excavated: the ground plan is almost complete and the walls are better preserved than those found in 1936. The site of an archaic necropolis was found close to the road leading to Apollonia. It extended to a great depth, but unfortunately the whole area had been completely disturbed and the only finds were a few interesting sherds.

The last fortnight was spent in excavating the area at the north-east end of the Acropolis, which, by then, had been cleared of most of the mediaeval and later debris. On the sea side the rock was reached almost immediately; but a fine stretch of the (probably) late sixth-century marble wall that surrounded the acropolis was disclosed. On the inner side, where the rock fell away, a series of mediaeval cisterns seemed to preclude the possibility of earlier finds. During the last week, however, an undisturbed votive deposit came to light, associated with some early foundations which have in part escaped the mediaeval builders. One building has a rectangular end and a stone base, probably for a wooden column. It is uncertain whether this was a temple, but further excavation may provide more evidence.

The richest part of the deposit dates from the first half of the seventh century, but the whole deposit, which was unstratified, covers the period from 700-550. The finds include ivory fibulae, beads and other objects, an ivory seal representing a centaur with a branch; a good terracotta

head; an alabaster ring with a seated male figure engraved on the bezel (Fig. 9); bronze fibulae; and a quantity of pottery, including some fragments of a very fine Late Protocorinthian oinochoe and two interesting anthropomorphic vases, of which unfortunately only the lower parts are preserved. One of these is decorated in Naxian, the other in 'Siphnian' style.



FIG. 8.—SIPHNOS: ARCHAIC PITHOS-FRAGMENT.

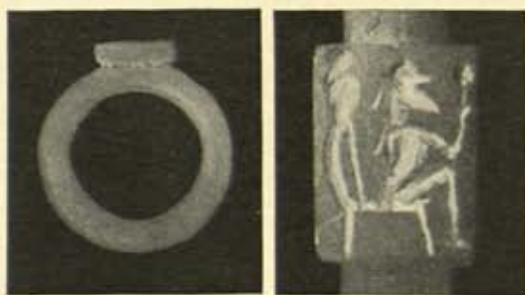


FIG. 9.—SIPHNOS: ALABASTER RING
(actual size on left).

The opportunity was taken to extract, under the supervision of the Greek archaeological authorities, an archaic marble head, either of a kouros or of a sphinx, from the wall of a private house into which it had been built. This fragment (total length 29 cm.) is much weathered and thickly covered with whitewash on the exposed front surfaces. It has also been marked in places with a black pigment. Two holes have been drilled into it, one in the crown, and the other in the broken surface of the neck underneath. Adjoining the latter are the remains of cement con-

taining red particles, apparently of brick-dust. These holes and the cement suggest that the head was set up again in later times.

Buschor and Schleif excavated at the Heraion in *Samos*, to the south and north of the Great Altar. On the south side, between the altar and the sea, the bed of the stream, which carved its way through this area about the middle of the seventh century, yielded a mass of local pottery, with some Protocorinthian, and some good votives. The date of the 'ship' (*JHS* lv, 163), which stood on the way from the altar court to the bathing-place, is now thought to be about the end of the seventh century. On the north side the examination of the region between the peripteros (*AM* 55, 1930, 43) and the temenos boundary was completed. The excavation has thrown much light on the history of the occupation of this area, from the archaic to the Byzantine age. It has also produced a quantity of inscriptions, votive bases, architectural and sculptural fragments. These last include further pieces of two archaic East Greek statues, the smaller colossos, and the veiled kore with bird (Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, fig. 124).

The excavations are being continued at the time of writing.

CRETE

Knossos. The Curator obtained permission from the Government to sink trial pits in the space between the entrance to the Palace site and the Herakleion-Arkhanes road, where it had been proposed to lay out a car park. The area turned out to be mainly, if not entirely, covered by Minoan paving, similar to that of the West Court of the Palace of Minos, and crossed by three processional ways of poros paving-slabs, one running roughly parallel to the modern road, a second running in a west-east direction towards the ramp that leads into the West Court, and the third leading towards the South House and the Stepped Portico. The paving rests on an Early Minoan stratum, and appears to be contemporary with the earliest Palace. Foundations of the Protogeometric and Roman periods were found above it. In order to leave this area free for future excavation, the British School have proposed, and the authorities have agreed, that the proposed car park should be constructed on another site.

A trial pit sunk east of the guardian's house, in the hope of finding a continuation of the west-east paved way, produced a deep deposit of sub-Minoan and Protogeometric pottery.

A small excavation was conducted between February 22nd and March 15th, under the direction of Dunbabin and Hutchinson, in the area which produced the terracotta head (*JHS* 1936, p. 151, Fig. 9). The hope of finding an archaic deposit was not fulfilled. A Late Minoan wall was uncovered, running irregularly east and west up the hill. To the east the Minoan wall served as foundation for a Protogeometric wall. A Geometric wall following roughly the same direction also used as foundation two slightly divergent courses, apparently Minoan. These walls were probably enclosure walls. To the north a MM III wall, destroyed before the LM III period, underlies a wall, probably archaic, which had fallen before the early fourth century B.C., and has late red-figure and Hellenistic sherds stratified above

it. The whole area was much disturbed by Roman works, streets, drains and houses. The most interesting material is the Protogeometric, of which there is a stratified deposit reaching down into sub-Minoan. To the northwest of this area is a Late Minoan complex, as yet only partly explored, with well-built walls probably of a house. This is near the surface and not disturbed by later buildings.

On the slopes above the Villa Ariadne were found remains of the fire chambers of two potters' kilns. The first, nearly round, has a doorway which faces down the slope and two short inside walls, in a line with the sides of the doorway; these must have supported the upper floor. The sides of the kiln were partly cut out in the hillside and partly built of stones, and were lined with a coating of mud which has fired hard; the floor was of stamped earth. Above the floor was a layer of burnt earth

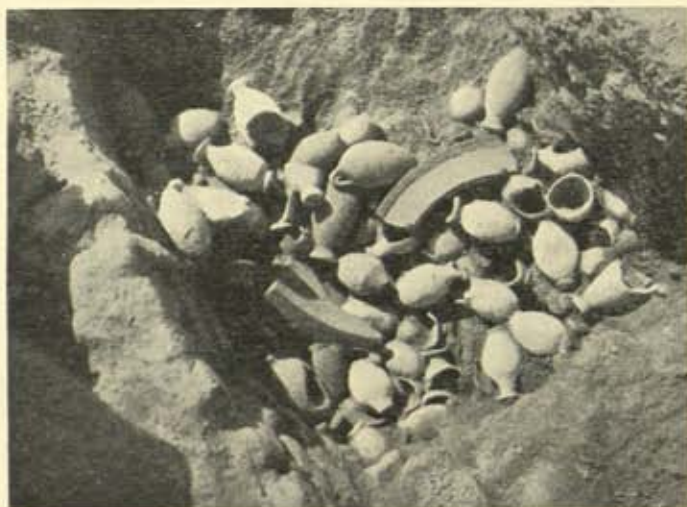


FIG. 10.—KNOSSOS: GROUP OF WASTER VASES, FROM THE KILN.

in which were many small pieces of fired clay, which must be from the upper floor. On the top of the burnt earth were a quantity of unglazed lekythoi, a few small cups, and a large group of miniature dark-glazed olpai (Fig. 10). The majority of these pots were wasters which seem to have fallen through the upper floor into the fire. Their shape and the fragments of Attic and local sherds which were found in and round the kiln suggest that they are fourth-century. Close to the kiln is a deep, roughly cone-shaped cistern cut out in the ground and lined with cement. At the bottom were found fragments of several earthenware buckets, and above a quantity of probably second-century plain glazed pottery.

Overlapping the cistern and the first kiln is the floor of an oval kiln with one central support. Its walls were also lined with baked mud. It contained no pottery, but, as it cannot have been made until after the cistern was filled, there must have been a potters' quarter here for a considerable time.

At *Amnisos* Marinatos continued his investigation of the Greek temple

which overlay a Minoan building, and found some further inscriptions giving the names of Κόσμοι. A more interesting find was a poros head of poor workmanship, which originally had inset eyes of bone. Several specimens of such eyes were discovered in the archaic burnt stratum, and one of them fits this head.

In April 1937 Marinatos conducted an excavation in a cave near *Phaneromeni*. The cave lies on a steep slope among the foothills of Lasithi. A chamber in the fore-part of the cave contained some tables for offerings, pottery, bronze statuettes of worshippers, and a gold double axe. These objects date from the Minoan period: none of them is earlier than LM I. The cave, however, continued in use until Roman times, and yielded Geometric bronze statuettes and Geometric and orientalizing pottery, as well as Hellenistic and Roman pottery and lamps.

From *Argyropolis*, the ancient Lappa, comes a statuette (*ca.* 15 m.)



FIG. 11.—SITEIA: GREEN SCHIST PYXIS.

in good preservation, of a woman in a peplos and head-dress, holding an apple in her extended right hand, dated by Marinatos about 480 B.C.

The most important chance find brought to the Museum during the year was a Minoan inscription, engraved upon a rough stone block, the upper surface of which is hollowed out. The inscription consists of sixteen hieroglyphic symbols, very well formed and cut deep into the stone, and is the first Minoan inscription of the kind to be discovered. Fifteen of the hieroglyphics are either identical with or similar to ones already known. One appears to be new. The stone was found in a field near the palace of Malia.

Another interesting object, from *Siteia*, is a green schist pyxis, with lid, of the Early Minoan period, decorated with running spirals, incised lines and other motives (Fig. 11). It is the first object of the kind to be found in Crete. It recalls, and is clearly influenced by, the marble pyxides from the Cycladic islands.

The well-known collection of Dr. S. Giamalakis has been recently catalogued in conformity with a new enactment. The exact provenience

of many of the objects in the collection is not known, but they are all from Crete. They include Minoan and Greek vases, two fine bronzes (an askos, and an early fifth-century jug), several terracottas, and pithos relief fragments, coins, stone seals and rings, and a few sculptures, among them the torso of a copy of the Hermes of Praxiteles.

At *Mallia* Chapouthier, continuing his exploration of the Palace, found under the floor of the second Palace a stucco floor in excellent condition. Two fine bronze swords, of a type closely resembling that from Arkalochori, were found on this floor. One of them has a hilt of bone with a gold figure of an acrobat. The handle is being reconstructed in the National Museum.

At *Dreros* Demargne and van Effenterre explored the surroundings of the archaic temple excavated by Marinatos in 1935 (*BCH* 1936, pp. 214 ff.). In clearing the large cistern ($12.8 \times 5.4 \times 6$ metres) several fragments of inscriptions were found. Three of these seem to belong to the inscription which commemorated the building of the cistern. A reference in the inscription to the Delphinian Apollo confirms Marinatos' identification of the adjacent temple. The cistern itself dates from the end of the third century B.C.

Pendlebury, assisted by Miss Money-Coutts and Miss Pascoe, conducted further excavations at *Tzermiadha* in East Crete. He reports as follows:—

‘The first site to be examined was the Kastellos, of which a survey was made. A number of tests were sunk and a good deal of information was acquired. Most important, perhaps, was the discovery of two Neolithic burials, the first which have yet come to light in Crete. They are, as might have been expected, in rock shelters, and the grave itself was filled in with small stones. The excavation of a small cave at Skaphidia north of the village confirmed this. Little trace of the Early Minoan settlement was found on the Kastellos. As at Knossos, it had been swept away by the more ambitious Middle Minoan buildings. Enough was left, however, to confirm the dating of the ‘Trapeza-ware’ found for the first time last year. This ware begins in Neolithic times and ends in EM I.

‘Two good MM houses were dug. The better preserved of the two was built in MM I, and continued into MM III, no trace of MM II being found. This is further proof that, except in the great centres, MM III follows immediately on MM I. Remains of MM III pithos burials appeared on the east slopes.

‘During the making of the new car-road a number of archaic terracottas had been found at Kolonna close to the village of Lago, and, Dr. Marinatos courteously extending our permit, we were enabled to clear the façades of two fine buildings between which ran the ancient cobbled road on the same lines as the modern one. One of these buildings has a curious baetylic stone immediately in front of the doorway. Together with another much-ruined house at Donadhes, on the other side of the village, they form part of the vast archaic city, bigger even than Lyttos, which covered the long hill known as the Papoura of Agios Georgios. Its ancient name is unknown, though the inhabitants speak of a coin of Akontion being

found near by. The cemetery seems to lie a little farther east, towards the fields of Kerasa, where an archaic deposit was found by a Hellenistic tomb.

‘On the east shoulder of the Papoura stands a group of built tombs of the Geometric age. One of these, which have been much robbed by the peasants, was cleared, the most important find being a double axe of iron. In shape the tomb is a tholos about two metres in diameter and originally about the same in height. Unlike the normal tholos, it was not sunk

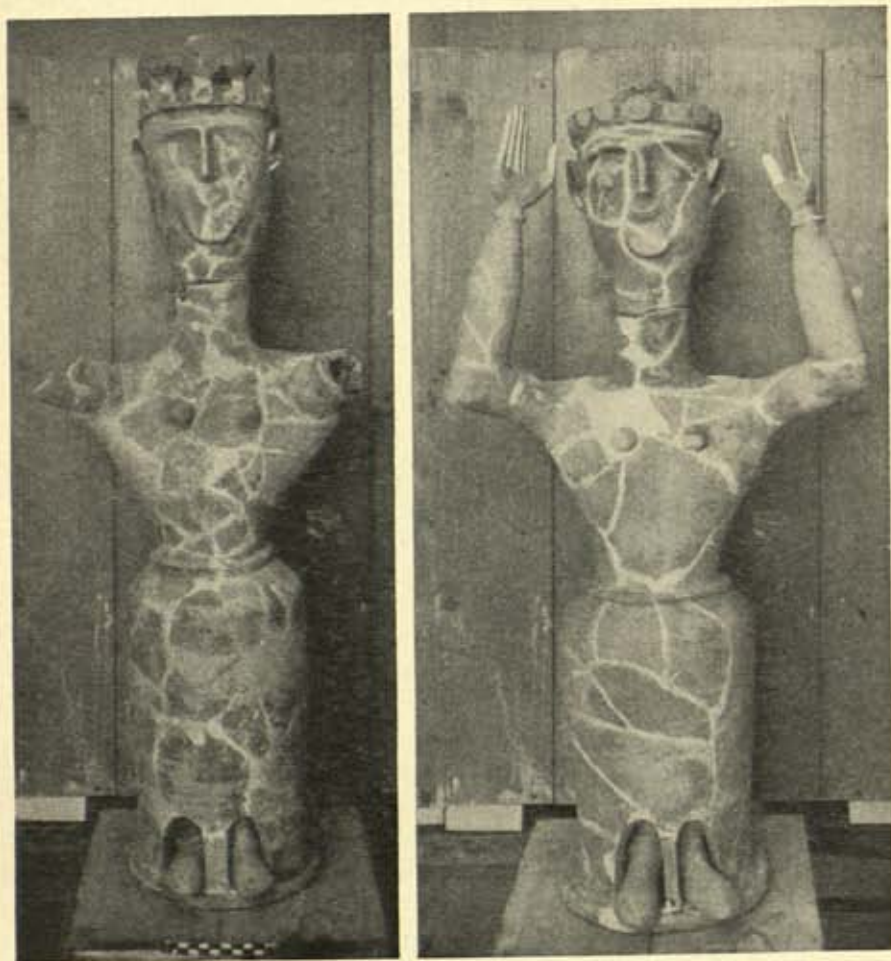


FIG. 12.—KARPHI: TWO CULT FIGURES.

below ground, but was surrounded by a rectangular block of solid masonry to withstand the pressure of the vault. The dromos is narrow and the doorway low. To avoid undue pressure on the lintel, it appears that the masonry above has been built back in a semicircle, though, since only one course survived, it is impossible to say whether this space was arched over to form a relieving triangle in the manner of the mainland tholoi or not.

‘Finally, two trials were made on the peak of Karphi, which rises some 1800 feet above Tzermiadha and 4500 above sea level. About 200 feet

below the summit is another group of built tombs, belonging this time to the Protogeometric period. This group seems to run roughly in a straight line, and a massive retaining wall which holds back the earth gives one to hope that further excavation may reveal an early Iron-Age Appian Way. Two of the tombs were cleared. They showed the same rectangular mass of masonry round the vault, but the lowest courses are also rectangular, the circular vault not beginning till some way up.

'On the windy saddle between the peak of Karphi and the slightly higher peak of Mikri Koprana a sanctuary of the same period was excavated. This contained cult figures which carry on the Minoan tradition of those of Gazi and Pankalokhori, linking the latter with the Geometric figures of Dreros. The figures are nine in number. Two only have as yet been sufficiently repaired to be illustrated (Fig. 12). They are nearly one metre high, and are in the traditional Minoan attitude. The crown of one of the figures at least was surmounted by birds and disks, and the most remarkable feature is the separate modelling of the lower legs and feet which appear through openings in front of the tubular skirt.

'In every period from Neolithic onwards the strongly conservative spirit of the inhabitants is apparent. The practice of incising the top of the rim of large jars has an unbroken sequence from Neolithic times until the local manufacture of pottery ceased a few years ago. In every period the pottery produced a number of strictly local shapes. It seems that Lasithi may well have been one of the last strongholds of the Minoans, as it is to-day of the old customs and habits of Crete.'

CYPRUS¹

At *Khirokitia*, where Dikaios, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities, is continuing his investigations of the early settlement, the second season's work has more than doubled the area uncovered. The principal task has been the clearance of the circular hut foundations grouped on the slope above the imposing circular enclosure found last year (Fig. 13). They are very closely packed and more solidly built than those of the Erimi settlement, and are divided into two groups by what appears to be a continuation of the massive wall which protects the circular enclosure on the east side (*JHS* lvi, 157, Fig. 17). As this year the excavation was centred in what may be regarded as the residential, as distinct from the ceremonial, part of the settlement, it produced a larger number of small finds than last year. They include flint and stone implements and stone bowls, some complete and some enriched with a type of relief decoration not previously recorded in Cyprus. No pottery has yet been found on this site except in the cultivated earth. Perhaps the most important achievement of the second campaign has been the discovery of a large number of skeletons. In all remains of twenty-two have now been found on this site; unfortunately, only a small proportion of the skulls is measurable, but as these are the earliest human remains yet found in Cyprus, their study will be followed with particular interest.

¹ From a report kindly supplied by Mr. A. H. S. Megaw, Director of Antiquities.

Stewart, of the British School at Athens, has been excavating on behalf of a group of Museums in England and Australia in the *Vounous* cemetery near Bellapais, where Dikaïos and Schaeffer in 1932 and 1933 excavated some of the finest Early Bronze Age pottery yet found in Cyprus. The forty-five tombs excavated near the eastern limit of the cemetery are remarkable in that they differ from those previously opened both in containing for the most part only single burials and in producing new types of pottery. The predominating stumped base and the decoration of several



FIG. 13.—KHIRÓKITIA: SUPERIMPOSED REMAINS OF CIRCULAR HUT-FOUNDATIONS.

examples effected by the reservation of the natural buff surface from the characteristic red colour, normally applied uniformly to the whole vase, are the most important technical departures noted. But the excavator does not wish to enlarge on their significance until the whole material has been mended and studied. A further group of thirty-two tombs was examined by the eastern limit of the area previously excavated, their contents conforming in general to the types already recorded.

At *Curium* the Pennsylvania Expedition has spent another active season. The greater part of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates has been laid bare; the architectural remains, which for the most part represent reconstructions

of Roman date, include a large and a small temple lying north-south and approached respectively by a massive stairway and a paved street from a central place of assembly; the whole area is closed on the south by a long building of five similar cellae, each with an internal Doric colonnade. Where the excavations have been carried down to the lower levels some interesting individual finds of the archaic period were found, the most important a drinking Silen in bronze. On behalf of the same expedition, Daniel has been investigating a settlement mainly of the Late Cypriote III period to the east of Episkopi village, not far from the tombs which yielded Mycenaean pottery in such surprising quantity in the British Museum Excavations of 1895. A number of house-floors and foundations enclosed by a massive city wall have yielded finds mainly of local manufacture, including, however, two cylinder seals with oriental affinities. This material will doubtless throw additional light on the problem of Mycenaean influence in Cyprus which the excavator has recently discussed (in *AJA* XLI (1937), 56-83) in connexion with the tombs excavated by the expedition at Kaloriziki.

At *Hagios Philon*, the ancient Carpasia, Miss du Plat Taylor, on behalf of the Antiquities Department, has continued the excavation of the Early Christian remains adjoining the ruined Byzantine Church (cf. *R.D.A.C.*, 1935, 14 f.). Part of a large peristyle court adjoining the baptistery has been uncovered, and under the church were found the foundations of its basilican predecessor which was the central feature of the whole group. A section of the town wall was examined, and at one point a trial sinking into the Ptolemaic levels was made.

TURKEY

The Byzantine Institute, in close collaboration with the Turkish Government, is in its sixth season of work on the mosaics in Aghia Sophia. Whittemore and his assistants are at present working in the south gallery and in the great eastern apse. It is hoped that the apse mosaics will be unveiled in the spring of 1938.

Baxter has pursued his excavations in the area of the Imperial Palace.

The excavations of the University of Cincinnati at Troy were continued in 1936 and 1937, under the direction of Blegen. A report of the season's work in 1936 appears in *AJA* 41, 1.

The following account of the excavations from April to August 1937 has been kindly supplied by Blegen. 'Investigations were made at many places inside and about the citadel, and each one of the nine periods was subjected to further intensive study. During the season a great fortification wall of Troy I, hitherto unknown, was discovered and traced through almost one half of its circuit. Substantially constructed of unshaped and fairly large stones, with a sloping outer face, it still stands to a height of *ca.* 3.50 m. A narrow gateway, flanked by two massive projecting towers, lies almost directly beneath the gate assigned by Dörpfeld to period IIa and marked FN on his plan. Built into a low wall, or barrier, connected with the eastern tower and buried under an unmixed accumulation of débris of the First Settlement more than 3 m. deep, were found three limestone slabs,

or stelae, one of them bearing the sculptured representation of a human face carved in low relief in frontal view. The work shows a distinct feeling for style which implies a preceding period of experiment and development. The early strata of II, which were closely examined, yielded scanty information; but a floor-deposit of early IV gave a rich collection of pottery and other objects. A house of the transitional period between V and VI presented an interesting plan and some good ceramic material. The excavation of the large 'Pillar House' of VI was completed, and its western end was found to be divided into three small rooms or compartments. At the north-western angle of the acropolis a new section of the fortification wall of VI was uncovered and followed northward and north-eastward *ca.* 40 m. Considerable fresh evidence for the earthquake that caused the de-

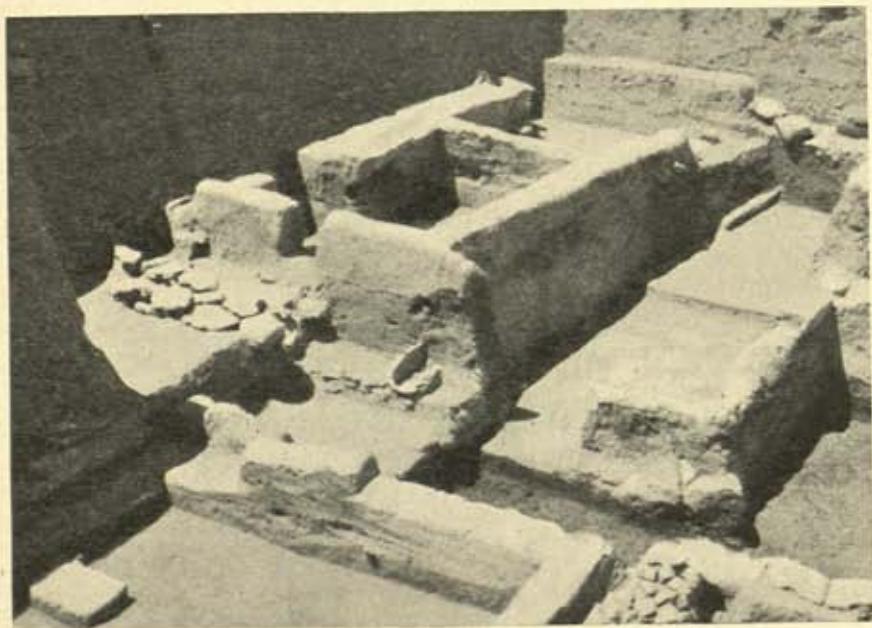


FIG. 14.—KUSURA: MUD-BRICK HOUSES OF THE SECOND PERIOD.

struction of Troy VI was brought to light together with further confirmation of its date toward the later part of the fourteenth century B.C. Good house-deposits of periods VIIa and VIIb were found, and *Buckelkeramik* is especially well represented, with many complete vases. A small building of Troy VIII was uncovered, and an abundant series of potsherds now illustrates the ceramic styles and development of that period.'

Miss Lamb reports as follows on the season's work at *Kusura*, 55 km. south of Afyon Karahissar: 'The excavations have enabled us to determine more clearly than before the ethnological character of the site, and have yielded fresh evidence concerning the architecture, pottery and other products.

'The third or latest period, which begins about 2000 B.C., with the appearance of the red-cross bowls, is now known to be Hittite in the wider sense of the word. Comparisons with the wares of the Hittite strata at

Alisar and Alaca Hüyük yield various parallels, though the connexion with Bogazköy is less close: evidently our site was, as the terracotta and stone objects found in 1935 and 1936 had suggested, within the sphere of Hittite influence. The town, frequently replanned and rebuilt, is constructed partly of stone, and one remarkably high and solid wall may represent part of its fortification.

'The second period (Fig. 14), ending *c.* 2000 B.C., and developing gradually into the third, belongs to the Early Bronze Age. Its pottery, red or grey with elaborate plastic decoration, resembles that found in South-Western Anatolia, but also has points of contact with Thermi in Lesbos on the one hand and with Ahlatlibel, near Ankara, on the other. The houses, however, mainly of mud-brick, with square or oblong rooms, differ essentially from the long narrow west Anatolian type. Many walls survive to the height of two metres, one to 4.3 metres, indicating that the buildings to which they belong were constantly reoccupied. As this would not have been possible if many centuries had elapsed, and as the maximum depth of the second period deposits seems to be about 5.7 metres on the highest part of the settlement, we infer that this stage cannot have lasted very long. Nevertheless the town was at this stage more extensive and apparently richer than either before or afterwards.

'Preceding the second period is one represented so far only on the western part of the site. It has yielded no architectural remains, and its pottery seems to be an earlier version of the second period wares. We must attribute to it a cemetery excavated in 1936 on the hill opposite the settlement.

'Small finds include copper, stone and bone implements; stone and terracotta idols and seals; but written documents are absent.'

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WHEN DID THE POLIS RISE?

It is to-day a known and undisputed fact that the Polis was not only the characteristic and historically important type of Greek State, but that as a religious and political community it was for centuries the foundation and the support of Greek culture. But so far a true 'history of the Polis' has not been written.¹ A reason for this may be that the Polis stands as the abstract representative of an enormous number of concrete independent States widely differing in form and development and known to us through traditions widely differing in quality. We must try, and the attempt has already been made, to define the main lines of this historical phenomenon and its evolution, and before all else to obtain a clearer view of the beginning, climax, and end of this evolution in time and manner.

To do this it is not sufficient to study only the external historical facts. In like manner we cannot be content merely to observe, for instance, under the Empire of Alexander or in the Hellenistic State-world the political insignificance of the Polis, and hence to conclude its downfall; or in the perfection of political leading, and the splendour of Empire and culture, in Periclean Athens to see the perfection of the Polis. Only from the testimony of the life of the Polis itself, from its internal problems, from the history of the Polis-institutions and the Polis-spirit can we obtain the true perspective for judgment. Who studies the Polis for what it is—that is, as a community—will quickly reach the conclusion that this very age of Pericles, which is also the age of Anaxagoras and the older generation of Sophists, is to be regarded as the period initiating the internal dissolution of the Polis, and will necessarily set its ἀκμή at a much earlier date. Naturally, exact dates cannot be given at all, and the problem of the rise of the Polis must be approached in full consciousness that the Polis was the product of long evolution. 'Rise' can be taken only in the sense of true origin, and to place this long before the sixth or fifth century would as a rule be accepted as a matter of course. If this view is once again upheld here, it is for the reason that some strange pronouncements in a contrary sense have provoked reply.² Yet, as will appear, our purpose is not polemical, but rather to set in clearer light the early days of the

¹ In opposition to the antiquarian system, in vogue a long time, or to a construction, however ingenious, like that of Fustel de Coulanges, the next step was to show the Polis-type under its historical conditions. This was attempted, e.g., by Glotz (*La cité grecque*, 1928; but cf. *Gnomon*, 1929, 1 ff.) and in my *Gr. und Hellenist. Staat* (Gercke-Norden, III, 1932). On the fundamental problems see also Heichelheim, *Bursians Jahresber. f. Altertumsw.*, 250 (Suppl.).

² In particular, the essay of Berve, *Fürstliche Herren der Zeit der Perserkriege* (*Die Antike*, xii, 1936,

1 ff.), followed more recently by his book *Miltiades* (1937). Berve in an earlier work (*Gr. Gesch.* I, 176) set the formation of the Greek State about the turn of the seventh to sixth centuries, a late dating against which I protested (*Gr. Staat*, 60). According to his recent view, the Polis arose out of the conflicts with the great political leaders round 500 B.C.! Out of a mass of astonishing statements, I may select the following: in the generation of Pindar and Simonides the 'growing spirit of the Polis is scarcely yet apparent'; 'Not under Cimon but under

Polis, for which our sources of information are but few. It will be worth while to let them speak, and to confine ourselves to contemporary sources. They speak, it seems to me, clearly and unambiguously. Perhaps we shall best clarify the issue if we begin with the familiar period of the Persian wars and work backwards.^{2a}

In the *Suppliants*, composed before 480, perhaps as early as 490, Aeschylus depicts the Polis as the obvious State-form of mythical Argos; not only as the scene and background, but as the great power from which all law springs. From it in the poet's mind arose the problem of the responsibility of the individual, which first acquires significance, and indeed possibility, through the fact that there was a decisive will on the part of the Polis.³ Here, then, is no Polis coming into being and in process of formation, but one long complete, with its own internal problem. For Aeschylus the world of the Polis is one of δίκη, and its opposition to individual ὕβρις—nowhere more definitely and more variously displayed than in the *Seven against Thebes*—is the constant essence of his creed. In general, every expression of devout reflection, as well as the simple popular tradition, points to the recognition of the Polis as the obviously true and venerable form of all holy and common life.

Again, Pindar the poet of the aristocracy,⁴ little love as he a Boeotian had for Athens, could find no better beginning in 486 B.C. for his short hymn of victory for the Alcmaeonid Megacles (P7) than the praise of mighty Athens: κάλλιστον αἰ μεγαλοπόλις Ἀθῆναι προοίμιον Ἀλκμαονιδῶν εὐρυσθενεῖ γενεᾷ. It was undoubtedly Marathon which raised Athens above the Polis-world in Pindar's eyes; no other State seemed ἐπιφανέστερον. Yet the circumstances were singularly unpropitious for such praise of the Athenian State. Only a few months earlier Megacles had been ostracised, and while we know that ostracism implied no harm to reputation or property, yet a rift had arisen between State and individual or, better, between State and family. The poet hints at this at the end of the poem, mentioning envy of καλὰ ἔργα. But these circumstances, any more than the fact that himself is no friend to any Demos, do not hinder him from deliberately including 'the far-ruling family' within the Athenian Polis, from raising family and State together. Pindar's tone becomes warmer when

Pericles, the dynastic form of rule is dissolved totally into the self-accomplishment of the Polis.' According to Berve, the Polis takes its rise towards the end of the sixth century, around 490 it is still in process of formation, and the evolution is not complete before 450. When we think of the early symptoms of internal decay (e.g. Thuc. III, 82 ff.), it follows that the Polis is limited roughly to the period of Periclean Athens; nay, if we were consistently speculating further, it runs the risk of being reduced to a phantom which would owe its existence perhaps to the speculation of philosophers and rhetors of the fourth century.

^{2a} This paper, written early in summer 1936, was delivered to the *Journal* about December 1st, 1936.

I wish to emphasize that there are no references to any later publication. It was a difficult task to translate my paper, and I owe sincerest gratitude to Mr. Pryce and to Dr. Cary.

³ Cf. the fuller analysis in my *Ost u. West*, 127 ff.

⁴ This epithet is much less suitable to Simonides. I have tried (*op. cit.* 121 ff.) to explain the well-known lines on the ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός (frg. 4, 1 ff.) as a departure from the aristocratic ideal. In any case the poet stands within the Polis; cf. l. 22 ff. of the same poem, where he defends himself against the charge of censoriousness, declaring that he is μὴδ' ἀγὰν ἀπάλαμνος εἰδώς γ' ὀνησιπολιν δίκην, ὕγιής ἀνὴρ. This is the pure spirit of the Polis, just as in the phrase πόλις ἀνδρα διδάσκει (frg. 53; cf. also frg. 10).

he speaks of aristocratic States: ὀλβία Λακεδαιμόνων, μάκαιρα Θεσσαλία (P10), in both of which Heraclids rule. But even in this, the earliest of his poems to be preserved (498 B.C.!), it is important for Pindar that the Aleuadae reigning in Thessaly 'hold high and foster the νόμος of the Thessalians; to the nobles is committed the hereditary well-ruling of the Poleis.'⁵ The rule of nobles the poet praises has been handed down from their ancestors as the true form of conducting the affairs of the State. The praise is not to the nobility, the ἀγαθοί, for rank and fellowship, but for its union with the State it controls, and its sovereignty and service to the State. The νόμος, which the lords protect and foster, is not only custom and usage; it is law formally laid down, τεθμός, the ruling principle of the State. It might almost be translated by 'constitution,' just as in a later poem (P1, 61 ff., 470 B.C.) the νόμοι Ὑλλίδος στάθμας are used just like τεθμοὶ Αἰγυμίου to denote the Doric ordering of the State.

Aeschylus and Pindar belong to a generation which was formed before the Persian War. But the State which conquered at Marathon was the Athenian Polis, though the leader Miltiades as a Thracian prince may have outgrown the status of a *polites*. The Athenian Polis: that is, the State which the reform and organisation of Cleisthenes had moulded. Now, this organisation tells a plain tale, and in considering its rational character we must not forget the exemplary and organic manner in which it continued the levelling of social distinctions which the Age of the Tyrants began, and, further, that it paved the way, and initiated the struggles, for the equality of the following age. It continued a tradition and formed tradition. Here I shall not discuss the Cleisthenic organisation in detail, holding to my principle of citing only authentic contemporary sources. One such source at least we possess for Cleisthenes—the final introduction of the Athena-coins, *i.e.*, the State symbol replacing the family insignia. It is known that in this point Cleisthenes expressly returned to the Peisistratid practice,⁶ and therefore this record of the unambiguous will of the State holds good also for the founder of the Athenian Tyranny. Characteristic of the latter—a parallel to the coinage—is the story, despite its legendary character, of how he was led to the Acropolis 'by the goddess' as the accepted and rationally directed medium of the religious and political will of the people. In any case the Tyranny, as much in Athens as in other States,⁷ remains a phenomenon explicable in so many different ways that it will be better for us to return to actual records.

For sixth-century Athens we have only a single inscription extant

⁵ ὅπου φέροντι νόμον Θεσσαλῶν αὐξόντες· ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κείνται πατρῷαι καθοαὶ πόλεων κυβερνήσεις (70 ff.).

⁶ Seltman, *Athens*, 1924, 92 ff.

⁷ Here a reference may not be out of place to the dedication of Aeaces, father of Polykrates of Samos. (Dittenb. *Syll.* 10; Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.* 7), for which Bilabel has recently proposed another interpretation than was previously current (*Neue Heidelb. Jhb.* 1934, 133). In his view Aeaces dedicates the memorial of him 'who committed piracy for Hera in the time of his presidency.' It is more probable that this office had

a political character than that it indicated the temple-guardian. Thus Aeaces became a pirate officially, with the consent of the goddess and while still in the magistracy; which is no cause for surprise, for he who τὴν σύλην ἔπρασεν named his second son Syloson (Her. III, 39 *et al.*). The father's combination of personal power and desire for enrichment with the co-operation of the State deity and the State's consent resulted in the tyranny of Polycrates, whose name also is significant.

which has anything to say about political affairs—the well-known but unfortunately much injured Psephisma on Salamis.⁸ Its exact dating depends on its restoration and interpretation, which has been attempted with widely varying results. Yet, whether the decree belongs to the Peisistratid age or to the end of the century, whether it deals with cleruchs or with the native inhabitants of Salamis, this much is clear, that in it the Athenian Polis expresses its own claim, economic as well as military. This is all the more evident since the subject is an island which has been incorporated into the State territory only a comparatively short time previously. The taxes which are specified in detail are to be paid ἐς δεμόσιον, the Archon is to see to the ὀπλίζειν of the people; and the prescript runs: ἔδοχεν τῷ δήμῳ. Swoboda has already observed⁹ that the omission of the Council here does not imply that it had then no significance or no existence. More probably an old decree-formula is used, of which there are other instances; and this formula asserts, no less weightily than the latter double formula coupling Probouleuma and Psephisma (ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ), that the Demos decrees as holder of the State sovereignty and as a community of citizens, that the State speaks as a unity. The identification of Demos and State, confirmed also in the above-quoted name for the treasury (τὸ δεμόσιον), is further not uncommon to the undemocratic Polis, as I have shown, for instance, in the case of archaic Sparta.¹⁰ Only we must of course presume that Demos does not mean a people in the sense of the lower classes, the populace, but a people as a political organisation and community. How the word came to possess this older significance can be seen from Homer; in him we see already the opposition of the Demos to rulers and nobles, but δῆμος also means 'the land belonging to the community' and, arising out of that, the people.¹¹ Land and people are identical, an expression of political unity.

The characteristic feature of the Polis, that it is a community of citizens, no abstract State-ideal as the *res publica*, but at the same time no mere rule of privilege or the like, is best displayed in the manner in which the Polis accepts new citizens. As an early example we may cite the decree of Elean Chaladriion which still belongs to the sixth century.¹² A 'Rhētra' is concluded between the Chaladrians and Deucalion, that he and his descendants 'may be Chaladrians.' This old formula,¹³ which as yet is ignorant of the abstract concept of πολιτεία, opposes, as partners in a bargain, the whole of the members of the community to the newly-received individual. In a form almost recalling a private lawsuit, the many recognise the one as their equal and possessed of equal rights, and he thereby receives land. This equality finds formal expression in the somewhat doubtful

⁸ IG² I, 1. Alternative restorations SEG III, 1; Tod, nr. 11. The readings of Syll.³ 13 and Nachmanson, *Hist. Att. Inschr.* 1, are out of date.

⁹ *Gr. Volksbeschlüsse*, 25.

¹⁰ *Hermes*, 1933, 288. Cf. the inscription of oligarchic Elis, to be set before 580 B.C. (Cauer-Schwyzler, 410), which knows the βολά and ζῆμος

πλαθύνον.

¹¹ Cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étym.* 182, and my *Rechtsidee* 128, 131.

¹² Bleckmann, *Gr. Inschr. zur gr. Staatenkunde*, 33 = Cauer-Schwyzler, 415.

¹³ Cf. Szanto, *Gr. Bürgerrecht*, 10.

double phrase *ἱσοπρόξενον ἱσοδαμιουργόν*. This can hardly mean that 'Deucalion is promised the right to exercise the two offices of Proxenia (here an office) and of Demiurgia,'¹⁴ for the simple reason that Proxenia is never an office. But also it can scarcely imply a differentiation in the rights of citizens,¹⁵ for no group of citizens could normally be termed *πρόξενοι*. Rather, Deucalion, who obviously is being especially honoured, receives all rights of the *πρόξενος*, the privileged alien (*e.g.* ἀτέλεια), and also all those of the *δαμιουργός*, *i.e.*, of the prominent citizen; for the *δαμιουργός* was surely one of the most important men, probably the principal official of the little community. Thus in its inner organisation, as well as in its dealings with the outer world (*proxenia*), little Chaladriion was a completely formed State, a perfected Polis. Naturally it would be an oligarchy; the circle hence its *δαμιργοί* could be elected was surely confined to an upper stratum of society. Yet this upper stratum (not only those of it who had been admitted to the *Damiorgia*) was, politically speaking, the people, the State. The last sentence of the decree brings the threatened religious ban for anybody who would injure Deucalion; and this ban can be put out of efficiency only by a motion of the *δᾶμος*. Thus, in spite of the privileged person, the ban leaves untouched the State's freedom of will and sovereignty of law.

The State's existence in the face of the outer world is naturally manifested and confirmed through treaties between two States, such as that between Elis and Heraea, of approximately the same period and dealing with the same district as the former example.¹⁶ The alliance concluded for a hundred years between the two States provides for a peaceful settlement and discussion of all disputes. The State which does not comply is bound to pay a heavy sum to Olympian Zeus. From the fact that in the two Elean decrees we have cited the God appears as in some measure a Court of Appeal, we may presume, and we may dare to draw the general conclusion, that by this period the great 'international' sanctuaries—we knew this of Delphi without this evidence—were exercising active and positive influence in the pacification and consolidation of internal and external political conditions, firstly in their own areas, but certainly soon beyond these limits. The same penalty is ordained for the treaty-breaker and for him who injures the State, whether simple citizen or official or the *Demos* itself. The community and individuals, and these again divided according as they are in communal office or not:¹⁷ we could not desire a plainer statement that the whole stands for the one, the one for the whole; and the private person is so little private that his penalty is as heavy as that of the citizen in office. Significant here is the word used to denote the simple citizen: *ἕτας* (*Fétas*). In the same sense, as opposed to Ruler or *Demos*, it recurs later occasionally, *e.g.*, in Aeschylus. But originally, as we know from Homer, *οἱ ἕται* are the kindred, and also (already weakening) neighbours and friends.¹⁸ Thus in its history this

¹⁴ Thus Szanto, 23.

¹⁵ Bleckmann following Kirchhoff, *Arch. Ztg.* 35, 196.

¹⁶ *Syll.*² 9; Tod, nr. 5. On the date (uncertain,

but sixth century) cf. Bölte *RE* VIII, 413.

¹⁷ *τελειότης*: cf. τὰ τέλη, οἱ ἐν τέλει.

¹⁸ Cf. Boisacq, s. *ἕταρος*; Liddell-Scott, s. *ἕτης*.

word mirrors the evolution from the tie of pure blood-relation to that of the Polis. In sixth-century Elis the citizen still bears the name and with it surely the still strong social binding force of 'kinsman'; yet he is not only, as in *Od.* 4, 16, γείτονας ἦδε ἔται, the neighbour, the man bound in the same community of land, he is also the member of the Polis, equated with the official and the State itself, responsible together with and for the State, the πολίτης.¹⁹

An honorary decree of Cyzicus²⁰ brings us even more clearly into the early decades of the sixth century. The children of Medices and Aesepus and their descendants are granted ἀτέλεια, with the exception of certain named taxes, and meals in the Prytaneion. The formula of compact used in Chaladrion could not be used here, for it is no question of granting citizen-rights, but of honouring the offspring of two specifically named citizens who had presumably died for the State. Therefore in this decree of favours to citizens the words run simply, πόλις ἔδωκε²¹; and the δῆμος swears to the privileges. Here, on the advanced soil of Ionia—Cyzicus is a Milesian colony—the concept of the πόλις could appear at an early date as replacing the individual names of States elsewhere prevalent. The colonial community is inclined rather to rationalise the State than to continue in its looser (as compared with the Motherland) tradition of race and people.²² All the more certainly was it that very State which had existed complete and had been taken for granted since long before.

Also from Ionia comes the oldest record, to be placed round 600, a record which, despite its fragmentary condition, informs us with astonishing force of the development of the Polis possible at that date—the law of Chios.²³ It speaks first of guarding the δῆμος(ν) ῥήτραι, doubtless the laws, and especially such as accord with the democratic trend we can deduce from the inscription. As magistrate the Demarch appears next to the Basileus, which may correspond to ἀρχων and βασιλεύς in Athens, but more probably gives the contrast of magistrates of people and nobility. For the βουλὴ δημοσίη is also mentioned, which (as its name implies) stands at the side of a Council of Nobles, and which, itself composed of fifty members from each Phyle, owes its number to democratic principle and its constitution to an obviously strongly rationalised organisation. Next, various measures are proposed in the event of a failure of Demarch

¹⁹ The objection may be raised that these examples are beside the point because the communities of Elis and Arcadia in the sixth century were δῆμοι or κῶμοι. If that were the case, then these inscriptions are still better evidence, for then these villages have already assumed the form and standing of the πόλις. In any case, the idea of the 'politically independent κῶμη,' as assumed for this very area by Swoboda (*RE* Suppl. IV, 951 f.; cf. Strabo VIII. 336 f.), seems to me out of date, since we know to-day that a πόλις is not constituted by synoecism and town-wall, but by its political formation. The Attic Tetrapolis, for instance, illustrates the process.

²⁰ *Syll.*³ 4; cf. *SEG* I, no. 445.

²¹ I consider the punctuation of Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, L, 37 ff., to be correct; according to it, elliptical πόλις... ἀτέλειαν καὶ πρυτανείον stands first, followed by the restriction δίδεται παρὶς... For the erection of the stele by the State the expression is formal, πόλις... ἔδωκε.

²² In the discussion on the unpolitical habits of the Ionians initiated by Berve (latest *Gnomon*, 1936, 183) agreement is perhaps attainable if the very different possibilities of political consciousness I here indicate were clearly distinguished.

²³ Wilamowitz, *Nordion. Steine* (*Abh. Preuss. Ak.* 1909); Nachmanson, *Hist. Gr. Inscr.* 2; Tod, nr. 9.

or Basileus according as the Demos has been summoned, *i.e.*, constituted as a court, or not. However uncertain the meaning is, it is plain that new tendencies and dispositions democratic in tendency are being expressed. The whole appears as a decided and 'young' movement of the State. Yet, for instance, the office of Demarch has been before now brought into existence and, in view of the use of the concept of the Demos that is customary here, it must have been in former times a magistracy formed in conflict with the nobility, and not simply developed out of the original Demos of the whole community. On the other hand, the twice-mentioned ἱερία, the State-hearth or its goddess (which are the same at heart), like the old council as well as the concluding oath, for which the βασιλεῖς are competent, show that the religious-aristocratic and the rational-democratic spheres existed before and continue in juxtaposition. If the Polis of Chios at that time made a by no means unimportant alteration of its constitution in a democratic sense, then the document we are examining indicates that it was at an earlier date a Polis of advanced and developed State-form.

Emphasis has often been laid on the near relation between the law of Chios and the contemporary or slightly later legislative and political work of Solon. His personality, his actual work as much as his political and ethical ideals as poet and sage; what of good and evil he found awaiting him, and what he made of them: all stands before us as the first clear and plain emanation of the Polis, creative yet bound to tradition. For this reason we may permit ourselves not to pick details from his constitution and legislation. They, of course, give the main feature of the historical phenomenon of Solon which I have mentioned, and this is generally admitted without demur. But by so doing we again exclude errors in our sources, for so much legislation originating at a later time went under Solon's name.²⁴ Better for the man himself to explain his meaning; luckily Aristotle and Plutarch quoted from his poems to draw their portraits of him.

Ἡμετέρα δὲ πόλις—in its first words the famous Elegy of his programme reveals its theme and also the circle it is addressed to, those who, including the poet himself, are 'we.'²⁵ Danger to the 'great Polis' from its own citizens; crimes and evils which bring slavery or civil war in their train; all this δυσνομία gives Solon, the creative thinker and active statesman, the right and strength for his anger, his wish, born of anger, to teach his fellow citizens and to place before their eyes as their aim and ideal the State of εὐνομία. For the State is the object at stake. The Polis, over which Pallas Athene holds her protecting hand, is not the Acropolis, nor is it the town, even if the citizens are once called ἄστοι, those citizens who by their misrule have endangered the State and who simply because they rule could be called 'townsmen.' The goddess, despite all, protects this State which the covetous 'leaders of the people' are attacking and

²⁴ For the administration and legislation of Solon cf. most recently, K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, 1926.

²⁵ W. Jaeger, *Sitzber. Preuss. Ak.* 1926, 72; in addition, my *Rechtsidee*, 83 ff.: *Charisteria f. Rzsch* 22 ff.

endangering in its innermost strongholds. To free it from the δημόσιον κακόν is Solon's object. Does it still need at all to be said that this internal corruption of the Polis, this perilous στάσις, presumes that the Polis is there, that it exists? From a more ordered and more peaceful period in which the ruling nobles stood in more harmonious counterpoise to the subject class of free men the Polis had sunk into the confusion of Solon's time. In that, Solon throws responsibility on the selfishness and injustice of the ruling classes, to a less degree on the discontent and greed of an oppressed people; and behind his words rises impressively the binding force which cannot yet be called Nomos,²⁶ but which, grown out of δίκη, is laid none the less upon every citizen by the Polis, and which has developed into a valid claim in the new θεσμοί of Solon.

He had hoped to pacify the State through βία and δίκη (24, 16), allowing neither of the contending parties to prevail ἀδίκως. But a number of fragments of his poems show that he quickly recognised that the peace and safety of the State was no longer endangered through the greed and violence of a ruling caste, but that the freedom and common life of the Polis was being attacked through powerful individuals and their desire for tyranny: ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλιν ἄλλυται (10, 3). The amnesty law of Solon (Plut., *Sol.* 19, 4), of which the text is preserved to us and which is certainly historic, excluded from among those condemned to Atimia before Solon's archonship certain groups, among them 'those banished by the Kings on account of murder, manslaughter or tyranny.' When the tyrant, or the would-be tyrant, is grouped with the murderer as an equally impious criminal, and equally punished by the βασιλεὺς, it is evident that the Polis must have had to guard itself for long past against the overweening ambitions of individuals. Solon still summons the people to defend themselves against the new δημαγωγοί (8, 10, 23). But the social conflict had attained such proportions that (as we read in Plutarch, *Sol.* 13, 3) 'tyranny seemed the only guarantee for order and cessation of strife.' Solon's fight could not prevent the tyranny of Peisistratus, but certainly was not without influence upon it. It was the battle of the Polis. The attempts of certain 'princely nobles' to obtain power are phenomena not confined to the end of the sixth century, but began manifestly back in the seventh. The battle against the Tyrants and conversely their ephemeral monarchy were necessary stages in the inward development of the Polis; for it was in this environment and under the rule of these individuals that the Demos grew strong and burst the bonds of the aristocratic Polis.

From within the Polis Solon worked and toiled for the Polis; for him, out of a new and pious recognition δίκη developed into the principle of the Polis, the foundation and expression of its communal will.²⁷ A century earlier this could not have been. For Hesiod δίκη is in truth

²⁶ The reading *δμου* (and not *νόμου*) in frg. 24, 16 (*Charisteria*, l.c.) is accepted by Römisch, *Studien zur alt. gr. Elegie*, 46, and has been adopted by Diehl in the second edition of *Anthol. Lyr.*

²⁷ *Rechtsidee*, 86 ff.; Jaeger, 79 ff.; in both these reference is made from various standpoints to the equation of the political δίκη and the cosmic δίκη of natural law (Anaximander!).

not only 'the real decision of justice on earth,'²⁸ but rather the claim to justice on the part of the subject, who appeals to a higher court, as when Zeus's daughter Dike, driven out by mankind, sought refuge with her father.²⁹ Hesiod further comes, from the contrast with anti-social ὕβρις and βία, to recognise the obligation of citizens towards the Polis (*Erga* 240); for Zeus sees 'how the Polis hath this δίκη as its own quality' (*ib.* 269) . . . 'Hear δίκη and do not increase ὕβρις; for ὕβρις is evil for the poor man, nor can the wealthy lightly endure it' (*ib.* 213). Here, for the first time to our knowledge, it is proclaimed that the noble is restrained by and responsible for δίκη in the face of the Polis; yet the object at issue still is that the Polis should be founded on δίκη. Δίκη it is which distinguishes man from beast (275); Zeus blesses him who speaks righteously (τὰ δίκαια) in the agora (280). But this δίκη, as I believe, is still no traditional and admitted principle of the Polis. For the Boeotian of little Ascra, round 700 B.C., the Polis is still in process of formation. We have here a glimpse into the making of the State, into the supersession of an unpolitical aristocracy far removed from political unity through the common influence of the Polis. In other districts—in many of the islands or on the coast of Asia—the Polis had doubtless evolved further than in backwood Boeotia, and especially in Hesiod's tiny home-town. To the question which forms the title to this paper the reply might be roughly the eighth century, disregarding the variety and the gradualness in the duration of the process of evolution which are easily understood. It might be still better to assume the first half of this century, or even, let us say, ± 800 B.C., seeing that in the case of Sparta, for instance, a close analysis of the concept of the Damos and of the Rhetra has dated the consolidation of the State back at least as far as the period before the first Messenian War, that is, to the beginning of the eighth century.³⁰ The same is true of many of the Ionian States. The East to West trend of Greek history has played a part in the development of the Polis as in everything else, but the early city of Asia Minor, set in un-Greek surroundings, must not be assumed without restriction to be a Polis in the political sense.

The rough chronology of the rise of the Polis which has once again been established in the foregoing pages agrees with the fact that the activity of the great colonising States is evident from the late eighth century onwards, that in it, at least in the more important cases—Miletus, Megara, Chalkis, etc.—love of adventure and land hunger were confined within official organisation and direction, and that on the Black Sea coast and in the West the colonisation produced not factories and emporia, but towns and States (πόλεις) resting on an agrarian basis. A further agreement with the dating is the fact that the *Iliad* shows no trace of the existence of a Polis, while the *Odyssey* does. Finally, there is agreement in all

²⁸ Jaeger, 78.

²⁹ *Rechtsidee*, 64 ff.; Jaeger, *l.c.*

³⁰ *Hermes*, 1933, 296. Even Berve does not propose to date the formation of the Spartan State after Cleomenes and Demaratus. He recognises quite appropriately the unusual sharpness of the contrast between State and individual, founded on the nature

of the fixed and consistent form of the State (27 f.); but he does not draw the conclusion that for this reason the tendency towards freedom showed itself uncommonly early and in unusual strength. The victory of the State in Sparta was, of course, all the more absolute.

essentials, if not at all points, with the reconstruction of the evolution of the Polis which can be deduced from military and economic standpoints, the replacement of the 'family-Polis' by the 'hoplite-Polis' in the seventh century.³¹

We have been speaking of the Polis exclusively as meaning the State. This State is almost always a walled Polis-city; and its heart was the Polis, later, to mark the difference, termed the Acropolis, the citadel. The word $\pi(\tau)\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ has shared this development, which goes back to the rulers' palaces of Mycenaean days. In details the change was certainly not accomplished uniformly; above all, in Asia Minor it was different from the islands, and in these it differed from Greece proper. The attempt to define this early development would give town-history, not the history of the Polis; from our point of view it hardly suffices to prove in individual cases, yet it establishes the general conclusion, that the formation of the Polis-town may be dated round 800.³² The Mycenaean citadel or stronghold with an open town beneath it is probably the commonest predecessor of the Polis; yet several centuries were necessary for its conversion into the walled and closely populated town which could not exist without hinterland. For the unification of town and country it was above all necessary that the countryside should either create the urban centre originally out of itself or should be taken in by the pre-existing urban settlement. Perhaps then, long after the downfall of the Mycenaean kingdoms, the knowledge of a genuine political existence again spread for the reason that only now did the existing rule of the town over the country overcome the pure aristocracy. Economic and military developments followed to realise the enfranchisement of all free men, which always remained a living force underneath the persistent gradation of social classes.³³

³¹ Hasebroek, *Gr. Wirtsch. u. Gesellschaftsgesch.*, 122 ff., 153 ff., 158 ff. My main difference with H. is that I distinguish a caste of nobility, still far from State-form, from the ' $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ of families'; naturally without denying the interplay of both forms. Only thus is it possible to set the formation of the Greek State in clear historical light; otherwise, we must push everything back into the darkness of the eleventh and tenth centuries. Perhaps the fact that my position is intermediate between Hasebroek and Berve is no bad testimony for its historical probability.

³² See the detailed and important essay of Tritsch, *Die Stadtbildungen des Altertums und die griech. Polis* (*Klio*, 1929, 1). I overlooked this in my *Gr. Staat*; in any case some of his conclusions do not convince me. For instance, that in the late Mycenaean settlements all (four) types of building used in the Aegean area had been united into one mighty synthesis (52 ff.), seems to me to suppose an over-rationalised interpretation, working far too much with direct transferences and influences. This is markedly the case with the significance Tritsch assigns to the Minoan towns—assumed to be 'free town-states of equal citizens'—for the Greek development. In this he sees clearly the fundament-

ally different principle of the Oriental (and the Italian) town as opposed to the Aegean, yet he under-estimates the differences which have been rightly observed between the Minoan and the Mycenaean-Greek town (77 ff.). It is improbable to me that about 800 Crete had attained paramount influence upon the development of the $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ over all Greece, despite the religious and artistic parallels; here again the rationalised interpretation is evident, letting the organic development, bound up with the soil, of every single $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ disappear behind all sorts of 'influences.' Tritsch sees the great lacuna of three centuries (1100–800) as 'a poverty-stricken and almost peaceful age,' during which 'the impulse to State organisation, to the creation of the Polis, was wholly lacking' (61 f.); but, it must be said, it is not the development from the Minoan and Mycenaean towns implied by Tritsch, but the appearance of new town-centres and town-instinct, attested by manifold local tradition, which made 'something new—the classical Greek town corresponding to the Greek spirit and its manner of life—the Polis' (82).

³³ Cf. *Rechtsidee*, 131 ff., as modified above.

The answer to the question: When did the Polis rise? can only be given in general terms. If we speak of the 'formation of the Greek State,' we cannot think of 600, much less of 500 B.C. The witnesses I have adduced here seem decisive, even if other material were available from literature or inscriptions. That the great political figures, not only tyrants and princes, but also legislators and Aesymnetae, did not make the Polis possible, or even bring it into existence, is so evident that the contrary view requires a detailed explanation. This explanation should not be merely assumed from a tendency to over-emphasize those elements which are to be termed inimical to the Polis, individualist or tribal, in the leading nobles of the seventh and sixth centuries. It is an error to assume that the discovery of the Aristotelian Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία first induced historians to lay one-sided emphasis on the constitutional factor. It is right to object to an unhistorical and unnecessary over-valuation of the 'constitution' and to an assumption of real political parties;³⁴ but documents such as the law of Chios and almost every one of the cited documents show plainly that the internal formation of the State implied a system of political existence which was natural and of vital importance for the Greeks. Tyrants and leaders of the nobles often set themselves against this formation, but it is equally true that many of them were at pains to preserve them, at least outwardly. Nobles powerful by wealth, by household retainers, and occasionally by foreign possessions, broke away from the Polis. But this phenomenon born of social differences and political individualism was not the characteristic final expression of an aristocracy anterior to the Polis. More frequently the outstanding individuals made out of the differences within the State between noble and low-born, wealth and poverty, land ownership and free tenure the starting-point for a personal policy which, against their own will, prepared the way for a new and more democratic form of the Polis. Thus these 'first demagogues' constituted a necessary and useful stage in the development of the Polis, since, unlike the case of later popular leaders, the State worked out their policy in its interest and along its own line. Individuality, voluntarily or involuntarily, whether it saw the compulsion or not, had to bow to the will and to the way of the community. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature in the career of Cleisthenes is how his clear and rationalising political genius completed the decisive transition from personal and family policy to the reform and re-establishment of the State.

If Berve has, as I believe, seen these facts in the wrong light, he seems also to have confused 'Polis' and 'democratic Polis'—unless we are to assume a totally new and arbitrary use of the term 'Polis.' For Democracy, the final and pre-destined form as far as concerns the Greek State, the ends of the centuries, the ages of Solon and of Cleisthenes, were of definite importance. We can say that as the Democracy fundamentally fulfilled the idea of a comprehensive community of citizens, so it was the perfection of the Polis. But perfection is on the way to decline, and the realization of the last possibilities inherent in the Polis does not preclude earlier ages

³⁴ See, e.g., *Ost und West*, 115.

from having known the Polis, perhaps in a purer and more simple manner. What gives the trend towards Democracy especial significance is the fact that from the end of the sixth century the Greek State—not only the Democracies—came under the new controlling idea of Nomos and recognised in it a principle which is more imperious than the legal basis of δίκη, and therefore more powerful to bind: νόμος βασιλεύς. This King of the Polis, upheld by a sanctity which raises him even above the gods, is the answer to the attempt of powerful individuals to force upon the Polis a human monarchy; in the sign of νόμος the Polis conquers.

The determined emphasis laid on the individual State in contrast to the lack of particularism among the great families and lords, at least in the sixth century (hardly earlier), betokens doubtless a new strengthening of the Polis. The experience of the Persian wars brought the significance of the Polis and the national will into harmony. But the personal individualist element in tyrants and nobles of the type of Miltiades was, as I have said, nowhere so strong that it could for long detach itself from the will of the Polis; the generation of Themistocles and Pausanias was the first perhaps which attempted this. In this the internal decline of the Polis is foreshadowed, far off as the end might appear. As yet the State is so immeasurably the stronger that Cimon brings the type of the aristocrat intimately bound up within the State to its fullest development, and it is then that we have the perfect and acknowledged union of State and autonomous individuality; which is not the same as the obvious control of the individual by the State. The age of Pericles is so far from being the age of the perfected Polis that it is rather the first period of the great individuals no more bound to the Polis; but State and individual still sway the balance harmoniously. This is true of the πρῶτος ἀνὴρ and equally of the great figures of his time: Sophocles, Pheidias, although no more of Anaxagoras and Protagoras. It is the next generation in which the one scale is heavily tilted.

Yet another reason may be adduced for setting so unusually late the realisation of the Polis. At all times, so far as we can see, the Polis is at once a reality and an ideal. From the time of Hesiod down to the philosophers, with their political creeds, the Greek spirit had ever again and again striven for the ideality of the forms of its communities, for its dream-city directed by right and law (δίκη and νόμος), by discipline and order (κόσμος and εὐνομία), or by equality and concord (ἰσονομία and ὁμόνοια). Such an ideal remains far removed from a mere intellectual concept. It portrays ever a goal that can be reached, that should be striven for with all one's strength and with all one's mind, by Solon as by Pericles, by the law-giver of Sparta as by Plato. But no illustration is of such intense strength, such convincing detail, and so compellingly close to the facts of life of the democratic Polis as that made by Pericles in the Funeral Oration. A method which attempts, often with success, but of a one-sided nature, to exalt the singular and peculiar in Greek life into the typical and classical³⁵ may easily incur the risk of seeing in the Periclean

³⁵ Fundamental objections given in *Ost u. West*, 5.

age not only the high-water mark of Greek history, but also, especially with the Oration in mind, the perfection of the Greek State.

This last reflexion warns us that the line between actuality and ideality in the Polis is not easy to draw. Here we have confined ourselves as much as possible to actual records, at any rate to contemporary evidence, thereby excluding some possibilities of error in our sources. But we can recognise—how could it be otherwise?—that ideas and aspirations were at work in the expression of immediate workaday political life, just as we know that the ideal and in themselves utopian constitutions of States had their roots deep down in the living experience of the Polis. The boundary cannot be drawn sharply and absolutely, theory and teaching cannot be kept separate from practice and fact. It is not correct to suppose that what is not evidenced in a concrete event or individual activity, what appears to be merely a constitutional form, is something that is unhistorical and unreal. Yet it is equally false to think that the historical phenomenon as a whole was worked out not in fact and record, but only through ideal and abstract pictures.

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THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1935-1936

ONCE again I attempt, not without some trepidation, the task of surveying briefly the work done during the past two years in the field of Greek epigraphy, following the same order and observing the same principles as in my previous bibliographies. I include some specially valuable reviews published in 1937 of books issued in 1935 or 1936; on the other hand, I omit certain works¹ which, though bearing the date 1936, were not actually issued, or at least did not become accessible to me, until 1937 was well advanced. As before, I mark with an asterisk books or articles of which I have only a second-hand knowledge. Once more I express my heartiest thanks to all scholars who have facilitated my task by sending me copies of their works.

Death has taken a sadly heavy toll in the ranks of Greek epigraphists during the two years under review; among the more serious losses are those of A. von Premmerstein,² E. Preuner,³ G. Glotz,⁴ J. Geffcken,⁵ H. Collitz,⁶ E. Pridik,⁷ P. Orsi,⁸ R. Heberdey,⁹ A. B. West,¹⁰ T. Wiegand¹¹ and P. Wolters.¹² Happily, some of the veterans are left to us with undiminished vigour and ever accumulating experience, such as A. Wilhelm¹³ and F. Hiller von Gaertringen,¹⁴ whose impress will remain indelibly printed on epigraphical studies: both of these attained their doctoral jubilees in 1936, and the latter has added to the history of those studies an autobiographical chapter¹⁵ which is as valuable as it is modest.

I. GENERAL

My summary for 1933-34 appeared in *JHS*. lv. 172 ff., and, so far as it concerns Egypt and Nubia, in *JEA*. xxi. 104 ff. Other bibliographies, notably the invaluable 'Bulletin'¹⁶ of P. Roussel and R. Flacelière, continue¹⁷ in their accustomed form, save those of A. Neppi Modona

¹ Foremost among these are L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, G. Daux, *Delphes au deuxième et au premier siècle*, G. Oliverio, *Documenti antichi dell' Africa Italiana*, II. 2, and *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*.

² *ZSav.* lv. 500 f., *Klio*, xxviii. 215, *AJA*. xxxix. 254 f., *RA*. viii. 202.

³ *Gnomon*, xi. 287 f., *Klio*, xxviii. 215, *RA*. vi. 169, *AJA*. xxxix. 379.

⁴ *CRInscr.* 1935, 164 ff., *RA*. vi. 85 f., *REG.* xlviii. 217 f., *AJA*. xl. 131, *RevBelge*, xiv. 1223 f.

⁵ *Gnomon*, xi. 448.

⁶ *AJPh.* lvi. 289 f.

⁷ *Klio*, xxix. 149.

⁸ *Gnomon*, xii. 174 ff., *Historia*, ix. 639 ff., *AJA*. xl. 352, *Mondo Classico*, vi. 179 ff., *RendLinc.* xi. 974 ff., P. Orsi (*Archivio Storico per la Calabria*), 297 ff.

⁹ *ÖJh.* xxx. Beibl. 169 ff.

¹⁰ *AJA*. xl. 522 f.

¹¹ *Gnomon*, xiii. 109 ff., *AJA*. xli. 119.

¹² *AA.* 1936, 586 ff., *AJA*. xli. 119 f.

¹³ *SBBerl.* 1936, 284 f., *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xii. 363 f.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 168 f.

¹⁵ *Прокт.* 'Ак. 'Ав. xi. 196 ff.

¹⁶ *REG.* xlix. 341 ff. (for 1934-5).

¹⁷ J. Marouzeau, *Année philol.* viii. 255 ff., ix. 268 ff., x. 269 ff., P. Geissler, *Archäol. Bibliogr.* 1934, 194 ff., 1935, 223 ff., W. Rehnitz, *Bibl. phil. class.* lx. 101 ff., lxi. 108 ff., and, within restricted fields, *Glotta*, xxiv. 56 ff., *Riv. arch. crist.* xii. 216 ff., *RA*. vi. 207 ff., viii. 253 ff., *BZ.* xxxv. 257 f., 506 f., xxxvi. 269 ff., 537 ff., *BNGJ.* x. 533 ff., *RevHist.* clxxviii. 258 ff.

and M. Segre,¹⁸ which came to an end with the regrettable discontinuance of *Historia*. On the other hand, we may note G. Patriarca's summary¹⁹ of Greek inscriptions relative to the Roman world and V. Arangio-Ruiz's full 'Epigrafia giuridica greca e romana (1933-35),'²⁰ while F. M. Heichelheim's 'Griechische Staatskunde von 1902-1932'²¹ deals with many inscriptions bearing on the public life of the Greek states. To H. Kasten's continuation of Ziebarth's survey of the progress of Greek epigraphy since 1895 I refer below (p. 210).

The important addition made in 1935 to *Inscriptiones Graecae* is noted under Attica, and instalments of the *Inscriptions de Délos* and of *Inscriptiones Creticae*, which in fact, though not in form, are portions of the *Corpus*, are also mentioned in their appropriate places. U. Wilcken's annual reports²² on the progress of *IG*. record the preparations made by J. Kirchner for the second fascicule of *IG*. ii². 3, which will contain the Attic epitaphs later than 403 B.C., by G. Klaffenbach for the second fascicule of *IG*. ix². 1, by F. Schober for *IG*. vii². (Megaris and Boeotia), and by F. von Hiller for the Attic 'Fasti' and for a supplementary volume dealing with the Aegean Islands. The editor's illness has unfortunately delayed the issue of further instalments of *SEG*., but preparations are well advanced for the publication of two more volumes, covering Palestine, Egypt and the rest of North Africa. G. de Jerphanion laid²³ before the Fourth International Congress of Byzantine Studies a project for the publication of a selection of Greek Christian inscriptions, while another ambitious plan reaches partial fulfilment in the first volume²⁴ of J. B. Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, issued under the auspices of the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, but written in French. This is a complete collection of Jewish inscriptions from the third century B.C. to the seventh A.D., geographically arranged, amply commentated, excellently illustrated and fully indexed; the present volume, which covers Europe only, contains 734 texts, predominantly Greek, exclusive of 103 which are relegated to an appendix as false, pagan, Judaeo-pagan, or probably Christian. Some of the main conclusions and problems suggested by this evidence are dealt with in an article²⁵ by E. R. Goodenough. V. Bassler's collection and discussion²⁶ of Latin-Greek bilingual inscriptions is inaccessible to me. K. Hanell publishes,²⁷ from a Madrid MS., the collection of seventeen inscriptions copied by K. Laskaris in the fifteenth century, which enables us to correct or supplement a few of the texts concerned, and examines the relation of these copies to their probable source, Cyriac of Ancona.

I call attention here to certain general suggestions regarding *agenda et evita*nda in epigraphical studies, made²⁸ by L. Robert, whose position and achievements in this field entitle him to careful attention.

¹⁸ *Historia*, viii. 686 ff., ix. 662 ff., 683 ff.

¹⁹ *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* v. 127 ff.

²⁰ *Studia et documenta*, ii. 429 ff.

²¹ *Burs.* ccl. 145 ff.

²² *SBBerl.* 1935, lxii, 1936, xlvi f.

²³ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* ix. 129 ff.; cf. *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 154 f.

²⁴ Vatican City, 1936: cf. *RA.* viii. 299, *OLZ.*

xl. 232 ff.

²⁵ *Journ. Bibl. Lit.* lv. 211 ff.

²⁶ * *Inscriptiones Graecae Latinae bilingues*, Prague, 1934 (typed).

²⁷ *Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund*, 1934-5, iv: cf. *ClRev.* l. 39, *REA.* xxxviii. 396 f., *Gnomon*, xii. 334 f.

²⁸ *AntClass.* iv. 463 ff. (*REA.* xxxviii. 387 f.), *RevPhil.* viii. 406 ff. (*REG.* xlix. 355).

In the linguistic sphere there is little to record. E. Mayser's revised edition of the section²⁹ of his monumental Grammar of the Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions, which deals with stem-formation, is of general interest, though based exclusively on materials found in Egypt. G. Daux examines³⁰ the use of ὑπέρ with the accusative from the third century B.C. onwards in the N.W. Greek, Argive and Messenian dialects, and concludes that it always means 'in the name of, in place of,' and never 'in the interest of.' A. Wilhelm investigates³¹ the phrases ἐν χειρῶν νομαῖς and ἐν χειρῶν (or χειρὸς) νομῶ (so he would accent the word) found in the decree from Lete (*SIG.* 700) and in Greek authors, notably Polybius. J. F. C. Richards examines³² certain characteristics of Eastern Ionic inscriptions, especially the use of the ν̄ ἐφελευστικόν and the change of final ν before certain consonants, and pleads for a revision of the text of Herodotus in the light of epigraphical evidence.

The historical value of Greek inscriptions is illustrated by numerous examples in the following pages; here reference may be made to a few works of a general character in which epigraphy supplies important, or even the sole, evidence. Heichelheim's synopsis of the chief works on Greek *Staatskunde* published between 1902 and 1932 has already been mentioned. A. Heuss finishes³³ his study (cf. *JHS.* lv. 174) of the conclusion and documentation of the Greek and Roman state-treaty by a detailed examination of the various documents drawn up in the process of negotiation and ratification; W. Schubart seeks³⁴ to derive from inscriptions and papyri a picture of the Hellenistic ideal of the King and his officials; R. E. G. Downey collects³⁵ the twenty-one references to inscriptions in Malalas' *Chronicle*, and shows that we cannot unhesitatingly accept his statements either that these inscriptions ever existed or that they survived to his time, and E. G. Turner makes a careful study,³⁶ based mainly on evidence drawn from inscriptions and papyri, of the functions and the geographical distribution of the δεκάπρωτοι in the Greco-Roman world. The history and policy of Euagoras I of Cyprian Salamis are discussed³⁷ by K. Spyridakis, who draws special attention to the epigraphical sources; H. H. Benecke's dissertation *Die Seepolitik der Aetoler*³⁸ makes full use of the available epigraphical materials, especially for the ἀσουλία-treaties concluded by the Aetolians and for their grants of προξενία (pp. 17 ff.), and F. Hampl's brief treatment³⁹ of the Bottiaeans uses inscriptions, especially *SIG.* 89, to throw light on the condition of the Bottiaeans at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. A second volume of E. Groag and A. Stein's admirable revision of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* has appeared,⁴⁰ covering the letter C and con-

²⁹ *Grammatik d. griech. Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, i². 3, Berlin, 1936: cf. *ClRev.* l. 201.

³⁰ *REG.* xlviii. 33 ff.

³¹ *Glotta*, xxiv. 133 ff.

³² *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. xlvii f., *Harvard Class. Studies*, xlv. 37 ff.

³³ *Klio*, xxvii. 218 ff.

³⁴ *APF.* xii. 1 ff.: cf. *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xiii. 123 f.

³⁵ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 55 ff.

³⁶ *JEA.* xxii. 7 ff.

³⁷ *Euagoras I von Salamis*, Stuttgart, 1935: cf. *JHS.* lvii. 98.

³⁸ Hamburg, 1934: cf. *REG.* xlviii. 586 f.

³⁹ *RhMus.* lxxxiv. 120 ff.: cf. U. Kahrstedt, *AJPh.* lvii. 416 ff.

⁴⁰ Berlin-Leipzig, 1936: cf. *JRS.* xxvi. 286 f.

taining 1647 persons; here, too, Greek inscriptions play an important part among the sources. W. Hüttl has published the first volume of his history of Antoninus Pius,⁴¹ with numerous *addenda* (pp. 359 ff.) to the second (cf. *JHS.* lv. 173 f.) and a full *Quellenregister* (pp. 427 ff.), and V. Laurent has reported⁴² to the Fourth International Congress of Byzantine Studies the preparations made for the issue of a comprehensive prosopography of the Byzantine Empire. E. Ziebarth's indispensable little work on Greek education has been translated⁴³ into Modern Greek, and L. Robert's article⁴⁴ entitled 'Ἀρχαιολόγος throws an interesting light on the entertainments of the ancient world by correcting and interpreting inscriptions from various places relating to ἀρχαιολόγοι, μιμολόγοι, βιολόγοι, μοσχολόγοι, παρωδοί and σπουδαιογέλοιοι.

To our knowledge of Greek religious and magical belief and ritual and of the Greek festivals inscriptions make valuable contributions. Here I may mention F. Chapouthier's work⁴⁵ on the Dioscuri in the service of a goddess, M. Guarducci's paper⁴⁶ on the conception and cult of the hero in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, with special reference to the Torre Nova inscription in New York (see below, p. 203), T. A. Brady's account⁴⁷ of the introduction and spread of the Egyptian cults in the Greek world from 330 to 30 B.C., A. Aymard's essay⁴⁸ on the name and nature of Zeus Hamarios (or Homarios) worshipped by the Achaean League, M. Segre's observations⁴⁹ on the sale of priesthoods, and V. Laurent's article⁵⁰ on Byzantine amulets and magical formulae. R. M. Geer discusses⁵¹ the festival of the Ἰταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστά at Naples, instituted in A.D. 2 and continued at least to the middle of the third century, our main source for which is an inscription from Olympia (*I. v. Ol.* 56), and R. Knab devotes a dissertation⁵² to the περιόδονικαι, of whom he passes sixty-seven in review. Of J. B. Frey's *Jewish Corpus* I have already spoken. I do not know C. Wessel's dissertation⁵³ on Greek Christian inscriptions of the West, and F. J. Dölger's 'Lumen Christi'⁵⁴ is hardly relevant to the present study. Many articles in Cabrol and Leclercq's *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, e.g. those on Montanist epigraphy,⁵⁵ the Jewish community of Monteverde⁵⁶ and the Novatian heresy,⁵⁷ make full use of the epigraphical materials, while M. Simon deals⁵⁸ at length with the grave-formula θάρσει, οὐδεις ἀθάνατος.

O. Rubensohn's study⁵⁹ of the Neo-Parian school of sculpture in the first century B.C. includes a collection of the extant signatures of its members

⁴¹ *Antoninus Pius*, I, Prague, 1936.

⁴² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* ix. 127 f.

⁴³ * Τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκπαιδευτικὸν σύστημα, Athens, 1936.

⁴⁴ *REG.* xlix. 235 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 287.

⁴⁵ *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse* (Paris, 1935), 23 ff., 102 ff.: cf. *AJPh.* lvii. 344 ff., *RivFil.* lxiv. 423 ff.

⁴⁶ *Atti del III Congresso naz. di studi romani*, iv. 328 ff.: cf. *RivFil.* lxiv. 102.

⁴⁷ *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, x. 1: cf. *REA.* xxxvii. 481 ff., *REG.* xlix. 476, *Chron. d'Egypte*, xi. 579 ff., *Aegyptus*, xvii. 117 f.

⁴⁸ *Mél. Navarre*, 453 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 349.

⁴⁹ *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* lxix. 811 ff.

⁵⁰ *BZ.* xxxvi. 300 ff.

⁵¹ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 208 ff.

⁵² *Die Periodoniken*, Giessen, 1934: cf. *PhW.* lvi. 51 ff.

⁵³ * *Inscr. graec. Christ. veteres occidentis*, Halle, 1936.

⁵⁴ *Antike u. Christentum*, v. 1 ff.

⁵⁵ xi. 2529 ff.

⁵⁶ xi. 2557 ff.

⁵⁷ xii. 1758 f.

⁵⁸ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxiii. 188 ff.

⁵⁹ *Jdl.* l. 49 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 362.

scattered over the Greek islands, and J. Jüthner's discussion ⁶⁰ of the Greek discs deals with several extant inscribed examples. S. Casson's interesting notes ⁶¹ on the methods followed by the early Greek engravers in inscribing objects of gold or bronze are based mainly on a close examination of certain metal objects now in American museums.

Without claiming to draw up an exhaustive list of inscriptions on vases, and while expressly excluding works which deal wholly or mainly with ceramics, I may call attention to V. Grace's amply illustrated discussion ⁶² of the various types of die used for amphora-stamps, J. H. Iliffe's comprehensive list ⁶³ of potters' stamps on sigillata-ware in the Near East, A. Smets' chronological classification ⁶⁴ in thirteen groups of 210 inscribed Panathenaic amphorae, H. A. Thompson's account ⁶⁵ of 'Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery,' which includes ⁶⁶ a few inscriptions and graffiti, L. Talcott's careful examination ⁶⁷ of some puzzling graffiti on amphorae found in a fifth-century well in the Athenian Agora, E. Lapalus' treatment ⁶⁸ of a series of Cabiric vases in the National Museum at Athens, J. D. Beazley's valuable readings and restorations ⁶⁹ of unknown or misunderstood potters' or painters' signatures and other ceramic inscriptions, H. Philippart's detailed description ⁷⁰ of Attic white-ground cups and his account ⁷¹ of the vase-collection of the Ashmolean Museum, a 'model University museum,' Beazley's report ⁷² on Attic vases recently added to that collection, M. Z. Pease's article ⁷³ on the pottery found in Broneer's excavations on the N. slope of the Acropolis, including a number of sixth-century inscriptions, A. Greifenhagen's publication ⁷⁴ of the Attic b.-f. vases in Bonn, and L. Laurenzi's full account ⁷⁵ of three Attic vases and a Laconian hydria unearthed in the cemeteries at Ialysus. G. M. A. Richter assigns ⁷⁶ four more works to the 'Cleophrades painter' and claims that his name was Epictetus, and D. M. Robinson and S. E. Freeman publish ⁷⁷ a skyphos at Baltimore inscribed Πολύγνωτος ἔγραψεν, identifying the 'Lewis painter' with this second Polygnotus. Other inscribed vases recently discussed include a 'Droop cup' in the British Museum ⁷⁸ signed by Nicosthenes, a b.-f. deinos ⁷⁹ from the Athenian Agora, an Attic cup ⁸⁰ from Chiusi signed by Chachrylion, a Megarian bowl ⁸¹ in the Berlin Museum, a volute krater ⁸² at Taranto, a fourth-century hydria ⁸³ from Naples, an Attic r.-f. pelike ⁸⁴ from Antimachia, a similar vase ⁸⁵ in Boston,

⁶⁰ *ÖJh.* xxix. 36 f., 41 ff.

⁶¹ *AJA.* xxxix. 510 ff.

⁶² *Hesperia*, iv. 421 ff.

⁶³ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* vi. 23 ff.: cf. *Germania*, xxi. 136 f.

⁶⁴ *AntClass.* v. 87 ff. See also below, pp. 177 f.

⁶⁵ *Hesperia*, iii. 311 ff.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 478.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 515 f.

⁶⁸ *RA.* vi. 8 ff.

⁶⁹ *AJA.* xxxix. 475 ff.

⁷⁰ *AntClass.* v. 5 ff.: cf. *REA.* xxxix. 178, *Gnomon*, xiii. 289 ff.

⁷¹ *AntClass.* iv. 205 ff.

⁷² *Ox. Univ. Gazette*, lxxv. 441 f.

⁷³ *Hesperia*, iv. 214 ff.

⁷⁴ *AA.* 1935, 415, 419, 467.

⁷⁵ *Clara Rhodos*, viii. 85 ff., 113 ff., 152 f.: cf. *AA.* 1936, 169 f.

⁷⁶ *AJA.* xl. 100 ff.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 215 ff.

⁷⁸ *JHS.* lv. 81.

⁷⁹ R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, iv. 430 ff.

⁸⁰ G. Severeano, *Demareteion*, i. 3 ff.

⁸¹ R. Zahn, *Berl. Museen*, lvi. 16 f.

⁸² A. D. Trendall, *JHS.* liv. 175 ff.

⁸³ G. Pesce, *NSe.* 1935, 266.

⁸⁴ P. E. Arias, *Clara Rhodos*, viii. 213.

⁸⁵ L. D. Caskey, *JHS.* liv. 201 f.: cf. *AJA.* xxxviii. 339 f.

a work of the Lycaon painter about 440 B.C., representing Odysseus and Elpenor, Hermes and Dionysus, and a third,⁸⁶ from Brezovo in Bulgaria, commemorating four victories won by a cithara-player. Other discoveries will be noted below in their geographical order. R. Delbrueck and W. Vollgraft discuss⁸⁷ a curious alabaster bowl, now in Geneva, bearing Orphic representations and verses, previously published by H. Lamer.⁸⁸

A cameo⁸⁹ from Pergamum, now in Berlin, another⁹⁰ recently acquired by the Hamburg Museum, an intaglio⁹¹ from Tunis representing the punishment of Eros, and three gems⁹² of about A.D. 200 in the British Museum—namely, a haematite amulet worn to promote good digestion, a jasper showing a victorious charioteer leading in his horse (πάρδοσις) and another inscribed μέγα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σάραπτις—may also be mentioned here. To D. B. Harden we owe a complete list and a careful discussion⁹³ of a large group of Romano-Syrian glasses with mould-blown inscriptions, dating from the first or second century A.D.; these legends consist of the maker's name (Ennion, Jason, Meges or Nicaeus), or a motto such as λαβὲ τὴν νίκην, κατάχαιρε καὶ εὐφραίνου, or both, and the vessels, save most of Ennion's cups, were made in the East, probably in Syria. An unpublished weight⁹⁴ of unknown provenance, now in Athens, bears the name of an ἀγορανόμος.

E. Pfuhl and A. Seylaz describe and discuss⁹⁵ a relief of uncertain origin, preserved in the Louvre, bearing a metrical epitaph. V. Rolland's account⁹⁶ of the Greek inscriptions in the Museum of Old Toulon is inaccessible to me. H. Thiersch's exhaustive catalogue of the surviving monuments of the cult of Artemis Ephesia contains⁹⁷ two inscribed votives in the Rijksmuseum at Leyden. W. von Massow describes⁹⁸ the hall of inscriptions in the Pergamon Museum at Berlin, in which eighty-six inscriptions are exhibited, and L. Robert points out⁹⁹ that another stone in Berlin, assigned by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt to the temple of Zeus Οὐριος on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, is part of a Thessalian manumission-list. W. Kubitschek publishes¹⁰⁰ three inscriptions of unknown provenance formerly belonging to the now disbanded collection of F. Trau in Vienna—two epitaphs on sculptured stelae, and a curious bronze object, probably the head-piece of a club-vexillum, engraved συνβιώσεως ξυστοπλατεϊτῶν ταμειούντος Στεφάνου and resembling one¹⁰¹ discovered at Novae (Sistov) in Lower Moesia. The two inscriptions (see below, pp. 186, 195) from Cairness House, Aberdeenshire, are now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A. Dain's edition¹⁰² of the Greek

⁸⁶ I. Velkov, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii. 1 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 350.

⁸⁷ *JHS.* liv. 129 ff., lv. 84.

⁸⁸ *PhW.* li. 653 ff.

⁸⁹ R. Zahn, *Berl. Museen*, lvi. 16 f.

⁹⁰ E. von Mercklin, *AA.* 1935, 131.

⁹¹ A. Merlin, *Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxxvii. 131 ff.

⁹² F. N. Pryce, *BMQuart.* xi. 33 f.

⁹³ *JRS.* xxv. 163 ff.: cf. *Bull. Metr. Mus.* xxxi. 193.

⁹⁴ P. Lemerle, *BCH.* lviii. 506 ff.

⁹⁵ *AA.* 1935, 11 ff.

⁹⁶ * *Courrier Numism.* 1934, Nos. 33 f.

⁹⁷ *Abh. Gött. Gesellsch.* iii. 12. 67 f., Pl. xlv f.

⁹⁸ *Berl. Museen*, lv. 16 ff.

⁹⁹ *RevPhil.* x. 152 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *ÖJh.* xxix. 44 ff., 51 ff.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *RA.* vi. 233.

¹⁰² * *Inscr. gr. du Musée du Bardo*, Paris, 1936: cf. *REA.* xxxix. 174.

inscriptions salvaged from an ancient wreck at Mahdia and now in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, I know only indirectly.

Of non-Hellenic scripts used at an early period in the Aegean area this is not the place to speak in detail, but in view of the interest attaching to the questions of the derivation, affinities and influence of the Greek alphabet I may, I hope, mention a few important books and articles without incurring the charge of irrelevance. H. Jensen's considerable work¹⁰³ on ancient and modern writing I have not seen, but its author's name bespeaks for it careful attention. T. H. Gaster's essay¹⁰⁴ on 'The Chronology of Palestinian Epigraphy' is useful within that field, but does not directly touch the question of the Greek script. W. F. Albright puts forward¹⁰⁵ a tentative decipherment of some of the proto-Sinaitic texts, and the report¹⁰⁶ of R. F. S. Starr and R. F. Butin on their researches at Serabit el-Khadem contains much new material as well as a careful re-examination of the old; A. Mentz, however, holds that 'in recent years nothing has so hindered the real investigation of the history of the alphabet as those Sinai-inscriptions' and so omits them from his discussion.¹⁰⁷ W. Brandenstein summarises¹⁰⁸ the methods and results of his recent work (cf. *JHS.* lv. 176) on the 'Lemnian stele,' to which F. Ribezzo replies.¹⁰⁹ H. T. Bossert provisionally publishes¹¹⁰ a new Lydian inscription. A long discussion¹¹¹ by J. M. Korínek on the Ezerovo ring-inscription, the sole extant Thracian text, is reviewed¹¹² by D. Detchev and by G. Seure,¹¹³ who maintains that, while surveying and criticising past discussions, it makes but few positive suggestions.

Fresh Minoan inscriptions have been found in Crete at Apodulu¹¹⁴ and at Arkalochori.¹¹⁵ A. Guth, who reviews the opinions held about the text on the Phaistos disc, regards¹¹⁶ it as a syllabic text, probably of the seventeenth century B.C., to be read from margin to centre, in a script which, though showing Anatolian influence, represents an Aegean discovery, perhaps due to the priesthood, and embodying a document of religious or magical content. In the fourth and final volume of A. Evans' *Palace of Minos at Knossos*¹¹⁷ we have full accounts of the clay seal-impressions (pp. 591 ff.), the signs on clay inventories (619 ff.) and the clay tablets in linear script B, some of which contain lists of persons and inventories of objects (666 ff.), prominent among them being a group depicting chariots (785 ff.), together with an examination of the appearance of this script in mainland Greece, especially at Thebes, and in Cyprus (737 ff.). The ample index¹¹⁸ to the whole work, compiled by J. and A. Evans,

¹⁰³ * *Die Schrift in Vergangenheit u. Gegenwart*, Glückstadt, 1935.

¹⁰⁴ *PEFQS.* 1935, 128 ff.

¹⁰⁵ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xv. 334 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadem (Studies and Documents, ed. by K. and S. Lake, No. VI)*, London, 1936: cf. *RevBibl.* xlvi. 316 f.

¹⁰⁷ *RhMus.* lxxxv. 351 f.

¹⁰⁸ *Klio*, xxviii. 323 f.

¹⁰⁹ *Riv. indo-greco-ital.* xix. 83 ff.

¹¹⁰ *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xii. 430 f.

¹¹¹ * *Sbornik Filol.* x. 69 ff.

¹¹² *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii. 475 ff.

¹¹³ *REG.* xlix. 101 f.

¹¹⁴ *BCH.* lix. 306, *AJA.* xxxix. 615, *JHS.* lv. 167, *AA.* 1935, 247.

¹¹⁵ *AA.* 1935, 253 f.

¹¹⁶ *ARW.* xxxiii. 282 ff.

¹¹⁷ Two parts, London, 1935.

¹¹⁸ London, 1936.

greatly facilitates its use for the study of the Cretan script (157 ff.). J. Sundwall continues¹¹⁹ his fruitful studies of the linear scripts A and B, based on a personal examination of the materials at Candia: he collects from both systems doubled signs, initial and final signs, prefixes and suffixes, etc., interprets one group of texts as sacrificial inventories, and attempts to determine the phonetic values of some of the signs. His results are summarised and his methods approved¹²⁰ by no less an authority than A. Cuny.

The controversy about the time at which the Greeks first used their alphabet has raged less fiercely than in 1933-4, but has not yet subsided. A Cuny expresses¹²¹ general approval of the view held by Ullman (cf. *JHS*. lv. 177 f.), but R. Carpenter reaffirms his own view (*ibid.* 176 f.) in an article¹²² on 'Letters of Cadmus,' in which he maintains that 'Cadmus' may well have brought letters to Greece about 1400 B.C., but these letters were the late-Helladic variant of the Cretan linear script, of the use of which abundant evidence has come to light on the Theban Cadmea. 'Greece,' he holds, 'was twice literate: once in the late-Helladic period, perhaps from 1400 to 1200 B.C. or a little later, employing a Cretan derivative script, and again, long after, in the late Geometric period, at the time of the renewed contact with the East in the second half of the eighth century, when the most practical of contemporary scripts, the Phoenician alphabet, was encountered, appreciated, and adapted to Hellenic use' (p. 8). The mistake of Herodotus and of later Greek tradition lay in confusing these two periods and assigning to Cadmus the much later Phoenician and archaic Greek writing, of which Herodotus may well have seen in a Theban sanctuary the examples which he incorporated in his history (v. 58 ff.). In this view he claims as a valuable ally the well-known statement of Josephus in the *Contra Apionem*. Elsewhere¹²³ Carpenter supports his view 'that the orally transmitted text of Homer was first reduced to writing in Athens in the sixth century B.C.' by tracing the history of the letters ΘΗ and Ω. No Asiatic Ionic inscription or MS., he argues, can ever have used the letter ΘΗ with an aspirate value or failed to distinguish between long and short E: about 570 came the change from Θ to Η and the introduction of Ω. 'There was no alphabet at all in Ionia before 725 B.C., no extensive use of writing before 650 B.C. and no ... books before the sixth century' (p. 299). A. Mentz, on the other hand, discussing¹²⁴ the *Urgeschichte* of the alphabet, emphasises the unanimity with which Greek tradition assigned to the Phoenicians the invention of the alphabetic script, reviews the respective claims of Phoenicians and Egyptians to have originated an alphabet, and, after laying down certain principles of method and examining the origin and development of some specially significant Phoenician and Greek characters, concludes that the alphabet is not, as Eduard Meyer affirmed, a mere heap of meaningless signs, but that each sign is a symbol precisely corresponding to the traditional meaning, that the order of the alphabet follows a clearly intelligible

¹¹⁹ *Acta Acad. Abo. Hum.* x. 2.

¹²⁰ *REA*. xxxviii. 493.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* xxxvii. 285.

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¹²² *AJPh.* lvi. 5 ff.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 291 ff.

¹²⁴ *RhMus.* lxxxv. 347 ff.

sequence, and that the glory of the creation of the alphabet, probably not later than the sixteenth century, belongs to the Phoenicians. He accepts Herodotus' statement that the Phoenician alphabet was brought by Cadmus (about 1400 B.C.) to Boeotia, whence it spread, side by side with the old *Bilderschrift*, over the whole of Greece, where its later development took place after the abandonment of the pictographic script, until after centuries of struggle the local alphabets were finally overcome by that of Miletus.

II. ATTICA

A long-felt want has been met by J. Kirchner's admirable *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*,¹²⁵ an album of fifty-four plates containing 157 photographic illustrations of Attic inscriptions ranging from the first half of the eighth century B.C. down to the early fifth century A.D., with short bibliographical and palaeographical notes and, in a few cases, transcripts of the texts. One is on bronze, nineteen are painted on earthenware, ten (including Nos. 27-30 and 37, hitherto unpublished) are scratched on ostraca and the remainder are engraved on stone.

The excavation of the Greek Agora at Athens has been carried on with no less thoroughness than speed, and the number of inscriptions discovered in the campaign of 1935 was 1079, bringing the grand total up to 3058, exclusive of 4648 stamped amphora-handles.¹²⁶ In 1936 the inscriptions found numbered 1206.¹²⁷ The surveys by T. L. Shear of the campaigns of 1933,¹²⁸ 1934,¹²⁹ 1935¹³⁰ and 1936¹³¹ briefly indicate the chief discoveries, epigraphical and other, while the publication of the more important texts by B. D. Meritt, S. Dow and J. H. Oliver is marked by that promptitude, fullness and competence which we have learned to expect from these experts.

A. Hess's detailed discussion¹³² of the Opisthodomos as treasury and of the topography of the Acropolis, citing as evidence Attic and Delian inscriptions, leads him to the conclusions that the Opisthodomos was, after the Persian invasion, a separate building at the eastern end of the Acropolis, and that the western *cella* of the Periclean temple was the ἑκατόμπεδος νεώς and the eastern *cella* the παρθενών. In his 'Chalcidic Studies'¹³³ U. Kahrstedt traces the relations of the Chalcidic states to each other and to Athens as reflected in the quota-lists, and shows that, while all the available documents, including coins, speak of them as Olynthians down to 432, the name Chalcidians alone is used after that year, indicating not a league but a unified state: for the first half of the fourth century the sources are mainly literary, though inscriptions play no negligible rôle.

¹²⁵ Berlin, 1935: cf. *ClRev.* xlix. 227 f., *JHS.* lvi. 93 f., *AJPh.* lvii. 225 ff., *AJA.* xl. 174 ff., *PhW.* lvi. 712 ff., *Gnomon.* xii. 293 ff., *D. Litztg.* vi. 2032 ff., *Klio.* xxix. 309 ff., *RA.* ix. 282 ff.

¹²⁶ *Hesperia*, v. 40 ff., *AJA.* xxxix. 447.

¹²⁷ *AA.* 1936, 111.

¹²⁸ *Hesperia*, iv. 311 ff.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 340 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 356 f.

¹³⁰ *Hesperia*, v. 1 ff., *AJA.* xxxix. 173 ff., 437 ff.

¹³¹ *AJA.* xl. 188 ff.: a number of inscriptions are described and illustrated in *Ill. London News* of 18 July, 1936.

¹³² *Klio*, xxviii. 21 ff., criticised by A. von Blumenthal, *RhMus.* lxxxv. 377 ff.

¹³³ *AJPh.* lvii. 416 ff.

[I.G. i².] *Down to 403 B.C.*—The epigraphical harvest reaped in the Athenian Agora during the years under review has been both rich and varied. In addition to new fragments¹³⁴ added to inscriptions previously known, we may note a contemporary text¹³⁵ incised on an eighth-century geometric bowl, illustrating the advanced development of Greek writing thus early, another¹³⁶ on a proto-Attic bowl of the early seventh century, several fragments of a late sixth-century r.-f. stand signed by Euthymides,¹³⁷ a base bearing a dedication¹³⁸ to the Twelve Gods by Leagros, son of Glaucon, dated between 490 and 480, a fragment of the epigram¹³⁹ on the base of the statues of the tyrannicides (probably the later group by Critius rather than the earlier by Antenor), a bronze shield¹⁴⁰ inscribed 'Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ [Πύ]λο, almost certainly one of those hung in the Stoa Poikile to commemorate the capture of Sphacteria in 425 (Paus. i. 15. 4), a proxeny-decree¹⁴¹ in Ionic script dating from 414, five fragments of a tribute-assessment¹⁴² assigned by Meritt to 410, a fifth-century law relative to the maintenance of triremes, a fragment of a decree or *lex sacra* and another of a votive epigram of the same century.¹⁴³ The number of ostraca used for ostracisms had risen¹⁴⁴ by the close of 1935 to 145, including twenty-eight bearing the name of Aristides and fifty-four that of Themistocles; one was given against the pancratiast Callias, son of Didymias, victor at Olympia in 472, whose ostracism is recorded in [Andoc.] iv. 32. In 1936 the total rose to 186.¹⁴⁵ In an inscription¹⁴⁶ on the bottom of a vase, containing the names of Euphronius and Sosias, Shear sees a trace of 'the rivalries existing between the ceramic masters at Athens,' and L. Talcott discusses¹⁴⁷ an ostrakon given against Aristides and forty-one graffiti, including several καλὸς-inscriptions, found in 1935 among the contents of a well.

O. Broneer has edited,¹⁴⁸ with the aid of S. Dow, the epigraphical results of his excavation on the N. slope of the Acropolis. These include two sixth-century dedications to Athena (Nos. 1, 2), one by Hippotherides, the other by a potter named Peicon,¹⁴⁹ some seven other fragments of archaic votives (Nos. 3, 5-10), seven fragments of indeterminate character (Nos. 14-18, 22, 24) and two which seem to relate to the building of the Erechtheum (Nos. 20, 21), together with additions to several known inscriptions¹⁵⁰ and to the naval casualty-list (IG. ii². 1951) usually held to commemorate those who fell in 406 at the battle of Arginusae (No. 23). The pottery found in the same excavation is published¹⁵¹ by M. Z. Pease and includes a number of pieces bearing dedications, artists' or potters'

¹³⁴ See below under i². 32, 329, 338, 843.

¹³⁵ *Hesperia*, v. 33 f.

¹³⁶ *AJA*, xl. 193 f.

¹³⁷ L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, v. 59 ff.

¹³⁸ B. D. Meritt, *Ibid.* v. 358 f.: cf. *JHS*, liv. 185 f., *Hesperia*, iv. 356 f.

¹³⁹ Meritt, *ibid.* 355 ff.: cf. *AJA*, xl. 190, *RA*, viii. 218, *AA*, 1936, 111.

¹⁴⁰ *AJA*, xl. 189 f., *JHS*, lvi. 138 f., *AA*, 1936, 106 ff.

¹⁴¹ Meritt, *Hesperia*, v. 381 f.

¹⁴² *Ibid.* 386 ff.

¹⁴³ J. H. Oliver, *Ibid.* iv. 5 ff., 13 ff., No. 1, 32 ff., No. 3, 53 f., No. 15.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* v. 39 f.: cf. *AJA*, xxxix. 178 f., *Hesperia*, iv. 368 f.

¹⁴⁵ *AA*, 1936, 108.

¹⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, v. 36 f.: cf. 346 f., *AA*, 1936, 108.

¹⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, v. 346 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 148 ff.: cf. *REG*, xlix. 357.

¹⁴⁹ Perhaps the dedicator of IG. i². 635: cf. *JHS*, liv. 186.

¹⁵⁰ See below under i². 191, 324, 374, 659.

¹⁵¹ *Hesperia*, iv. 214 ff.

signatures,¹⁵² καλός-names, etc., of the sixth and fifth centuries. In a cave on the eastern slope of the Acropolis O. Broneer has found and M. Z. Pease has published¹⁵³ a painter's signature scratched on the foot of a kylix.

P. D. Stavropoulos edits¹⁵⁴ a perfectly preserved fifth-century account of loans made to private borrowers from the temple-treasure of Nemesis at Rhamnus. To W. Peek we owe the first edition of a fifth-century dedication¹⁵⁵ from Rhamnus to Ἡρώς Ἀρχηγέτης, an archaic votive epigram¹⁵⁶ to Heracles from Halimus (Trachones) and two fragments of a decree from Sunium relative to harbour-regulations, dating from the early fifth century and passed, in the editor's view, by the Athenians rather than by the Sunians, while C. N. Petrou-Anagnas has discovered¹⁵⁷ the concluding portion of an archaic epigram near Καλύβια τῆς Λαυρεωτικῆς. The appearance of two further fragments of the Athenian decree imposing on the cities of the Empire uniformity of money, weights and measures is noted below (pp. 192, 198).

We now turn to inscriptions already known. A minute examination of the extant fragments of archaic and early classical inscriptions from the Acropolis has enabled A. Raubitschek to unite¹⁵⁸ some of the *disiecta membra* contained in *IG. i²* and in Lolling's *Κατάλογος*, as well as several unpublished fragments in the Epigraphical Museum, so reducing sixty-five inscriptions to twenty-eight. A revised edition of J. Carcopino's standard work¹⁵⁹ on Athenian ostracism, though based mainly on the literary tradition, takes also into account the fast-accumulating evidence of the ancient ostraca. H. Schaefer's contention¹⁶⁰ that it was in the second decade of the Attic συμμαχία that the allies ceased to be partners and became subjects rests in part on the decrees for Erythrae (*i². 10*, see below), Colophon (*i². 14, 15*) and Chalcis (*i². 39*). I have already spoken (p. 168) of Kahrstedt's 'Chalcidic Studies.' The 'Coronea Epigram' (*JHS. lv. 179*) is re-examined¹⁶¹ by W. Peek, who comments on the text and shows that the word εἰσοδον was conjecturally inserted in antiquity, in contravention of the sense and of the στοιχηδόν-arrangement, in place of a word which had become illegible, probably [ἔλυσιν]. On epigraphical and stylistic grounds he rejects the view¹⁶² of A. Pappagiannopoulos-Palaios that the poem is Euripidean and relates to the great Sicilian disaster. J. H. Oliver provides the first adequate publication¹⁶³ of an archaic epitaph from the plain of Marathon. Marked progress has been made in the study of an interesting Eleusinian fragment (*JHS. li. 217 f., liii. 219*): H. T. Wade-Gery adds¹⁶⁴ an unpublished fragment, suggests that *i². 185* may belong to the same document, which with Palaios he assigns to the

¹⁵² Oltus? (p. 230), Ep[ictetus?] (p. 281), Pasiades (p. 291), here first known as a painter: cf. *JHS. liv. 186, Hesperia, v. 272*.

¹⁵³ *Hesperia, v. 272*.

¹⁵⁴ *Εφημ. 1934-5, 128 ff.*: cf. *AJA. xl. 534*.

¹⁵⁵ *Mnem. iv. 16*.

¹⁵⁶ *AM. lix. 35 ff.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ελληνικά, viii. 215 ff.*

¹⁵⁸ *WienAnz. 1936, 29 f.*

¹⁵⁹ *L'ostracisme athénien*, Paris, 1935: cf. *JHS. lv. 254, REG. xlix. 347, RevBelge, xiv. 1179*.

¹⁶⁰ *Hermes, lxxi. 129 ff.*: cf. L. I. Highby, *The Erythrae Decree*, 99 ff.

¹⁶¹ *AM. lix. 252 ff.*

¹⁶² * *Ἀνάπλasis, xlviii (1935), 20*: cf. S. B. Kougeas, *Ελληνικά, viii. 160 f.*

¹⁶³ *Hesperia, v. 230*.

¹⁶⁴ *BSA. xxxiii. 127 ff.*

outbreak of the Archidamian War, and offers a partial and tentative restoration with a fifty-letter line. The same scholar's valuable study¹⁶⁵ of 'a distinctive Attic hand' calls attention to the palaeographical characteristics of these Eleusinian fragments and also of *IG.* i². 61 + 169 + 179, 75, 77, 96, 160, 318 and 944 and *SEG.* iii. 35. The epigram on the stele of Ampharete (*JHS.* lv. 179), assigned¹⁶⁶ by K. Kübler to the fifth century, has been published¹⁶⁷ by W. Peek.

The following texts in *IG.* i², in addition to those already mentioned, have received special notice.

5, 6. Some points in these Eleusinian regulations are discussed by A. Körte¹⁶⁸ and by L. Ziehen.¹⁶⁹

10, 12/13a. H. Schaefer, accepting the text of the 'Erythraean Decree' as given in *IG.*, argues¹⁷⁰ that Erythrae had been in the Delian League since 477, and that the decree, which he dates about 470-68, did not set up a democracy there, but reconstituted the βουλή and redefined the juristic competence of the courts so as to bring the state more completely into subservience to the Athenian will. L. I. Highby re-edits¹⁷¹ the decree, of which he thinks that 12/13a form a part, restoring it on the basis of a forty-seven-letter στοιχηδόν-arrangement, assigns it to the early or middle 460's and regards it as marking the city's first entry into the Delian League: in an appendix (pp. 99 ff.) he answers Schaefer's arguments.

14, 15, 16. Schaefer also discusses¹⁷² the Colophonian and Phaselite Decrees.

19. G. De Sanctis holds¹⁷³ that an Athenian fleet visited Sicily in 454 and detached a squadron to Naples under Diotimus (Timaeus, *fr.* 99): he claims the Eggestaeon alliance as helping to date the Egyptian disaster in 453-2 B.C.

22. J. H. Oliver re-edits,¹⁷⁴ with the addition of a new fragment from the southern slope of the Acropolis, the important Athenian Μιλεσίοις χουγγραφαί of 450-49 B.C.

25. B. D. Meritt and G. R. Davidson date¹⁷⁵ about 424 the decree relating to the priestess of Athena Nike.

32. The prescript of this decree of 451-0 in honour of Sigeum has come to light in the Agora; Meritt, who edits it, suggests¹⁷⁶ that the city may at this time have entered the Delian League.

49. See below under 114.

51, 52. S. Accame rejects¹⁷⁷ Bauer's view that the alliances with Rhegium and Leontini are the renewals of pacts made some ten years earlier, and suggests that the παλαιὰ συμμαχία of Thuc. iii. 86 dates from 454-3.

61. See below under 160.

¹⁶⁵ *BSA.* xxxiii. 122 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *AM.* lix. 25.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 33 f.

¹⁶⁸ *Glotta*, xxv. 140 f.

¹⁶⁹ *Gött. Gel. Anz.* xcvi. 453 f.

¹⁷⁰ *Hermes*, lxxi. 129 ff.

¹⁷¹ *The Erythraean Decree* (*Klio*, Beiheft 36), Leipzig,

1936: cf. *ClRev.* li. 24 f., *AJPh.* lviii. 359 ff.

¹⁷² *Hermes*, lxxi. 137, 139.

¹⁷³ *RivFil.* lxiii. 71 f.

¹⁷⁴ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 177 ff.

¹⁷⁵ *AJPh.* lvi. 65, 71.

¹⁷⁶ *Hesperia*, v. 360 ff.

¹⁷⁷ *RivFil.* lxiii. 73 ff.

63. Meritt and West's edition (cf. *JHS*. lv. 182) of the re-assessment decrees and schedule of 425 B.C. provides a new basis for the discussion of these vitally interesting documents.¹⁷⁸ Meritt and Davidson claim¹⁷⁹ i². 87e as part of this inscription. L. Robert's Carian travels and researches lead him to examine¹⁸⁰ the Carian city-names in the Athenian quota-lists (see below under 191) and in the re-assessment-list: his criticisms and suggestions refer especially to ll. 109-17, 216-7 and 279-80; he identifies the city of the Ὀρανί[ετα] (l. 117) with the Uranium, near Halicarnassus, of Pliny (*NH*. v. 107) and usefully summarises his results in an annotated sketch-map of the Athenian 'allies' on the Carian coast. But interest centres mainly in the problem presented by ll. 3, 34 of Thudippus' first decree, involving the question of the chronology of the τάξις φόρου and its relation to the contemporaneous military and political history of Athens. G. De Sanctis argued¹⁸¹ that the decree was passed in the first prytany instead of in the second, as had been intended, in consequence of the unexpectedly early return of Cleon and his army (l. 34) from Sphacteria; later, however, realising that the surviving letters of the secretary's name (l. 3) militate against this view, he dated¹⁸² Cleon's return in the second prytany, defending his interpretation of the στρατιά as that of Cleon against E. Cavaignac,¹⁸³ who saw in this army the force sent to the Corinthia under Nicias (*Thuc*. iv. 42) and regarded the ταῦτα of ll. 33-4 as referring not to the measures contained in Thudippus' decree, but, more generally, to future measures of which this decree is the preliminary. M. F. McGregor summarises and criticises¹⁸⁴ the views of these scholars; that of De Sanctis he rejects on the ground that Cleon's victory was already won before the bill was drafted, and he accepts Cavaignac's identification of the army with that of Nicias, while disagreeing with his interpretation of ταῦτα and holding that the decree 'was not passed on the wave of enthusiasm which followed Cleon's victory at Pylos' (p. 161), but in view of Nicias' failure to achieve in the Corinthia what Cleon had done on the west coast of the Peloponnese. To this Wade-Gery and Meritt reply¹⁸⁵ at length, claiming that 'no alternative is possible to the numbering of the prytany in line 3 as III, and that in line 34 as II' (p. 390), that the prytany-succession as given by Meritt and West (*Assessment*, 52 ff.) is confirmed (p. 393), that the passage of the decree was delayed by an unforeseen retardation of Cleon's return, and that the 'immediate connection between the assessment of tribute and the defeat of the Spartans on Sphacteria is now capable of something like demonstration' (p. 377). Incidentally they reject (p. 388), as epigraphically inadmissible, Kolbe's proposal¹⁸⁶ to restore Οινεις in ll. 3, 34. Chronological tables¹⁸⁷ added by Cavaignac, McGregor and

¹⁷⁸ To the reviews cited *JHS*. lv. 182, note 125, we may now add *RA*. vi. 114 f., *Cl Journ*. xxxi. 110 f., *Cl Rev*. xlix. 185 f., *Historia*, ix. 517, *REA*. xxxviii. 227 f., *Athenaeum*, xiv. 96 f., *Gnomon*, xii. 296 ff., *Journ Sav*. 1935, 226 f.: cf. *REG*. xlix. 357.

¹⁷⁹ *AJPh*. lvi. 66: cf. Meritt-West, *Athenian Assessment*, 10 f., No. 10.

¹⁸⁰ *Rev Phil*. x. 274 ff.

¹⁸¹ *Riv Fil*. lxiii. 52 ff.: cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 148 f., *AJPh*. lvii. 384 ff.

¹⁸² *Riv Fil*. lxiii. 508 ff.: cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 164, *AJPh*. lvii. 384 ff.

¹⁸³ *REG*. xlviii. 245 ff. (but see *Riv Fil*. lxiii. 508): cf. *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 149 f., *REG*. xlix. 357 f.

¹⁸⁴ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 146 ff.

¹⁸⁵ *AJPh*. lvii. 377 ff.

¹⁸⁶ *Hist. Zeits.* cliii. 568 f.

¹⁸⁷ *REG*. xlviii. 249, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvi. 162 ff., *AJPh*. lvii. 383, 393.

Wade-Gery and Meritt show the approximate dates assigned by them to the events of autumn, 425 B.C.

68, 69. A. B. West made ¹⁸⁸ tentative proposals for the dating and restoration of these two fragmentary decrees relative to Boeotia.

77. Wade-Gery discusses ¹⁸⁹ the 'Prytaneum Decree,' the work of an engraver whose hand reappears in 61 + 169 + 179 and elsewhere (see below under 160); he suggests ¹⁹⁰ the early 430's as the date of the decree and Pericles as its mover.

87. The treaty which gave Athens a naval base at Haliae for the duration of the war is restored and discussed ¹⁹¹ by B. D. Meritt and G. R. Davidson, who assign it to 424-3 B.C. and stress its historical significance (cf. Thuc. iv. 45). The prosopographical evidence for this date is examined ¹⁹² by A. B. West. See above under 63.

91, 92. T. Lenschau rejects ¹⁹³ the commonly accepted date 434 B.C. for the 'Decrees of Callias' in favour of 418-7, advocated by Boeckh and by Beloch, and thinks that the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν were not created but reorganised by decree 91. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt's brief but useful discussion ¹⁹⁴ of the decrees accepts unhesitatingly the earlier date, asserts (against Kolbe) the priority of 91 to 92, claims Pericles as their originator and sees in them a witness to Pericles' financial policy in face of approaching war. S. Accame deals ¹⁹⁵ fully with the documents, holding that 91 marks the institution of the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, and, after a detailed examination of the case for 438-7, concludes that 434-3 is the more likely date. He too regards 91 as prior to 92 and seeks to identify the mover with the Athenian envoy who concluded the Peace of Callias with Persia and the Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta. In the light of the decrees he reviews the financial history of Athens from 454 to 432 B.C.

94. Meritt argues ¹⁹⁶ that in 418-7, the year of this decree, Pandionis and Aigeis must come IX and X in the prytany-succession, shows its value for the study of the calendar and of relations between the civil and the conciliar year, and on its basis restores [ἐπὶ τῇ Πανδιονίδος ἐνάτῃ] in IG. i². 302. 17 (cf. *Ath. Fin. Doc.* 160).

97. See below under 114.

105. G. De Sanctis, discussing the chronology of 410-7 B.C., supports ¹⁹⁷ Wilhelm's assignment of the decree for Archelaus of Macedon to 411-10, though preferring Meritt's restoration of ll. 14-20 to that of Wilhelm.

114. The 'Charter of the Democracy' of 410 B.C. is re-examined ¹⁹⁸ by Wade-Gery, who determines the line-length as sixty-six letters, accepts Wilhelm's attribution ¹⁹⁹ to it of i². 49c while rejecting that of 97c, adds to it an unpublished fragment, transcribes the whole text and analyses the bouleutic oath contained in it.

¹⁸⁸ *AJPh.* lvi. 76.

¹⁸⁹ *BSA.* xxxiii. 123 ff.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 126.

¹⁹¹ *AJPh.* lvi. 65 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 358.

¹⁹² *AJPh.* lvi. 72 ff.

¹⁹³ *Burs.* ccliii. 131 ff.

¹⁹⁴ *Klio.* xxvii. 337 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *RivFil.* lxi. 468 ff.

¹⁹⁶ *AJPh.* lvii. 180 ff.

¹⁹⁷ *RivFil.* lxi. 205 ff.

¹⁹⁸ *BSA.* xxxiii. 113 ff.

¹⁹⁹ *SEG.* iii. 8.

145. West dates ²⁰⁰ this decree for Sotimus of Heraclea (Pontica?) in 424-3, and restores the secretary's name as Νε[οκλείδης] (cf. i². 87. 1, 3 and 25. 2).

160, 169, 179, 185. Wade-Gery restores ²⁰¹ the honorary decree of which 61, 169 and 179 are parts and assigns it to the late 430's on the ground of the script: 160 is in the same distinctive hand and also, probably, 185, which he tentatively identifies as part of the above-mentioned Eleusinian decree.

191 ff. The quota-lists (here cited according to the edition in *SEG*. v) have profited by L. Robert's epigraphical and topographical studies in Caria. He succeeds ²⁰² in locating the Ηυδαῖες, claims ²⁰³ that Κι[λδ]αρ[ῆς] must be written for Κι[λλ]αρ[ῆς] in 4. v. 28 and Ὁρανιῆται ²⁰⁴ for Θρανιῆται in 1. i. 25, 2. i. 19 and 4. v. 27, and restores ²⁰⁵ παρὰ Μ[ίλετον] or παρὰ Μ[υόντα] for παρὰ Μ[ύριναν] in 10. iii. 30. See above under 63. Of first-rate importance is Wade-Gery's rearrangement ²⁰⁶ of the early quota-lists, in which, adding a new fragment to No. 7, he argues that the 'prescript' of this list is really a postscript or summation of No. 1 and its list of names a portion of No. 2 (453-2 B.C.), which thus contains about 163 lines. This would mean the disappearance of No. 7 as a separate list and the acceptance of 6 and 8 as representing successive years, probably 448-7 and 447-6, with the further corollary that the Peace of Callias would fall in the winter 449-8 and that the date of the cleruchy in the Chersonese would demand reconsideration.²⁰⁷ In an appendix (pp. 135 f.) M. F. McGregor adds a new reading of No. 14, and both he and Wade-Gery (pp. 109 ff.) show the adjustments which its acceptance would necessitate in Nos. 2, 7, 9, 10 and 14. Two new fragments of the quota-lists, one belonging to No. 30 and one perhaps to No. 25, have been discovered and published ²⁰⁸ by O. Broneer.

294, 295, 296. See below under 324.

301. G. De Sanctis rejects ²⁰⁹ Ferguson and Meritt's assignment of these accounts to 409-8 and claims them for 411-0: he regards them as confirming the attribution of Thrasyllus' expedition to 410 and of Alcibiades' return to 408.

302. Meritt connects ²¹⁰ the above-mentioned proxeny-decree of 414 and the presence of an Athenian general at Eph[esus], as recorded in l. 73 of this account.

304A, 305. Meritt maintains, ²¹¹ against U. Kahrstedt,²¹² that 'payments from the treasury for any given festival were normally made before the festival date.'

308, 324. G. De Sanctis restores ²¹³ Oineis as the prytany-tribe in 324. 19, and claims that the grant there recorded does not presuppose a

²⁰⁰ *AJPh*. lvi. 72, 74 f.

²⁰¹ *BSA*. xxxiii. 131 ff.

²⁰² *AJA*. xxxix. 338 f.

²⁰³ *BCH*. lviii. 515, *RA*. vi. 163: cf. *RevPhil*. x. 277.

²⁰⁴ *RevPhil*. x. 278 ff.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 275 f.

²⁰⁶ *BSA*. xxxiii. 101 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xxxix. 608, *REG*. xlix. 359.

²⁰⁷ *BSA*. xxxiii. 113.

²⁰⁸ *Hesperia*, iv. 154 ff., Nos. 11, 12.

²⁰⁹ *RivFil*. lxiii. 211 ff.

²¹⁰ *Hesperia*, v. 381 f.

²¹¹ *AJPh*. lvi. 317 ff.

²¹² *Gött. Gel. Anz.* cxvii. 45 ff.

²¹³ *RivFil*. lxiii. 59 f.: cf. Meritt, *AJPh*. lvi. 320 f.

new military expedition, but represents a loan sent to Demosthenes for the defence of Pylos and Sphacteria and for incidental expenses of the campaign. A. Oguse examines²¹⁴ the use of the perfect participle of εἰσέρχομαι in dating-phrases, notably in 324, maintains that it denotes everywhere 'having entered upon office,' and proposes to change ἐσελελυθῆναι (nom. plur.) to ἐσελελυθῆναι (dat. sing. sc. τῇ πρυτανείᾳ) in 294 + 308 (Meritt, *Ath. Fin. Doc.* 85), 295. 11 f., 296. 26 f., 40 and 324. 4 (Meritt, *op. cit.* 136). A new fragment of 324. 61-65, contiguous to Meritt's *d*, has been found by O. Broneer²¹⁵ on the N. slope of the Acropolis.

329, 330. Meritt publishes²¹⁶ three further fragments of the sale-lists of confiscated property, two found in the Agora and the third in the Epigraphical Museum. Two of them (6A, C) belong to the same stone as i². 329, 330, and add to our knowledge of the contents of Alcibiades' palace; the third (6B) cannot be accurately assigned.

338. The discovery in the Agora of two fragments of the accounts of the ἐπιστάται of Pheidias' statue of Athena Promachos leads Meritt to reconstruct²¹⁷ the whole record, of which ten fragments are now identified. The work, occupying nine years, was, in Meritt's view, completed about 450. The document is specially valuable for the study of the Attic calendar and proves, Meritt argues, the introduction of a separate 'conciliar' year about 450 B.C.

374. O. Broneer adds²¹⁸ a new fragment to the Erechtheum-accounts for 408-7.

377. Discussing²¹⁹ the nature of the intercalary year 433-2, Meritt examines and corrects West's treatment (cf. *JHS.* lv. 183) of this account of the Delian amphictions.

659. O. Broneer skilfully identifies²²⁰ a new fragment of this archaic dedication.

763. The 'Marathon Epigrams,' of which Kirchner gives²²¹ an excellent photograph, still evoke interest and debate (cf. *JHS.* lv. 184). J. H. Oliver, their first editor, devotes to the inscription two further articles. In one of these,²²² while accepting Maas's τοῖσζ', he maintains that both poems refer to those who fell at Marathon, defends their attribution to Simonides and Aeschylus respectively, and records a revised restoration of the second epigram suggested by Meritt. In the second²²³ he rejects Wilhelm's view of the monument, which he tentatively reconstructs on the analogy of the tomb of Pythagoras in the Cerameicus. P. Maas conjectures²²⁴ ἀδάμ[αντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμός] (the suggested alternatives are inadmissible) in the second and πεζοὶ τε [καὶ ὀκυπόδον ἐπὶ πόλῳ]ν in the first epigram, and L. Wickert seeks²²⁵ to meet the obvious objection that at Marathon the Athenians had no cavalry (Hdt. vi. 112) by saying that, though they lacked an organised cavalry corps, some Attic nobles may

²¹⁴ *BCH.* lix. 416 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 323.

²¹⁵ *Hesperia*, iv. 158 f.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* v. 382 ff.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 362 ff.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* iv. 161 f., No. 19.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* v. 378 ff.

²²⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 152, No. 4.

²²¹ *Imag. inscr. att.*, No. 18.

²²² *AJPh.* lvi. 193 ff.

²²³ *Hesperia*, v. 225 ff.

²²⁴ *Hermes*, lxx. 235 f.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* 236 ff.

have participated in the battle on horseback. W. Peek criticises ²²⁶ proposals of Maas and of Wilhelm, and C. M. Bowra sums up ²²⁷ the main points in the discussion and offers a conjectural restoration of the first couplet of the Simonidean epigram.

821. C. Picard republishes ²²⁸ with a photograph the herm from Markopoulo bearing a distich, probably by Simonides, to which a second has been added in the literary tradition (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 144).

837. W. Peek re-edits ²²⁹ the text on the herm of Hipparchus recently discovered at Koropi, calling it 'the oldest historical document of Attica.'

843. This fragment of a sacrificial calendar is discussed ²³⁰ by Oliver in connexion with a new fragment unearthed in the Agora.

[*IG.* ii and iii.] *After 403 B.C.*—The issue of a new fascicule ²³¹ of *IG.* ii² still further increases our debt to its indefatigable septuagenarian editor, J. Kirchner. It contains 2458 inscriptions, of which 204 are wholly and four partly new, and covers the wide and interesting field of dedications and honorary inscriptions, sculptors' signatures, oracles and other *tituli sacri*, inscriptions on public and private buildings, and those on theatre-seats. Its standard of accuracy and completeness is worthy of the great series of which it forms a part, and we note with the highest satisfaction that Kirchner is engaged in the preparation of a final fascicule which will contain the epitaphs and so complete the *editio minor* of the Attic inscriptions. Yet even such a work cannot attain finality: consolidating positions already won, it encourages and facilitates further progress in study and discovery, such as that recorded in the following pages.

The phenomenal success of the American excavations of the Agora brings to light new inscriptions, not by the score, but by the hundred. T. L. Shear's reports (see above, p. 168) briefly indicate the interest of some of these, such as the tiles,²³² sacred *μητρι θεῶν*, found near the *Μητροῶν*, a batch of 45 leaden tablets²³³ bearing curses, one of which, dating from the third century A.D., has been published²³⁴ by G. W. Elderkin, a dedication²³⁵ of a fully stocked library about A.D. 100 to Athena Polias, Trajan and Athens, an official Attic dry measure of 400–375 B.C. marked *δημόσιον* and stamped with the public seal, and a standard weight engraved *μνᾶ*,²³⁶ the monument²³⁷ of an athlete Aristomenes, a fourth-century dicast's ticket,²³⁸ the impressive herm²³⁹ of Moeragenes, *ἐπώνυμος τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος φυλῆς*, two fourth-century decrees of the Salaminians and one of the tribe Aiantis, locating the Eurysaceum, the fourth-century epigram on the striking tomb of Athenocles and the leaden seal of John, Bishop of Athens in A.D. 1180–2,²⁴⁰ a base²⁴¹ signed by the sculptor Praxi-

²²⁶ *Hermes*, lxx. 462 f.

²²⁷ *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides* (Oxford, 1936), 355 ff.

²²⁸ *REA.* xxxvii. 9 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 361.

²²⁹ *Hermes*, lxx. 461 ff.

²³⁰ *Hesperia*, iv. 30 ff.

²³¹ *Pars* iii, fasc. 1, Berlin, 1935: cf. *JHS.* lvi. 256, *PhW.* lvi. 380 ff., *Gnomon*, xi. 625 ff.

²³² *Hesperia*, iv. 322: cf. *JHS.* liv. 185.

²³³ *Hesperia*, iv. 325.

²³⁴ *Ibid.* v. 43 ff.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 330 ff.

²³⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 346 ff.: cf. *JHS.* liv. 185.

²³⁷ *Hesperia*, iv. 382 ff.

²³⁸ *AJA.* xxxix. 444.

²³⁹ *Ibid.* 443 f., *Hesperia*, v. 16 f.: cf. *JHS.* lv. 151, *AA.* 1935, 170.

²⁴⁰ *AJA.* xl. 196, 202 f.: cf. *AA.* 1936, 111.

²⁴¹ *AA.* 1936, 111.

teles and the library-notice ²⁴² βυβλίον οὐκ ἐξελεγχθήσεται ἐπεὶ ὠμόσαμεν ἀνυγήσεται ἀπὸ ὥρας πρώτης μέχρι ἑκτης. The publication of the most important of the new finds proceeds with a promptitude and an ability which deserve the warmest commendation. The 33 texts of this period edited ²⁴³ by J. H. Oliver comprise a new portion of a sacrificial calendar (ii². 1357) of the early fourth century (No. 2: see below), five fragments of state decrees (Nos. 4-8) and one of a tribal decree (No. 9), four prytany-lists (Nos. 10-13) of the late second century A.D., of which one is a fragment of ii². 1788, a boundary of the sanctuary of Δημήτηρ Ἀζησία (No. 14), twelve dedications and honorary inscriptions (Nos. 16-27), ²⁴⁴ including ii². 3728, and nine epitaphs (Nos. 28-36), of which the first and the last were already known (ii. 1886, iii. 1976). S. Dow, an outstanding master of the art of 'architectural epigraphy,' unites ²⁴⁵ fourteen fragments (four in the Epigraphical Museum, one in Attalus' Stoa and nine from the Agora) of a monumental stele bearing five decrees of 128-7 and 127-6 B.C. and a list of the ἐφηβοί of the former year (No. 37) and reconstructs (No. 38) the monument of the athlete Menodorus (see below, p. 181). B. D. Meritt deals ²⁴⁶ in a long and valuable report with three inscriptions, (a) a perfectly preserved decree of 226-5 in honour of Prytanis of Carystus, the peripatetic philosopher and legislator (Polyb. v. 93), to which P. Roussel ²⁴⁷ and L. Robert ²⁴⁸ add some textual comments and corrections; (b) an equally well-preserved decree in praise of six taxiarchs who represented the state at the Lebadean festival of the Βασίλεια in the archonship of Urias, dated by Meritt in 283-2, and (c) a fragmentary record of the πωληταί dealing with receipts from the sale of houses and bearing the archon-names of Urias and his predecessor Telocles. To the chronological significance of these texts I return below (p. 182). Meritt also edits ²⁴⁹ ten further inscriptions of this period from the Agora, namely, a fragment (No. 8) of the inventory of the treasures of Athena and the other gods in 395-4 contiguous to ii². 1395c, two fragments (No. 9) recording the sales of confiscated properties by the πωληταί, two further portions (No. 10) of a fourth-century list of the leases of mines and sales of sequestered property, belonging to the same stele as ii². 1582, the prescripts of decrees of 332-1, 301, 267 and 178(?) B.C. (Nos. 11, 12, 14, 16), part of a third-century decree (No. 13) praising an archon and his πάρεδροι, a stele and three fragments (No. 15) bearing a decree of 195 B.C. honouring Cephisodorus, πεπολιτευμένος πρὸς τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδωροδοκῆτως . . . τεθηκὼς δὲ καὶ νόμους συμφέροντας ἐφ' ὁμονοίαι πάντων Ἀθηναίων, and a new reading (No. 17) of the honorary decree (*Hesperia*, iii. 18 ff.) of 168 B.C. for Calliphanes, who brought to Athens news of the Roman victory at Pydna. S. Dow proves ²⁵⁰ by discoveries in the Agora that Panathenaic prize-amphorae continued to be made in the second century

²⁴² *Hesperia*, v. 41 f.: cf. *AA.* 1936, 112, *RA.* viii. 274 f., J. Kirchner, *Zentralb. f. Bibliothekswesen*, liii. 596 f.

²⁴³ *Hesperia*, iv. 5 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 356.

²⁴⁴ For No. 21 cf. *Hesperia*, iv. 330.

²⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, iv. 71 ff., 90: cf. G. Daux, *BCH.* lix.

²⁴⁶ f.

²⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, iv. 525 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 356.

²⁴⁸ *BCH.* lix. 520 f.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 436 f.

²⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, v. 389 ff.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.* 50 ff.

B.C. and thinks that the series probably went on into Roman times. O. Broneer has brought to light²⁵¹ on the N. slope of the Acropolis, in addition to the archaic inscriptions mentioned above (p. 169) and numerous fragments too mutilated to be of much value, parts of four honorary decrees (Nos. 34, 36-8), the record of an honour paid by the *συνέφηβοι* to a *ταμίας* (No. 43), and valuable additions (No. 45) to ii². 1076 (see below): he also edits²⁵² an ephebe-list of the early third century A.D. engraved on a herm previously found by him (*Hesperia*, ii. 411 f.) and an unpublished fragment in the Epigraphical Museum. H. A. Thompson's report on the excavation of the Pnyx and Thesmophorion contains²⁵³ several dedications to Ὑφιστος, a leaden *defixio* and fragments of tiles stamped *δημοσία* from the city wall. A fragmentary decree of 304 B.C., discovered by Oliver on the S. slope of the Acropolis and published²⁵⁴ by Meritt, not only shows that three decrees in praise of foreign states (ii². 703, 796, 797) belong to 305-4 and not, as previously argued²⁵⁵ by Meritt, to 250-49, but also throws new light on the chronological problem of the seventh Metonic cycle. By a veritable *tour de force* Oliver pieces together²⁵⁶ fifty fragments, sixteen of them hitherto unpublished, of a massive triangular base, once crowned by a tripod, erected in the Asclepieum in the first half of the third century A.D. by the grandson of the Stoic philosopher Sarapion, whom it commemorates; on its three faces are engraved (a) a paean composed about 174-5 by Sarapion, following a prose preamble and a philosophical poem due to the grandson, (b) a list of the chorus which chanted the paean, and (c) an old paean of Sophocles, sadly mutilated, which was presumably sung on the same occasion.

W. Peek publishes²⁵⁷ four epigrams, one of them (No. 6) the epitaph of a hound and another (No. 8) commemorating a torch-racer, in the Epigraphical Museum, and A. D. Keramopoullos a dedication²⁵⁸ from Athens, while G. Karo records²⁵⁹ the addition to the National Museum of the grave-stele of one Aristides. Peek also edits²⁶⁰ two fourth-century epigrams from Peiraeus (Nos. 1, 3), the inscription²⁶¹ at the foot of a stele from Rhamnus containing an honorary decree, now lost, of the members of a naval expedition in the third century B.C., the latter part²⁶² of a decree of οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν παροίκων Ῥαμνοῦντι and a ὄρος χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας πεπραμένων ἐπὶ λύσει from Iraklion. Several fragmentary texts²⁶³ help to fix the site of the temple of Artemis Munychia; at Sepolia, N.W. of Athens, an epitaph has been copied²⁶⁴ by S. B. Kougeas, and at Zoster a number of askoi inscribed ἱερόν have come to light.²⁶⁵ C. Petrou-Anagnas records²⁶⁶ an epitaph, two boundary-stones and a further ὄρος χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας from near Καλύβια τῆς Λαυρεωτικῆς, and at Eleusis I.

²⁵¹ *Hesperia*, iv. 166 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 357.

²⁵² *Hesperia*, iv. 186 ff.

²⁵³ *Ibid.* v. 154 ff., 181, 194 ff.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 201 ff.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 553 ff.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.* v. 91 ff.

²⁵⁷ *Mnem.* iv. 8 ff.

²⁵⁸ *Εφημ.* 1934-5, παρ. 16.

²⁵⁹ *AA.* 1936, 119.

²⁶⁰ *Mnem.* iv. 1 ff., 4 ff.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* 16.

²⁶² *AM.* lix. 41 f.

²⁶³ *AA.* 1936, 123: cf. *BCH.* lix. 252, note 2.

²⁶⁴ *Ἑλληνικά*, vii. 36.

²⁶⁵ *AA.* 1936, 123.

²⁶⁶ *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 213 ff.

Threpsiades has discovered ²⁶⁷ four $\delta\phi\alpha\iota$ of the fourth or third century B.C., of a road, a sanctuary and two mortgaged properties. An important article ²⁶⁸ by E. Ziebarth contains a large number of *defixiones* from Attica, Boeotia and Euboea (for the most part new, though a few had been imperfectly published before) with a wealth of valuable comment and critical notes (pp. 1028, 1049 f.) on texts of this class already known: attention may be drawn to a political curse (No. 1) of about 323 B.C. containing about 100 names, to an imprecation (No. 2) levelled at Callistratus, probably the famous statesman of that name, and to Ziebarth's discussion of *Prozessflüche* (pp. 1028 ff.).

The following further discussions of texts in *IG. ii*² are worthy of note.

8. A. B. West suggests ²⁶⁹ [$\Pi\alpha\nu\delta\iota\omicron\nu$]ις and Σ[ιμων] for tribe and secretary in the prescript of this decree honouring Heracleides of Clazomenae.

43. J. Hatzfeld investigates ²⁷⁰ the relations between Jason of Pherae and Athens, and concludes that his name is wrongly restored in *B15* as a member of the Second Athenian League.

116. The alliance of 361-0 between Athens and Thessaly is discussed ²⁷¹ by H. D. Westlake.

207. H. W. Parke restores ²⁷² the decree for the Persian satrap Orontes, examines its historical significance and assigns it to 348 B.C.

236. A. Momigliano's essay on the κοινή εἰρήνη from 386 to 338 B.C. includes ²⁷³ a discussion of this treaty between Philip II and Athens, which refers, he argues, to the κοινή εἰρήνη, and not to the συμμαχία. Westlake examines ²⁷⁴ the document from the Thessalian standpoint.

411. A. Wilhelm restores and interprets ²⁷⁵ this decree as regulating a mining concession of about 330; his views are accepted and developed ²⁷⁶ by E. Schönbauer in an important study of the development of mining law.

703, 796, 797. B. D. Meritt shows ²⁷⁷ by means of a newly discovered fragment that these decrees belong to 305-4; we thus gain four calendar-equations for that year, which throw light on the chronological problems of the seventh Metonic cycle.

953. G. Daux deals ²⁷⁸ with the date and the historical interest of this decree for a friend of King Eumenes II.

971. L. Robert restores ²⁷⁹ [$\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\omega\nu$] in place of [$\text{'}\Theta\rho\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\iota\omega\nu$] in l. 30 of this decree.

991, 1032, 1960, 2453 are assigned ²⁸⁰ by S. Dow to a monumental stele erected in honour of the ephebes of 128-7 B.C.

1076. O. Broneer adds ²⁸¹ four new pieces to the nine known fragments of this decree dealing with divine honours accorded to Julia Domna, and

²⁶⁷ Δελτ. xiv, παρ. 31 f.

²⁶⁸ *SBBerl.* 1934, 1022 ff.: cf. *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* xi. 83 f., *Gnomon*, xii. 557 ff., *Πρακτ. 'Ακ. 'Αθ.* ix. 132 ff.,

* *Investigación y Progreso*, ix. 134 ff.

²⁶⁹ *AJPh.* lvi. 72 ff.

²⁷⁰ *REA.* xxxvi. 441 ff.

²⁷¹ *Thessaly in the Fourth Century*, 154 f.

²⁷² *Proc. R. Irish Acad.* xliii C 12.

²⁷³ *RivFil.* lxii. 498 ff.

²⁷⁴ *Op. cit.* 213 ff.

²⁷⁵ *APF.* xi. 206 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 358.

²⁷⁶ *ZSav.* lv. 185 ff.

²⁷⁷ *Hesperia*, v. 201 ff.: cf. iv. 544.

²⁷⁸ *BCH.* lix. 224 ff.: cf. *Hesperia*, iv. 91.

²⁷⁹ *BCH.* lix. 198, note 1.

²⁸⁰ *Hesperia*, iv. 71 ff.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* 178 ff.

shows how these necessitate a radical change of the restoration hitherto accepted.

1126. G. Daux makes ²⁸² many corrections and suggestions for the text of this Amphictyonic law of 380-79 B.C.; in l. 14 he reads τὸ ἔθνος for τὸς ὄνος.

1168. Wilhelm corrects ²⁸³ this decree of a tribe relative to the lease of its property.

1172. M. Guarducci re-examines ²⁸⁴ this decree, now in the Louvre, relating to the administration of the deme Plothea and its Heracles-cult.

1241. Wilhelm discusses ²⁸⁵ some problems raised by this decree of the phratry of the Δυσαεῖς.

1357. J. H. Oliver publishes ²⁸⁶ an important new fragment of this sacred calendar and restudies the portions already known. The document, which he dates shortly after 403-2 B.C., written in Ionic script, is a 're-edition of the sacred Laws of Solon, the sacred calendar on the preparation of which Nicomachus and others were engaged after the adoption of the decree proposed by Teisamenus.' Incidentally Oliver re-examines the terms κύρβεις and ἄξονες in the light of the literary and archaeological evidence. A. Körte discusses ²⁸⁷ some passages in the new fragment which are important for the Eleusinian cult, especially ll. 65-72, where he finds a number of Eleusinian *Landesheroen*: he suggests new restorations of ll. 30, 82, 83.

1395. New readings in this inventory are made ²⁸⁸ by Meritt and A. M. Woodward.

1575. E. Ziebarth calls attention ²⁸⁹ to Wilhelm's restoration of l. 40 of this *catalogus paterarum argentearum* overlooked in *IG. ii*².

1579. This *tabula poletarum* is re-interpreted ²⁹⁰ by Meritt.

1788. Oliver re-edits ²⁹¹ this prytany-list, a fragment of which has been found in the Agora.

1951. See above, p. 169.

1960. See under 991.

2153. L. Robert interprets ²⁹² this fragmentary list, explaining [ἄ]κροά[ματα] as 'artists' and ἀρχαιολό[γος] as 'mime' and substituting [π]αρῳδοί for [κίθ]αρῳδοί.

2453. See under 991.

2493, 2494. A. Wilhelm deals ²⁹³ with these leases of sacred properties at Sunium.

3091. The famous choregic inscription of Aexone (cf. *JHS.* li. 218 f., liii. 219 f., lv. 180) is discussed by P. Mazon,²⁹⁴ who makes it refer to victories won in different contests at Athens; the two successful Αἰξωνεῖς, probably brothers, erect a common monument in their deme. The 'Alcmeon' and

²⁸² *RA.* v. 205 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 364.

²⁸³ *APF.* xi. 205.

²⁸⁴ *Historia*, ix. 205 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 362.

²⁸⁵ *APF.* xi. 200 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 358.

²⁸⁶ *Hesperia*, iv. 5 ff., 19 ff.

²⁸⁷ *Glotta*, xxv. 134 ff.

²⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, v. 390.

²⁸⁹ *SBBel.* 1934, 1027, note 1.

²⁹⁰ *Hesperia*, iv. 570 f.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* 43 ff.

²⁹² *REG.* xlix. 235 ff., 251 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 287.

²⁹³ *APF.* xi. 203 ff.

²⁹⁴ *Mél. Navarre*, 297 ff.

'Alphesiboea' he dates after 434, and the 'Telephea,' a tetralogy of which the third member was probably the Ἀχαιῶν Σύλλογος, must be still later. In a masterly review of *IG. ii². 3. 1*, A. Körte discusses²⁹⁵ this text, about which he agrees in the main with Mazon, and others which have been held to refer to the Country Dionysia. M. Guarducci modifies²⁹⁶ her previous view, dates the record to the last decade of the fifth century (Körte unhesitatingly assigns it to the fourth), and holds that it relates to four victories won on different occasions between 457 and about 420 in the theatre at Aexone: dramas already exhibited at Athens might, she claims, be later represented in the country theatres.

3147, 3150. Dow unites²⁹⁷ these two portions of the monument erected to the Athenian wrestler and pancratiast Menodorus, adds several fragments discovered in the Agora and one in the Epigraphical Museum, and restores the whole in the light of the better preserved companion-monument at Delos (*BCH. xxxi. 432*).

3182. W. Dörpfeld argues²⁹⁸ that even in A.D. 66, the date attested by this dedicatory inscription for Nero's proskenion in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, there was no stage there. H. Bulle and A. Rehm discuss and restore²⁹⁹ the inscription and collect the evidence, exclusively epigraphical, for the life and career of Tiberius Claudius Novius, whom they regard as the dedicator of the new *scenae frons*.

3287, 3410, 3427, 3428. These statue-bases of Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Ariobarzanes II and III of Cappadocia are described³⁰⁰ by E. Fiechter.

3449. G. H. Macurdy uses³⁰¹ this inscription as evidence for Julia Berenice.

3548a. Wilhelm restores³⁰² this honorary inscription with the aid of 3546.

3728. This base, rediscovered in the Agora, is more correctly read³⁰³ by Oliver.

3775. The statue-base of Asty[damas] in the Theatre is described³⁰⁴ by Fiechter.

4817. C. N. Petrou-Anagnas gives a new reading³⁰⁵ of this dedication to Colaenis.

4997. F. von Hiller re-edits³⁰⁶ this offering of a patient healed in the Athenian Asclepieum.

5021-5164. The dedication of the new βῆμα θεήτρον by Phaedrus and the inscriptions on the seats in the Theatre are republished³⁰⁷ by Fiechter.

The second of the five decrees of the deme Teithras first edited by H. Möbius (*AM. xlix. 1 ff.*) is carefully examined and brilliantly restored³⁰⁸ by Wilhelm. W. B. Dinsmoor, in an article³⁰⁹ on 'Demetrius Poliorcetes and the Athenian Calendar,' discusses the significance of a decree of

²⁹⁵ *Gnomon*, xi. 632 ff.

²⁹⁶ *RivFil.* lxiv. 283 ff.

²⁹⁷ *Hesperia*, iv. 81 ff.

²⁹⁸ *Mél. Navarre*, 159 ff.

²⁹⁹ E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen*, iii. 60 ff.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.* i. 74 f., iii. 42 f.

³⁰¹ *AJPh.* lvi. 246 ff.

³⁰² *WienAnz.* 1935, 83 ff.

³⁰³ *Hesperia*, iv. 55 ff.

³⁰⁴ *Op. cit.* i. 86 f.

³⁰⁵ *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 228 ff.

³⁰⁶ *ARW.* xxxii. 367 ff.

³⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* i. 46, 65 ff.

³⁰⁸ *APF.* xi. 189 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 361.

³⁰⁹ *Hesperia*, iv. 303 ff.

307-6 B.C. (*Hesperia*, ii. 398 ff.), and W. Peek uses ³¹⁰ two recently discovered epigrams from Peiraeus to restore and explain three metrical epitaphs,³¹¹ revises ³¹² an epigram (ii. 4303) from Rhamnus imperfectly known, and calls attention ³¹³ to a couplet on a fourth-century grave relief at Copenhagen. The excavation of the Agora has recovered ³¹⁴ a part of ii. 1886 and the whole of iii. 1976, both prose epitaphs.

J. E. Powell publishes ³¹⁵ P. M. Paciaudi's account of Fourmont's sketch purporting to give the epitaph of the historian Thucydides, S. Witkowski attributes ³¹⁶ the fluctuations in the numbers of ταμίαι of Athena and those of the 'other gods' to the impoverishment of Athens due to political events, especially wars, E. Vanderpool argues ³¹⁷ from literary references and from the find-spots of prytany-decrees of the third and second centuries B.C. that the πρυτανικόν is the Tholos and its precinct, and M. Guarducci makes abundant use ³¹⁸ of epigraphical evidence to determine the character of the Attic ὀργεῶνες and θιασῶται.

Of the articles already mentioned several, such as that of Meritt ³¹⁹ on the seventh Metonic cycle and that of Dinsmoor ³²⁰ on Demetrius Poliorcetes, are important for the chronology of the end of the fourth century B.C., while others ³²¹ throw light on the early years of the second. But it is for the third century that the difficulties are notoriously most serious and the views of scholars most widely divergent. As before (*JHS*. lv. 187 ff.), I deal with the Delphian and the Athenian problems together, since they are so closely interlocked. T. Lenschau gives a critical survey ³²² of some recent opinions: P. Treves' studies ³²³ of Antigonos Doson, in which the main chronological difficulties of the third century are discussed, I do not know. L. Robert, approaching the problem from the side of the decree of Smyrna (identified as such by Robert and by Segre) recognising the Aetolian Soteria, emphasises ³²⁴ the necessity of reading βασιλέα Σ[έλευκον] in l. 21 and thus of dating the decree after Seleucus II's accession in 247 B.C., and, after attacking the views of Segre, Ferguson and Kolbe, concludes that in all probability all five extant decrees of recognition fall in Seleucus' reign, in which, therefore, Polyeuctus' archonship must be placed. S. Dow, with remarkable originality, applies ³²⁵ three new kinds of evidence, (a) that of the 'disjointed style' of script, (b) that of the pattern followed in engraving preambles of decrees, and (c) that based on the designs of the four Salaminian stelae (*IG*. ii². 1317, 1317b, *SEG*. ii. 9, 10), to prove the impossibility of dating Polyeuctus about 277, leaving unsettled the decision between Ferguson's two alternatives, 255-4 and 243-2 B.C. Finally, Meritt finds ³²⁶ in a decree of 226-5 a date-equation which proves that the

³¹⁰ *Mnem.* iv. 1 f., 5.

³¹¹ *IG*. ii. 4298, 'Εφημ. 1913, 205, *IG*. iii. 1394.

³¹² *Mnem.* iv. 6 ff.

³¹³ *Ibid.* 3 f.

³¹⁴ *Hesperia*, iv. 65 f., 69 f.

³¹⁵ *JHS*. lv. 81 ff.

³¹⁶ *Mél. Navarre*, 433 ff.

³¹⁷ *Hesperia*, iv. 470 ff.

³¹⁸ *RivFil.* lxiii. 332 ff.

³¹⁹ *Hesperia*, v. 201 ff.: cf. iv. 544.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 303 ff.

³²¹ E.g., S. Dow, *Ibid.* iv. 91, Meritt, *Ibid.* v. 419 ff. *IG*. ii². 785 is dated (pp. 425, 427) in 196-5 and 786 perhaps even later (pp. 427 f.).

³²² *Burs.* ccliii. 155 ff., 165.

³²³ * *Athenaeum*, xii. 381 ff., xiii. 22 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 347.

³²⁴ *REA.* xxxviii. 5 ff.

³²⁵ *AJA.* xl. 57 ff.

³²⁶ *Hesperia*, iv. 525 ff.

count of days with μετ' εικάδης in the third decad of the month was reckoned backward from the last day, not forward from the 20th, though the latter method still occasionally appears. The recognition of this fact does away with many supposed irregularities in the prytany-arrangement, and Meritt reconsiders the date-clauses of many decrees from 325-4 B.C. to A.D. 116-17, making frequent restorations, corrections and chronological attributions which cannot be noted individually here.³²⁷ Two further inscriptions from the Agora reopen the discussion of the third-century archon-problem, the results of which are set forth (pp. 584 f.) in a table of archons from 291 to 231, in which Polyeuctus is assigned to 255-4 B.C.—'à tort, sans doute' in Roussel's view.³²⁸

III. THE PELOPONNESE

[*IG. iv.*] W. Peek publishes³²⁹ two archaic inscriptions of AEGINA, a retrograde dedication by Thales to Θεβασσίμαχος (regarded by Peek as a hero or the ἐπικλησις of a god) and a slab bearing the words Διὸς Πασίο [κ]αὶ Σοτέρου[ς], together with a sixth-century epitaph from Crommyon (*Ἀγιοὶ Θεόδωροι) in CORINTHIA. Of less interest are the epigraphical finds made at Corinth—the inscription on a bronze kettle of the Byzantine age, published³³⁰ by F. O. Waagé and more fully³³¹ by G. R. Davidson, and those on frieze and architrave blocks³³² dating from 325-300 B.C.—but we await eagerly A. Orlandos' publication of the inscribed wooden tablets³³³ of about 600 B.C. found in a cave near Pitsá, some 44 km. west of Corinth.

Twenty inscribed fragments, five of them archaic, discovered in 1924 at Phlius, are edited³³⁴ by R. L. Scranton; three of these may well belong to the boustrophedon text *IG. iv.* 439, while a fourth contains regulations of a sanctuary inscribed in Augustus' reign. In his historical discussion of the κοινὴ εἰρήνη from 386 to 338 B.C. A. Momigliano dates³³⁵ the well-known Argive fragment (*iv.* 556) in 371-0, and not in 362-1 B.C. W. Peek re-edits³³⁶ two fifth-century dedications of HERMIONE, with sculptor's signatures added (*iv.* 683-4), copied by Fourmont and brought to light again in A. Philadelphus' excavation of the precinct of Poseidon. Yet more important is Peek's discovery³³⁷ of a well-preserved portion of the Hermionean copy of an arbitral frontier-demarcation between Hermione and Epidaurus, enabling us to restore more satisfactorily the extant fragments of the Epidaurian copy (*iv.*². 75). M. Guarducci shows³³⁸ that the forty-three names preserved in a third-century text of Hermione (*iv.* 729) belong, at least in the main, to men from western Crete: at first she thought that they may have been among the 500 Cretans sent to Philip and the Achaeans in 219 B.C. (Polyb. *iv.* 55), but later she suggested³³⁹ as an alternative date one of the years 273-70.

³²⁷ They will, I hope, be registered in *SEG. x.*

³²⁸ *REG. xlix.* 346.

³²⁹ *AM. lix.* 42 ff.

³³⁰ *AJA. xxxix.* 87 ff.

³³¹ *Ibid.* 372.

³³² *Ibid.* 58, 65.

³³³ *Ibid.* 5, 134, *BCH. lix.* 258 f.

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³³⁴ *Hesperia*, v. 235 ff.

³³⁵ *RivFil. lxii.* 482, 494 ff.

³³⁶ *AM. lix.* 45 ff.

³³⁷ *Ibid.* 47 ff.

³³⁸ *Historia*, ix. 69 ff.

³³⁹ *RivFil. lxiii.* 506 f.

M. Mitsos publishes³⁴⁰ a rock-cut inscription Ἡρακλέος from the acropolis of Asine and a dedication to Athena found at Lessa, between the Argive and Epidaurian territories. He gives³⁴¹ us also seven new texts from the Asclepieum of EPIDAUROS, one of which is a fragmentary list of θεαροδόκοι, another a basis inscribed Διὸς μοιραγέτα, and a third a dedication of the third or fourth century A.D. Ἀσκληπιοῦ παισίν, engraved on the back of iv². 546, together with new readings and restorations³⁴² of the summary-list of proxeny-decrees (iv². 96) and a similar list,³⁴³ hitherto unpublished, of πρόξενοι and θεαροδόκοι dating from about 225 B.C. F. Robert discusses³⁴⁴ the purpose of the Epidaurian Tholos. W. Peek's discovery (see above) of the Hermionean duplicate of iv². 75 enables him to give a fresh restoration³⁴⁵ of this important arbitration-record and to discuss anew the topographical problems raised. R. Nehrbass devotes a detailed monograph³⁴⁶ to the speech and style of the Ιάματα (iv². 121 ff.), in which some new readings are proposed (p. 2).

[IG. v.] The excavation conducted at SPARTA by A. Adamantiou has revealed a semi-metrical epitaph³⁴⁷ of the Roman period. J. Jüthner publishes³⁴⁸ an inscribed marble discus from Amyclae, F. von Hiller offers³⁴⁹ an interpretation of the puzzling name Τεβύκιος found in an archaic name-list of Geronthrae (v. 1. 1133), and G. Klaffenbach a corrected reading and explanation³⁵⁰ of an honorary inscription from Gythium (*ibid.* 1169), now in the Museum at Baden-Baden.

M. Guarducci's examination³⁵¹ of the cults of Andania in MESSENIA, on which G. De Sanctis makes some interesting comments,³⁵² uses the available epigraphical evidence, notably that of the great mystery-inscription (*ibid.* 1390). N. Valmin publishes³⁵³ two votive offerings to Pamisus, god of the like-named river, found at his temple near Ἅγιος Φλώρος, and a fragment of a late honorary inscription from the acropolis of Coron, which shows that the medieval and modern Coron lies on the site of the ancient Corone, so settling a disputed topographical problem.

Five stamped tile-fragments from the temple at Phigalea or buildings in the precinct are published³⁵⁴ by K. A. Rhomaios, and an epitaph from Heraea by A. Philadelphus.³⁵⁵

[IG. vi.] M. Guarducci argues³⁵⁶ that the epigram τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι, commemorating the victory of Sparta and her allies at Tanagra in 457, which Pausanias saw and copied (v. 10. 4) at OLYMPIA, was not the same as the Corinthian copy which has survived (*I. v. Ol.* 253). The chief evidence for the contest of the Σεβαστά at Naples, discussed³⁵⁷ by R. M. Geer,

³⁴⁰ Ἑλληνικά, viii. 15 ff.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.* 7 ff.

³⁴² *Ibid.* 5 ff.

³⁴³ Ἑφημ. 1933, παρ. 10 ff.

³⁴⁴ REG. xlvii, p. xlvii f.

³⁴⁵ AM. lix. 49 f.

³⁴⁶ Sprache u. Stil d. Iamata von Epidaurus (Philol. Suppl. xxvii. 4), 1935: cf. ClPhil. xxxi. 90 ff., Gnomon, xii. 217 f., RivFil. lxiv. 211 f., * Listy fil. lxiii. 318.

³⁴⁷ Προκτ. 1934, 20, 126: cf. AA. 1935, 202.

³⁴⁸ ÖJh. xxix. 40.

³⁴⁹ Glotta, xxv. 116 f.

³⁵⁰ Hermes, lxxi. 118 ff.

³⁵¹ Stud. e mat. di storia d. religioni, x. 174 ff.: cf. AJA. xxxix. 382 f.

³⁵² RivFil. lxiii. 421 f.

³⁵³ Bull. Soc. R. des Lettres de Lund, 1933-4, ii. 13 f., 1934-5, i. 43 ff.: cf. Gnomon, xiii. 79.

³⁵⁴ Ἑφημ. 1933, 14, 16.

³⁵⁵ Δελτ. xiv. 69. For Aliphera see AA. 1936, 136.

³⁵⁶ Rendic. Pont. Acc. xii. 125 ff.

³⁵⁷ Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. lxvi. 208 ff.

is a fragment of its regulation unearthed during the excavation of Olympia (*ibid.* 56). J. Jüthner examines afresh ³⁵⁸ an inscribed discus dated A.D. 241 (*ibid.* 240 f.).

IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE

[*IG.* vii.] The upper part of an early fifth-century stele bearing six names, apparently of heroes, found at MEGARA and now preserved at Eleusis, is published ³⁵⁹ by W. Peek together with ten Megarian epitaphs, to which two are added ³⁶⁰ by I. Threpsiades.

A. D. Keramopoulos edits ³⁶¹ 189 texts from various sites in BOEOTIA, copied by him in the Museum at Thebes twenty-five or more years ago. Of these 177 are epitaphs (63 of them dated by the editor before 400 B.C.), most of which were found in Thebes and its environs, a considerable number at Thespieae, ten at Acraephia, two (Nos. 32, 77) at Anthedon, and one (No. 66) at Plataea, while the provenance of a large number is unrecorded: among the remainder we may note a dedication and an honorary inscription for Hadrian set up at Plataea (Nos. 179 f.), the inscribed base of a statue representing a patron of the Thespian δῆμος (No. 181), ³⁶² two Theban votives (Nos. 182, 185) and a revised reading of the inscription (vii. 2509) on the base of a statue of an ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν erected by τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλαταιὰς συνιόντων (No. 183), and two dedications with sculptors' signatures of unknown provenance (Nos. 188 f.). Two interesting Boeotian *defixiones*, now in the National Museum at Athens, are re-edited ³⁶³ by E. Ziebarth. A. Plassart devotes a valuable article ³⁶⁴ to five fragments, discovered at Thespieae, of an opisthographic stele recording leases of sacred domains; the texts on the obverse of four of these were already known (*IG.* vii. 1739-42), but Plassart re-edits 1739 with new restorations, and publishes with a full and lucid commentary those on the reverse of 1739-41 (that on 1742 has entirely perished) and on a new fragment, the front of which belongs to 1740. M. Feyel shows ³⁶⁵ that in another Thespian document of the same nature (Schwyzer, *Dial. gr. ex.* 485) the word read as πύας in five places is γύας, and examines the meaning of γύης in Greek literature, inscriptions and papyri: the main results of a memoir by Feyel on the third-century Thespian leases are summarised ³⁶⁶ by C. Picard. L. Robert corrects ³⁶⁷ the reading of an inscription, now at Thebes (vii. 2410), relative to the Thespian festival of the Musea and concludes ³⁶⁸ from a Theban fragment (*ibid.* 2447) that the festival celebrated at Thebes in honour of Dionysus Cadmeus was named Ἀγριώνια. He also publishes ³⁶⁹ with characteristic fullness and mastery of the relevant evidence, literary and epigraphical, a perfectly preserved text from Acraephia, now at Thebes, recording τειμαὶ καὶ δωρηαὶ αἱ δοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ

³⁵⁸ *ÖJh.* xxix. 38.

³⁵⁹ *AM.* lix. 52 ff.

³⁶⁰ *Εφημ.* 1933, 130.

³⁶¹ *Εφημ.* 1934-5, παρ. 1 ff.

³⁶² No. 184, compared by the editor with *BCH.*, l. 433, No. 63, is in reality that same inscription, a missing portion of *IG.* vii. 2519.

³⁶³ *SBBerl.* 1934, 1040 ff., Nos. 22 f.

³⁶⁴ *Mél. Navarre*, 339 ff.: cf. *Δελτ.* xiv. 12 ff. (*JHS.* lv. 193), *REG.* xlix. 364.

³⁶⁵ *BCH.* lviii. 501 ff.

³⁶⁶ *CRAInscr.* 1936, 116 ff.

³⁶⁷ *BCH.* lix. 209.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 197 f.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 438 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 129 f.

τῆς πόλεως, on the motion of the ἄρχοντες and σύνεδροι, (a) to two citizens whose generosity enabled the city at a time of acute financial stringency to offer the sacrifice due to Apollo Πτοῖος and to Tiberius Caesar Augustus and enriched the gymnasium by a sum dedicated to Hermes, Heracles and the Emperor Claudius, and (b) to the same men and another, who ἐν τῇ τῆς χώρας ἀπωλείᾳ undertook the πολεμαρχία, ἀγορανομία and γυμνασιαρχία: the inscription vividly illustrates the economic condition of Boeotia in the first century A.D. Robert also supplies ³⁷⁰ a fuller copy of parts of the Acraephian decree for Epaminondas (vii. 2712). The ruins of a small temple at Kastraki, between Karditsa and Perdikovrysi, are shown to be those of a shrine of the hero Πτῶος (distinct from Apollo Πτοῖος, whose famous temple near by has also yielded ³⁷¹ fresh inscriptions) by the early ex-votos ³⁷² found there, including an archaic dedication of Acraephia. M. N. Tod announces ³⁷³ the rediscovery at Cairness House, Aberdeenshire, of an Orchomenian stone (vii. 3197), believed to be lost, containing a list of victors at the Charitesia and Homoloia, and adds some textual notes and comments.

[IG. viii.] The past two years have witnessed few additions to the published texts from DELPHI. R. Flacelière edits ³⁷⁴ a group of ten third-century documents which are of value for a study of the chronology and the foreign relations of Delphi; most of them record the bestowal of titles and privileges, the most interesting (No. 1) commemorating the grant of proxeny and other rights, including ἀτέλεια τοῦ χειροτεχνίου (cf. *JHS* lv. 194) for repairs carried out in various buildings. G. Daux publishes ³⁷⁵ two Delphian stones identified by Bourguet as belonging to the oracle given by Apollo to the Cyzicenes, of which a fuller text survives at Delos (*IG*. xi. 1298) and dates the Delphian copy not earlier than the second century B.C.; he also discusses ³⁷⁶ an unpublished manumission of 30-20 B.C., showing that the πλάτη Λευκόλλεια there mentioned are Greek coins and that πλάτος is equivalent to τέτραχμον. C. Picard describes ³⁷⁷ an early fourth-century relief, portraying a satyr filling a bowl from a rhyton and bearing a dedication to the hero Proxenus (cf. *JHS* lv. 198).

Valuable progress has been made in the reading and interpretation of texts already known. L. Robert suggests ³⁷⁸ an amended restoration of a third-century amphictionic decree relative to the festival celebrated by Thebes and the Dionysiac artists in honour of Dionysus Cadmeus (*Fouilles*, iii. 1. 351) and offers ³⁷⁹ a convincing restoration of an entry in the Delphian list of θεωροδόκοι (*BCH*. xlv. 28). Daux gives ³⁸⁰ a corrected version of a manumission-text (*Fouilles*, iii. 2. 133 + p. 297) and unites ³⁸¹ two fragments of an arbitration-document relating to Daulia. In P. de la Coste-Messelière's research on some archaic Delphian monuments and their

³⁷⁰ *BCH*. lix. 445 f., 451 f. For Acraephia see also 274.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.* 274.

³⁷² *Ibid.* 271 ff.: cf. *RA*. vi. 96 f., *CRAInscr.* 1936, 119 f.

³⁷³ *JHS*. liv. 159 ff. See above p. 165.

³⁷⁴ *BCH*. lix. 7 ff., 310: cf. *AJA*. xl. 531.

³⁷⁵ *BCH*. lix. 92 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xl. 530.

³⁷⁶ *RevNum.* xxxviii. 1 ff.

³⁷⁷ *RA*. v. 262.

³⁷⁸ *BCH*. lix. 197.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 199 f., 310; see also 204 f.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 99 f.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.* 96 ff.

sculptures occasional use is made ³⁸² of the inscriptions engraved on the works under discussion. G. Colin's remarks ³⁸³ on the epigraphical records of the Athenian Treasury also merit attention. E. Fraenkel proposes ³⁸⁴ to read $\eta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$ for $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$ in the inscription of Cleobis and Biton (*SIG.* 5), apparently unaware of Homolle's $\sigma\tau\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ [$\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ πέντ]ε $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$, which I accept (*GHI.* 3), and J. U. Powell notes ³⁸⁵ that an epigram of Amyntas on the destruction of the Spartan walls in 188 B.C. echoes that which celebrated Lysander as victor of Aegospotami (Tod, *GHI.* 95). I have already spoken (p. 182) of various attempts to solve the main problem of Delphian chronology in the third century B.C. and may refer here to an article ³⁸⁶ in which G. Daux dates the archon Amphistratus in 160-59 B.C. and maintains that towards the close of his life Eumenes II of Pergamum granted the title of King to his brother Attalus.

[*IG.* ix.] In preparation for the second fascicule of the *editio minor* of *IG.* ix. 1, G. Klaffenbach travelled extensively in 1933 and 1934 through the district covered by this volume—E. and W. Locris, Doris, Phocis, Aetolia, Acarnania and the Ionian Islands—re-examining, where possible, known inscriptions and collecting many hitherto unpublished. Of his itinerary and of the results of his researches he gives an excellent account, ³⁸⁷ in which he incorporates, *inter alia*, the prescript of an emancipation-record of Poteidania (p. 696), a fragmentary epitaph of Steno (p. 697), a third-century decree of Phycus relieving the Locrian Achaeans of a penalty imposed on them (pp. 698 ff.), a charming sixth-century grave-epigram of Charon, 'the beloved physician' of Teithronium (p. 702), a complete copy of the building-inscription ix. 1. 673 (p. 711), a dedication from Zacynthus (p. 713), three tiles determining the site of Trichonium (p. 715), and an epitaph from Thyrrheum (p. 719) commemorating a poet who died a hero's death, $\tau\upsilon\rho\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ δὲ Λάκαιναν ἐνὶ στέρνοισι φυλάσσων ῥῆσιν τὰν ἀρετὰν εἴλετο πρόσθε βίου. The full harvest of these journeys will in due course be garnered in ix². 1, fasc. 2; meanwhile Klaffenbach gives us as first-fruits the above-mentioned inscriptions and also more than a score of addenda ³⁸⁸ to the Aetolian fascicule published in 1932, among which we may note a tantalising fragment of an epigram from Agrinium, part of a manumission from Arsinoe, from Phistyum the emancipation of five slaves by sale to 'the Mother of the Gods and the Virgin,' together with a puzzling text relative to a gift for the completion of the donor's tomb and the erection of his statue, from Poteidania two manumissions by sale to Athena Pyrgia, to the prescripts of which Klaffenbach devotes a specially full study, from Thermum a new fragment of ix². 1. 62, from Thestia a second-century arbitral verdict in a dispute $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ τᾶς τῶν διαλαύρων ἐμπορᾶς between the state and οἱ τὰ διάλαυρα ἔχοντες (lessees of plots of public land, according to the editor), together with the lease of an estate by the city to a man and his descendants for a nominal rent, on condition of his building a house on it,

³⁸² *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris, 1936), 195 ff., 357, 459, 493.

³⁸³ *JournSav.* 1935, 56 ff.

³⁸⁴ *Zeits. vergl. Spr.* lxii. 272 f., Solmsen, *Inscr. graec. sel.* 47.

³⁸⁵ *Aegyptus*, xiv. 471.

³⁸⁶ *BCH.* lix. 222 ff.

³⁸⁷ *SBBerl.* 1935, 691 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 365 ff.

³⁸⁸ *SBBerl.* 1936, 358 ff.

tilling it, and granting the community unhampered access to the spring, and from Trichonium two epitaphs and the aforesaid tiles.

In his useful dissertation on *Die Seepolitik der Aitolier*³⁸⁹ H. H. Benecke makes full use of the epigraphical materials in *IG.* ix². 1. 1, especially in his examination (pp. 17 ff.) of the ἀσυλία-treaties with twelve Greek states and in compiling his list (pp. 31 ff.) of Aetolian πρόξενοι. The epigraphical results of the Danish-Greek excavation at CALYDON appear in the final report on *Das Heroon von Kalydon*³⁹⁰ by E. Dyggve, F. Poulsen and K. Rhomaios: they include, beside masons' marks and inscriptions indicating the positions of sima-blocks (*IG.* ix². 1. 152), a third-century proxeny-decree for a Corinthian, a boundary-stone Ἀπόλλωνος Λοφρίο (*ibid.* 149), an archaic dedication to Artemis on a bronze omphalos-bowl³⁹¹ and three votive texts (*ibid.* 141-2).

L. Robert publishes³⁹² a complete and accurate copy, made at Daulis in PHOCIS, of a second-century manumission of seven slaves by dedication to Athena Polias (*IG.* ix. 1. 66), a proxeny-decree of an Orchomenian, of which only a small fragment was known (*ibid.* 62)³⁹³ and two new epitaphs, and G. Daux throws light³⁹⁴ on the πλάτη of a manumission at Tithora (*ibid.* 189. 15). L. D. Caskey describes³⁹⁵ a miniature bronze chariot-wheel from Oeanthea in W. Locris, now in the Boston Museum, bearing a sixth- or fifth-century dedication to Apollo.

In an article on Greek disci J. Jüthner discusses³⁹⁶ that of Exoïdas from Cephallenia (*ibid.* 649); S. Benton publishes³⁹⁷ a terra-cotta mask from Polis Bay in Ithaca inscribed εὐχὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ, and H. Bulle reports³⁹⁸ the discovery near Afiona, at the N.W. extremity of Corcyra, of a number of graffiti on potsherds and two on fragments of tiles.

THESSALY has again produced a large number of inscriptions, including some of unusual interest. N. I. Giannopoulos, who continues to do valuable work in the discovery, conservation and publication of such finds, reports³⁹⁹ an epitaph of Pteleum, now in the Museum at Halmyros, a grave-relief and a dedication from Demetrias and Pagasae, now at Volo, and ten texts, among them votives to Ἑρμῆς χθόνιος, Aphrodite, Poseidon Ζευξάνθιος, Ὑγίεια and Artemis Εἰλεῖθια, collected from Sicyrum, Cranon, Gonnus, Pherae and other sites in the Museum at Ἀγιά, and adds⁴⁰⁰ addenda and corrigenda to previously known texts of Atrax, Meliboea and Phthiotic Thebes. Elsewhere⁴⁰¹ he publishes a letter from the Roman praetor P. Sextilius, inscribed on a base at Tricca, and epitaphs from Phthiotic Thebes and Demetrias. P. Clement's study⁴⁰² of the origin of the Iphigeneia-legend leads him to the conclusion that the story of the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter arose from the ritual of the νεβρεία in the cult of Artemis at Aulis and involves an examination of the term

³⁸⁹ Hamburg, 1934: cf. *REG.* xlviii. 586 f.

³⁹⁰ Copenhagen, 1934, pp. 292 ff., 350 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 366 f., Klaffenbach, *SBBerl.* 1935, 708 f., 723, 1936, 373.

³⁹¹ Cf. *SBBerl.* 1935, 708.

³⁹² *BCH.* lix. 200 ff., 310: cf. *REG.* xlix. 365.

³⁹³ Cf. *SBBerl.* 1935, 703.

³⁹⁴ *RevNum.* xxxviii. 1 ff.

³⁹⁵ *AJA.* xl. 310 f.

³⁹⁶ *ÖJh.* xxix. 36 ff.

³⁹⁷ *Antiquity*, x. 350.

³⁹⁸ *AM.* lix. 207 ff.

³⁹⁹ *Εφημ.* 1933, παρ. 1 ff.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 7.

⁴⁰¹ *Εφημ.* 1934-5, 149 f.

⁴⁰² *AntClass.* iii. 393 ff.

νεβεύω found in Thessalian records of the worship of Artemis Pagasitis at Pagasae-Demetrias (ix. 2. 1123) and of Artemis Throsia at Larissa ('Εφημ. 1931, 178). J. Vendryes deals ⁴⁰³ with a phonetic peculiarity of the Thessalian speech resulting in such forms as Ἀστο- for Ἀριστο- and Λασ(σ)αῖοι for Λαρισ(σ)αῖοι, and L. Robert claims ⁴⁰⁴ for Thessaly an inscription in the Berlin Museum.

F. Stählin discusses ⁴⁰⁵ two catalogues (ix. 2. 90, 91) from Narthacium in Malis, G. A. Soteriou publishes ⁴⁰⁶ three epitaphs from Nea Anchialos, close to Pyrasus, and L. Robert comments ⁴⁰⁷ on an arbitration-document ('Εφημ. 1932, παρ. 19 ff.) from Phthiotic Thebes and explains the word ὀπλοφάνειαι which it contains. Especially noteworthy is a perfectly preserved inscription, probably of the third century B.C., from Pharsalus, edited by Giannopoulos ⁴⁰⁸ and by Y. Béquignon, ⁴⁰⁹ which tells how Leonides of Halicarnassus dedicated to the city of Pharsalus τὴν στοάν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ στοᾷ πάντα on condition that accruing rents be used to provide oil for the νεανίσκοι, to defray the cost of an ἀγὼν γυμνικὸς καὶ λαμπάς called after the benefactor, and to maintain the στοά in good repair; in this connexion Giannopoulos discusses an epigram (ix. 2. 249) relative to Pharsalian games. Another important article ⁴¹⁰ by Béquignon deals exhaustively with six new inscriptions, (a) a second-century dialect decree of Crannon, engraved on the reverse of ix. 2. 463, inviting citizens to contribute to the liquidation of debts due from the state διὰ τὸς πεστάντας αὐτῇ πολέμος and providing for the public exhibition of a list of donors, (b) and (c) two emancipation-lists of the usual Thessalian type on the sides of the same stele, (d) decrees of Larissa passed about 200-168 B.C. in honour of two citizens of Alexandria-Troas, of whom one had given public recitations of his works at Larissa, strengthening the friendship between it and his native city, while the other had rendered services to Larissaeans at Alexandria, (e) an Athenian decree of 109-8 B.C. praising the δῆμος of Larissa and the judges it had sent to settle disputes between Athenians and Sicyonians together with the beginning of a decree in dialect for Mylasian judges sent to Larissa, and (f) a decree of Larissa or of Crannon honouring Carystus and its judges; this Béquignon restores on the basis of ix. 2. 504, in which he makes ⁴¹¹ two corrections. He also comments ⁴¹² on texts found in the theatre at Larissa or relating to it and Larissaeans ἀγῶνες, offering improved readings of two of them (ix. 2. 522, *RevPhil.* xxxv. 124 ff.). From Argoura, or perhaps Atrax, comes an inscribed basis ⁴¹³ bearing a fifth-century στοιχηδόν inscription entitled θεμὸς τοῖ [δᾶ]μοι, apparently containing some public imprecation. Béquignon ⁴¹⁴ and E. Meyer ⁴¹⁵ give fresh readings and restorations of two decrees (Πολέμων, i. 207 ff.), the first (and perhaps the second also) of the Iolcian δῆμος, dating from the reign of Antigonos Gonatas: the first honours

⁴⁰³ *Bull. Soc. Ling.* xxxvii. 13 ff.

⁴⁰⁴ *RevPhil.* x. 152 ff.

⁴⁰⁵ *Philol.* lxxxix. 465 f.

⁴⁰⁶ *Πρακτ.* 1935, 64 f.

⁴⁰⁷ *BCH.* lix. 208 f.: for Thebes add 'Εφημ. 1933, παρ. 7, 1934-5, 150.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Εφημ. 1934-5, 145 ff.

⁴⁰⁹ *BCH.* lix. 514 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 130.

⁴¹⁰ *BCH.* lix. 36 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 532 f., *REG.* xlix. 367 f. For Crannon see also 'Εφημ. 1933, παρ. 1 f.

⁴¹¹ *BCH.* lix. 72.

⁴¹² *Mél. Navarre*, 8 ff.

⁴¹³ N. I. Giannopoulos, 'Εφημ. 1934-5, 140 ff. For Atrax add 'Εφημ. 1933, παρ. 7.

⁴¹⁴ *BCH.* lix. 74 ff.

⁴¹⁵ *RhMus.* lxxxv. 367 ff.

Antigonus, and the second provides for due sacrifices to be offered to the ἀρχηγέται and κτίσται for the welfare of the citizens: this is the earliest extant inscription of Iolcus and one of the few epigraphical records of third-century Demetrias.⁴¹⁶ Finally, W. Peek edits⁴¹⁷ two fourth-century bronze tablets from Thessaly, seized by the police at Peiraeus; one records the Pheraeans' grant of proxeny and other privileges to two Opuntian brothers and their household, the other the gift of proxeny, etc., by the Thessalians (Πετθαλοί) to a Chalcidian.

V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA

[IG. x.] D. Evangelides' full report⁴¹⁸ on his excavations at DODONA contains a fourth-century dedication to Zeus Naïos (p. 229) and forty-three other texts (pp. 245 ff.), many seriously mutilated, most of which date from the fifth or fourth century B.C.; all save three are on plates of bronze or lead, among them a proxeny-decree of the Molossians for a Pheraean (No. 1), three manumissions (Nos. 2-4) and thirty-five inscriptions relative to the oracle, mostly enquiries about marriage, children, home or property, though two (Nos. 9, 35) seem to include oracular responses of hyper-Laonian brevity. At Radotovi, N.W. of Jannina, a decree of the κοινὸν τῶν Ἀτεράργων renewing friendship and proxeny with the Περγάμιοι and a base of the early second century B.C. have been unearthed.⁴¹⁹ L. M. Ugolini's account of the theatre at Buthrotum (Butrinto) refers⁴²⁰ to the rich epigraphical fruits of the excavation, the publication of which we await with high expectation. A. Bruhl edits⁴²¹ an inscription of the second century A.D. on the architrave of a monument at Apollonia erected in honour of an ἀγωνοθέτης-elect by his brother, πρύτανις ἀγωνοθέτης ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου, at the dedication of which twenty-five pairs of gladiators fought, and a Greek epitaph⁴²² now in the Albanian National Museum at Tirana. L. Robert discusses⁴²³ an inscription (CIG. 1837b) of Pharos, which he corrects and restores, regarding it as a decree of Paros, the metropolis of Pharos, passed in the second century B.C. in response to an embassy sent by Pharos when hard pressed by Illyrian corsairs and recording the answer given by Delphi to an enquiry how its safety might be secured; he also proves⁴²⁴ the Parian origin of a dedication found at Zara. A Greek couplet and greeting are added⁴²⁵ to the Latin epitaph of a slave found at Carnuntum.

In W. Macedonia A. D. Keramopoulos continues his archaeological and topographical investigations⁴²⁶ with special reference to the campaign of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Caecilius Metellus Scipio in 48 B.C. He publishes⁴²⁷ a late Roman dedication on a relief of Zeus and a votive of the first century B.C. to Ἡρακλῆς Κυναγίδας from Kaisareia on the Haliacmon and re-examines two texts (Demitsas, Nos. 213 f.) from the neighbouring

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Ἐφημ. 1933, παρ. 4, 1934-5, 150.

⁴¹⁷ AM. lix. 56 f.

⁴¹⁸ Ἑπειρωτικὰ Ἐρευνᾶν, Jannina, 1936 (= Ἑπειρωτικά, i. 192 ff.): cf. JHS. lvii. 86 f.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid. 260 ff.

⁴²⁰ Rendic. Pont. Acc. xi. 85 ff.

⁴²¹ Albania, v. 43 ff.: cf. RA. vi. 207, viii. 214.

⁴²² Albania v. 96.

⁴²³ BCH. lix. 489 ff.: cf. AJA. xli. 324 f.

⁴²⁴ RevPhil. x. 154 ff.

⁴²⁵ R. Egger, Carnuntum 1885-1935 (Vienna, 1935), 23 ff.

⁴²⁶ Ἐφημ. 1933, 25 ff.

⁴²⁷ Ibid. 42 ff.

Kalliani, and in an appendix on Heraclea in Lyncestis he describes ⁴²⁸ six tiles found at Florina stamped βασιλέως Φιλίππου, which he assigns to Philip II and claims as confirmation of the view which locates Heraclea at the modern Florina. ⁴²⁹ Further finds made by Keramopoulos in Elimia, Eordia and Lyncestis include ⁴³⁰ a votive relief Διὶ Ὑφίστῳ at Kozani (No. 2), an incense-holder dedicated Διοκτησίῳ at Ptolemais (No. 8) and various texts (Nos. 14 ff.) found in or near Florina, while further discoveries were made ⁴³¹ later in Almopia and Elimia. Of greater interest is a letter of Philip V from Κοιλιάδα, four hours N.W. of Kozani, carefully edited ⁴³² by C. I. Makaronas: it is dated in December, 181 B.C., and informs Archippus that the King grants an application (of which a copy is annexed) from a tetrarch, a ὑπάσπιστής, a λοχαγός and certain τῶν ἐν τῇ πρωτολοχι[αί στρ]ατευομένων Εὐεστῶν for some religious privilege. N. Vulić re-edits ⁴³³ an interesting text (Demitsas, No. 262) from Bela Srkva, between Prilep and Bitolj, and publishes a similar inscription from the same neighbourhood; he discusses ⁴³⁴ the famous synagogue-inscription of Stobi (cf. *JHS* lv. 197 f.), which is also edited by J. B. Frey ⁴³⁵ and forms the subject of an article ⁴³⁶ by C. M. Danov. Two inscribed mosaics unearthed in the bi-apsidal building are published ⁴³⁷ by G. Mano-Zissi, who dates them to the late fourth or early fifth century A.D. A. C. Chatzis republishes, ⁴³⁸ with notes and a minor correction, four metrical epitaphs from Karyotissa, near Yanitza. To the epigraphy of THESSALONICA S. Pelekides makes a contribution of lasting value in a work ⁴³⁹ which, besides a wealth of comment on already known inscriptions of that city and on its history, organisation and cults, contains a full edition of thirty-four new texts, (a) a fragment (pp. 3 ff.) of an ἀρεταλογία of Isis, very like that found at Cyme, (b) a διάγραμμα of Philip V (pp. 5 ff.) relative to property of Sarapis, together with a covering letter authorising its publication, (c) two third-century dedications (pp. 23 ff.) mentioning the πολιτάρχαι, (d) three epitaphs (pp. 35 f.) on memorial altars, (e) an altar-shaped base (pp. 39 ff.) bearing in front a dedication to Apollo Pythius by οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες καὶ οἱ ἀγωνοθέται τῆς δ' [Πυ]θιᾶδος (A.D. 252-3) and on the sides lists of the victors at that festival, and (f) twenty-six altar-bases (pp. 48 ff.), almost all of the third century A.D., commemorating prominent citizens: Nos. 9-26, dating from A.D. 219-69, held the office of ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης θεοῦ Φούλβου, whom Pelekides regards as the deified Antoninus Pius or some member of his family. About an altar found at Thessalonica L. Robert maintains ⁴⁴⁰ his previous view (cf. *JHS* lv. 198), but C. Picard remains unconvinced. ⁴⁴¹

⁴²⁸ Ἐφημ. 1933, 66 f.: cf. *BCH*. lix. 281, 284, Πρακτ. 1934, 71 f.

⁴²⁹ G. Bakalakis, Πρακτ. 1934, 104 ff., raises the number of tiles to eleven: cf. *REG*. xlix. 350.

⁴³⁰ Δελτ. xiv, παρ. 33 ff.: cf. *REG*. xlix. 369.

⁴³¹ Πρακτ. 1934, 69 f., 81 ff.

⁴³² Ἐφημ. 1934-5, 117 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xl. 534, S. Pelekides (see footnote 439), 16, 87.

⁴³³ *Bull. Acad. Lettres Serbe*, i. 151 ff.: cf. *Srpska Kraljevska Akad. Spomenik*, lxxi, Nos. 339, 342.

⁴³⁴ *Bull. Acad. Lettres Serbe*, i. 169 ff.

⁴³⁵ *C. I. Jud.* i. 694.

⁴³⁶ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii. 101 ff.

⁴³⁷ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* x. 296 f.

⁴³⁸ *Εἰς μνήμην Σ. Λάμπρου* (Athens, 1935), 501 f.

⁴³⁹ Ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία καὶ τὴν κοινωνία τῆς ἀρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης (Salonica, 1934), Appendix to Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, ii.

⁴⁴⁰ *BCH*. lix. 448 f.

⁴⁴¹ *REG*. xlviii. 480 f.

D. M. Robinson's excavations at OLYNTHUS in 1934 revealed several mosaics formed of natural pebbles, the only inscribed examples earlier than those of Delos. These are described ⁴⁴² by Robinson, who also publishes ⁴⁴³ a fifth-century roof-tile inscribed Μένον καλός and various other texts, ⁴⁴⁴ of which the most noteworthy are (a) the latter part of a treaty between Philip II and the Chalcidians (356 B.C.) together with the oracle which enjoined the alliance, of which M. Segre gives ⁴⁴⁵ a revised edition, (b) a fragment of a treaty-oath, (c) two deeds of sale ⁴⁴⁶ and fragments of two more, which use a monetary notation previously unknown, (d) a loan-record, (e) several epitaphs, (f) twenty-six inscribed leaden sling-bullets (some from Meczyberna), and (g) a bronze arrow-head bearing the name Φιλίππο. At Aphytis Robinson discovered ⁴⁴⁷ a text of great historical interest, a fragment of the decree (Tod, *GHI.* 67, *SIG.* 87) by which Athens imposed on all members of her Empire uniformity of coinage, weights and measures: of the twenty-five lines partly preserved eighteen precede the portion of the decree already known, giving a useful overlap which permits a better restoration of the text from Syme. ⁴⁴⁸

G. De Sanctis examines ⁴⁴⁹ the military code found at AMPHIPOLIS (cf. *JHS.* lv. 198), 'an inscription of capital importance for the history of the Macedonian army,' which he regards as an extract from the general Macedonian army-regulations, made for the Amphipolis garrison in the third or early second century B.C. The title of one paragraph, περὶ στεγνοποίας, is discussed by M. Segre ⁴⁵⁰ and by S. B. Kougeas. ⁴⁵¹ A further considerable portion of the code was recovered from the bed of the Strymon in 1934, dealing with penalties for failure to wear the prescribed equipment and with the safeguarding and distribution of captured spoils and prisoners: this is edited ⁴⁵² by M. Feyel, who deals minutely with the new light thrown by these texts on the arms and organisation of the Macedonian army. He adds ⁴⁵³ an epitaph and a dedication Κόρη Λειμωνία found in the same dredging operations. With aid from C. F. Lehmann-Haupt and A. Stein, J. Papastavru traces ⁴⁵⁴ the history of Amphipolis, with an elaborate prosopography (pp. 59-146, 149 f.) of eighty-nine persons, including residents in the city such as Nearchus of Crete and Androstenes of Thasos, whose biographies extend to over sixty pages.

I know only indirectly an article ⁴⁵⁵ in which G. Bakalakis publishes a thankoffering made to Ζεὺς Ὑψίστος for Rhoemetaces III of Thrace by ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν λατόμων καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν πάντες, found E. of Cavalla, and

⁴⁴² *AJA.* xxxviii. 501 ff., *Forsch. u. Fortschr.* xi. 137 ff., *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. 136 f., *Die Antike*, xi. 284 f., *Bull. Am. Council of Learned Societies*, xxiii. 141 ff.: cf. *JHS.* liv. 195, *AntClass.* iv. 195, *BCH.* lix. 285, *AA.* 1934, 499, 1935, 218 f., *RA.* v. 262 f.

⁴⁴³ *AJA.* xxxix. 222 (cf. 224, 234), *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. 134 f.

⁴⁴⁴ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. 103 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 370.

⁴⁴⁵ *RivFil.* lxiii. 497 ff.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. *AA.* 1934, 502 f. For Olynthus see also F. Hampl, *Hermes*, lxx. 177 ff.

⁴⁴⁷ *AJPh.* lvi. 149 ff.: cf. J. Johnston, *Hermathena*, xlvii. 148 f., *AJA.* xxxix. 392, *REG.* xlix. 370.

⁴⁴⁸ See also below, p. 192. Cf. P. F. Hofer, * *Schweiz. Num. Rundschau*, xxvi. 195 f.

⁴⁴⁹ *RivFil.* lxii. 515 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 370 f.

⁴⁵⁰ *RivFil.* lxiii. 222 ff.

⁴⁵¹ *Ελληνικά*, viii. 149 f.

⁴⁵² *RA.* vi. 29 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 137.

⁴⁵³ *RA.* vi. 66 f.

⁴⁵⁴ *Klio*, Beiheft 37 (Leipzig, 1936).

⁴⁵⁵ * *Θρακικά*, vi. 302 ff.: cf. *BCH.* lix. 292, *REG.* xlix. 371.

two votives, Διὶ Ζβελθιούρδω and Διὶ Παισουληνῶ respectively, from the neighbourhood of Komotini. P. Lemerle discusses ⁴⁵⁶ the use of Greek and Latin at PHILIPPI, publishes twenty-five Greek inscriptions found there and re-edits two known texts: of the new discoveries twenty-one (Nos. 42-62) are epitaphs, one (No. 39) is an honorary inscription of the third century A.D. for Clodianus ἀπὸ ἐπιτρόπων τῶν ἐν Μουσεῖῳ σείτουμένων, in which the editor sees a reference to the Museum of Alexandria, and two (Nos. 40 f.), erected by οἱ θρησκευτὲ τοῦ Σεράπτι in honour of an ἀρχιερεὺς and benefactor and of his son, ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Ἀσκληπείων, further attest the cult of the Egyptian gods at and near Philippi. The proto-Bulgarian inscriptions of the Philippian basilica ⁴⁵⁷ fall outside the scope of this survey. ⁴⁵⁸

THRACE always bears an abundant harvest, especially of votive and sepulchral inscriptions, and the enlightened zeal of a group of Bulgarian scholars secures their preservation in the Museums of Sofia, Philippopolis, Stara Zagora and elsewhere and their rapid publication. ⁴⁵⁹ Thus, G. I. Kazarow publishes, ⁴⁶⁰ in the ninth series of his 'Ancient Monuments from Bulgaria,' a relief dedicated Κυρίῳ Ζβελθιούρδ[ω], four other votive reliefs with Greek and three with Latin texts, and an epitaph beneath a *cena funebris*, re-edits ⁴⁶¹ a dedication of a βετρανὸς δεκουρίων to the Thracian Horseman, and elsewhere ⁴⁶² describes six ex-votos, one of them Ἡρωῖ προπυλαίῳ, and a Christian epitaph in the Museums of Kazanlak and Sliven. C. M. Danov deals ⁴⁶³ with three inscriptions in the Philippopolis Museum, (a) an interesting text (*SEG.* iii. 544) from Hissar, perhaps a dice-oracle, (b) that below a statue of Gallienus erected by the city of Philippopolis, and (c) a decree of Mesembria (see below): he also revises ⁴⁶⁴ the epitaph of Solomon, *vicarius* of Thrace, dated A.D. 582, and edits ⁴⁶⁵ a dedication κατ' ὀνείρου ἐπιταγήν on an altar from Nicopolis ad Istrum and another ⁴⁶⁶ Ἡλίῳ Μίθρα ἀν[ική]τῳ from Simitovo, S.W. of Pasardjik. M. Apostolides' 'Collection of Ancient Inscriptions discovered at Philippopolis,' ⁴⁶⁷ among which two were previously unpublished, is inaccessible to me. D. Detchev's 'Minor Finds from Bulgaria' ⁴⁶⁸ comprise three new discoveries—two votive epigrams from Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora) and Samardjik, the latter dedicated Διὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ by a ἱερεὺς βακχείου μεγάλῳ for his children, his office and his μύσται, and an epitaph from Sveti-Vrač—and corrected editions of texts from Golema Tumba and Stara Zagora, while his 'Ancient Monuments from Bulgaria' ⁴⁶⁹ include a re-edition (No. 1) of an altar dedicated to Apollo by a σκηνοράφος,

⁴⁵⁶ *BCH.* lix. 126 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 532, *RA.* viii. 263, *REG.* xlix. 371, *BCH.* lix. 285 ff., *AA.* 1936, 148.

⁴⁵⁷ *BCH.* lix. 165 ff.

⁴⁵⁸ On the proto-Bulgarian texts see the important works of V. Beschevliev, * *Ann. de l'Univ. de Sofia*, xxx. 5, 10, xxxi. 1, *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* ix. 269 ff.

⁴⁵⁹ Especially in *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii: cf. *AJA.* xl. 140 ff., *REG.* xlix. 373.

⁴⁶⁰ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii. 44 ff.: cf. *RA.* vi. 223.

⁴⁶¹ *Germania*, xix. 314 f.

⁴⁶² *AA.* 1936, 65 ff.

⁴⁶³ *ÖJh.* xxix, Beiblatt, 153 ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* ix. 389.

⁴⁶⁵ *ARW.* xxxiii. 166 ff.

⁴⁶⁶ *Germania*, xx. 189 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 274.

⁴⁶⁷ * *Θρακικά*, vi. 137 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 372.

⁴⁶⁸ *ÖJh.* xxix, Beiblatt, 163 ff.: cf. *RA.* vi. 235, *Historia*, ix. 684.

⁴⁶⁹ *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* viii. 69 ff.

an ex-voto (No. 9) and two epitaphs (Nos. 8, 11). I. Velkov's report⁴⁷⁰ on the rock-cut Mithraeum of Kreta (near Oescus, in N. Bulgaria) tells of three inscribed and five plain altars dedicated to "Ἡλιος Μίθρας, and D. Tchontchev's account⁴⁷¹ of a recently located sanctuary of Artemis near Tenča-Mekich depicts and discusses thirty-three reliefs representing the goddess mounted on a deer, of which four (Nos. 1, 2, 16, 17) are inscribed in Greek and one in Latin. In B. D. Filov's definitive publication of the excavations at Duvanlii, in S. Bulgairia, are included⁴⁷² personal names on five silver vessels, a gold ring and a vase. Of the 153 Byzantine leaden seals in the National Museum at Sofia, of which most are from Constantinople and the rest from Bulgaria, fifty-two are described⁴⁷³ by N. A. Mutchmov, and a number of similar seals from Silistria by N. Bănescu and P. Papahagi.⁴⁷⁴ Various finds made in 1933-4 are reported⁴⁷⁵ by I. Velkov and others: these include a dedication to "Ἡρα Βουαιπαρηνή from the department of Tran (p. 449), bilingual epitaphs from Butovo and Taushan Tepe (pp. 456, 462 f.), a thankoffering addressed Λητώιε μακάρι[ε] χρυσότοξε κ[αί] Σπινδεηνὲ "Α[πολ]λον from Ortakeui (pp. 464 f.) and one from Küstendil dedicated Κυρίω "Ασκληπιῷ Σπινθοπυρηνῷ (p. 466).

M. P. Nilsson comments⁴⁷⁶ on a dedication of Dionysiac μύσται καὶ θιασεῖται from BYZANTIUM (AA. 1933, 138 f.), A. M. Schneider publishes⁴⁷⁷ three epitaphs of the same city and V. Laurent edits⁴⁷⁸ numerous Byzantine brick-stamps and epitaphs ranging from the fifth to the fifteenth century A.D. L. Robert shows⁴⁷⁹ that three epitaphs assigned to Heraclea Pontica really belong to Heraclea-Perinthus on the Propontis and offers valuable corrections and interpretations of a number of Perinthian texts published by Kalinka, Seure or Dumont.

K. Škorpil publishes⁴⁸⁰ 217 amphora-stamps from various sites on the W. coast of the Euxine, C. M. Danov re-examines⁴⁸¹ a proxeny-decree of Mesembria dating from the late third century B.C., and A. Salac interprets⁴⁸² a dedication of the Mesembrian στραταγοί. From Odessus (Varna) S. Velkov gives a provisional account⁴⁸³ of three epitaphs (one that of an ἀρχίατρος καὶ δημοφίλητος καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ μεγάλου), votives to "Ἡρώς Ουτέεσπιος and "Ἡρώς Μυρσίνης, and an honorary inscription for an ἀρχιτέρεια whose husband was Ποντάρχης, and S. Lambrino argues⁴⁸⁴ for Tomi or Histria as the provenance of an honorary decree for an architect (SIG. 707).

A. Kocevalov has compiled a detailed syntax⁴⁸⁵ of the inscriptions

⁴⁷⁰ Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. viii. 82 ff.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. 92 ff.

⁴⁷² Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien (Sofia, 1934), 58, 63 ff., 103, 181 ff. (cf. 75 ff.). See JHS. lv. 240 ff.

⁴⁷³ Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. viii. 331 ff., 440: cf. Byzantion, x. 722 ff.

⁴⁷⁴ Byzantion, x. 601 ff.

⁴⁷⁵ Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. viii. 448 ff.: cf. RA. vi. 225.

⁴⁷⁶ Stud. e mat. di storia d. religioni, x. 17 f.

⁴⁷⁷ BZ. xxxvi. 397 f.

⁴⁷⁸ Echos d'Orient, xxxix. 220 ff., 229 f.

⁴⁷⁹ RevPhil. x. 113 ff.

⁴⁸⁰ Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. viii. 24 ff.: cf. AJA. xl. 140.

⁴⁸¹ ÖJh. xxix, Beiblatt, 159 ff.

⁴⁸² * Listy filol. lxiii. 485 ff.: cf. PhW. lvii. 393.

⁴⁸³ Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg. viii. 457 ff.

⁴⁸⁴ Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant. 1933, 80.

⁴⁸⁵ Eos, Suppl. xii: cf. PhW. lvi. 1344 f.

of the Greek cities on the coast of SCYTHIA. In an article ⁴⁸⁶ on 'King Mithridates Eupator and Olbia' A. Wilhelm restores and comments on an Olbian decree (*IPE*. i². 35) honouring an Amisene κυβερνήτης. I cannot read S. A. Žebelev's discussion ⁴⁸⁷ of the oath taken by the citizens of Chersonesus Taurica (*SIG*. 360) in the early third century B.C. and of the curious word σαστῆρα (l. 24), nor are J. J. Marti's article ⁴⁸⁸ on new inscriptions of the Bosphorus and that ⁴⁸⁹ of B. N. Grakov on epigraphical records of the Imperial tile-works at Panticapaeum accessible to me. L. A. Matzoulévitch's account ⁴⁹⁰ of a tomb of a barbarian king near the source of the Soudja (province of Kursk) describes a silver ewer found there and now preserved in Moscow, on which are the names and figures of the Muses: he assigns it to Constantinople and dates it about A.D. 400.

VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN

[*IG*. xi.] Excellent progress has been made with the publication of the inscriptions of DELOS. A third volume ⁴⁹¹ of the Delian *corpus*, begun by F. Durrbach in collaboration with P. Roussel and completed by the latter after the death of the former in 1931, gives a masterly edition of the eighty texts (Nos. 1400-79), for the most part inventories, relating to the Delian temples under the second Athenian domination, from 166 to about 135 B.C.; the majority were previously unpublished, or incompletely published, and, while many are very fragmentary, others (notably Nos. 1403, 1416-7, 1429, 1432, 1441-4, 1450) are well preserved and of great interest. The seventeen fragments (Nos. 1480-96) of 'actes divers' of the same period are too mutilated to be of much value. The volume ⁴⁹² of the *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, in which F. Chapouthier deals with the temple of the Samothracian gods, though primarily architectural, contains many epigraphical texts, some in corrected readings and only two wholly new (pp. 33, 90 f.); they include those from the monument of Mithridates Eupator (pp. 30-40) and several dedications and similar inscriptions (pp. 53, 63 ff., 71 ff., 87 ff.). N. M. Kontoleon publishes ⁴⁹³ a decree of 202 B.C., topographically valuable, intended to secure the cleanliness of the τόπος ὁ περὶ τῶν [Διο]νύσειω and the precinct of Leto by imposing heavy penalties on offenders, slave or free. M. N. Tod edits ⁴⁹⁴ a long second-century decree of the commercial association of the Poseidoniasts from Beyrout, honouring a Roman banker, M. Minatius, for his generosity to the Society: the stone, long preserved at Cairness House, Aberdeenshire (cf. *JHS* xlix. 3 ff.), is now in the Ashmolean Museum. M. Launey skilfully restores ⁴⁹⁵ a fragment bearing twelve letters as the base of a statue

⁴⁸⁶ *Klio*, xxix. 50 ff.

⁴⁸⁷ *Bull. Ac. Sci. URSS*, 1935, 913 ff.

⁴⁸⁸ * *Iz Istorii Bospora*, 57 ff.

⁴⁸⁹ * *Ibid.*, 202 ff.

⁴⁹⁰ *Une sépulture d'un roi barbare en Europe orientale*, Moscow, 1934: French summary, pp. 117 ff.

⁴⁹¹ *Inscriptions de Délos. Actes des fonctionnaires athéniens préposés à l'administration des sanctuaires après 166 av. J.-C.*, Paris, 1935: cf. *JHS* lv. 250 f., *REG* xlix.

344, *Gnomon*, xii. 280 ff., *REA* xxxix. 139 ff.

⁴⁹² xvi, *Le sanctuaire des dieux de Samothrace*, Paris, 1935: cf. *JHS* lv. 243 f., *REA* xxxviii. 216 ff., *REG* xlix. 374.

⁴⁹³ *Δελτ.* xiv. 84 ff.: cf. *REG* xlix. 374.

⁴⁹⁴ *JHS* liv. 140 ff.: cf. *AJA* xxxix. 391 f. *CRAcInscr*, 1936, 228 ff., *REG* xlix. 374.

⁴⁹⁵ *BCH* lix. 391 ff.: cf. *RA* viii. 264, *AJA* xli. 323.

of one of the sons of Massinissa erected by King Nicomedes of Bithynia. Two inscribed phallos-reliefs have come to light in a recently excavated house.⁴⁹⁶

The following texts (as numbered in *IG. xi* or *Inscriptions de Délos*) have received special attention.

144, 145. F. Robert gives reasons⁴⁹⁷ for dating 144 after 145 (302 B.C.) and stresses the value of the architectural content of such documents for chronological purposes.

156, 170, 173. P. H. Davis shows⁴⁹⁸ that 170 and 173 are contiguous and form part of 156, now in the French School at Athens, the account of the *ἱεροποιοί* for 248 B.C.; he offers a fuller restoration and discusses the repairs and improvements made in certain 'sacred houses' and the palaestra.

165. F. Robert examines⁴⁹⁹ the phrase *ἡ εὐθυνηρία τοῦ ξυλώματος τοῦ ναοῦ* (l. 31) used of the Asclepieum, showing how the epigraphical and architectural data throw light on each other.

503. A. Wilhelm amends⁵⁰⁰ ll. 15 f., 21 f. and 29 ff. of the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*.

504*B*, 506*d* figure prominently in a paper⁵⁰¹ by P. H. Davis.

1061. In a discussion of Theban festivals L. Robert re-examines⁵⁰² a passage in the Delian decree of the Dionysiac *τεχνίται* for the flute-player Craton, now in the Louvre, and in l. 20 substitutes *τοῖς Ἀγροῖωνοῖς* for *τοῖς Ἡρακλείοις*. A revised text of the whole decree is given⁵⁰³ by G. Daux, who collects the evidence about Craton afforded by eleven inscriptions, and argues from the words *οἱ βασιλεῖς* (ll. 12, 32), together with evidence from Delphi, Athens and Didyma, that Eumenes II and Attalus bore the royal title jointly during Eumenes' last months.

1298. Daux also publishes⁵⁰⁴ part of the Delphian copy of the oracle of Pythian Apollo to the Cyzicenes (see above, p. 186) and uses it to restore the Delian text.

F. Sokolowski collects and examines⁵⁰⁵ the Delian records of the *Νυκτοφυλάξια*, offering new readings and restorations; he holds that at Delos the earth-deities had two festivals, the summer Thesmophoria and the nocturnal *Νυκτοφυλάξια* in the late autumn. W. Deonnas' account of Delian furniture, sacred and secular, includes⁵⁰⁶ two small altars from the synagogue dedicated to Jehovah as (Θεός) Ὑψιστος. F. Robert attempts⁵⁰⁷ to locate the shrine of Leucothea by the references made to it in the Delian accounts.

[*IG. xii.*] Marked progress has been made in the interpretation of known texts from RHODES rather than in the discovery of new ones. In his 'Notes on the History of Rhodes,' A. Momigliano examines,⁵⁰⁸ on the

⁴⁹⁶ *AA.* 1936, 158.

⁴⁹⁷ *REG.* xlviii, p. liv.

⁴⁹⁸ *BCH.* lix. 78 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 374, *AJA.* xxxix. 117, xl. 531.

⁴⁹⁹ *BCH.* lix. 121 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 530 f.

⁵⁰⁰ *APF.* xi. 215 ff.

⁵⁰¹ *AJA.* xl. 122.

⁵⁰² *BCH.* lix. 193 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 375.

⁵⁰³ *BCH.* lix. 210 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 533, *REG.* xlix. 375.

⁵⁰⁴ *BCH.* lix. 92 ff.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 382 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 323.

⁵⁰⁶ *BCH.* lviii. 425, 447.

⁵⁰⁷ *REG.* xlvii, p. xlvii.

⁵⁰⁸ *RivFil.* lxiv. 49 ff., 57 ff.

basis of epigraphical evidence, (a) the importance of the temple of Athena Lindia as a common sanctuary for all the Rhodians even before the synoecism of the island, (b) a third-century constitutional reform at Camirus (*IG.* xii. 1. 694), and (c) a Lindian decree of 250-200 B.C. restricting to citizens proper all participation in Lindian cults (*ibid.* 761). His interpretation of the latter document is challenged ⁵⁰⁹ by M. Segre, who rejects his view of the religious difficulty at Lindus and of the decree as proof of the existence of a kind of γραφή παρανόμων in third-century Rhodes. Elsewhere ⁵¹⁰ Segre publishes with a valuable commentary a stele in the Rhodes Museum in which a naval officer is honoured by τοῖς συνστρατευσάμενοι, whose names are recorded under their several ranks—κυβερνάτας, ναυπαγός, etc.: the sculptor's name is added and the monument seemingly refers to Rhodian naval activity in the Mithridatic War. The same scholar also returns ⁵¹¹ to the famous Rhodian book-catalogue, of which he gives a revised text, surveying previous discussions and claiming that the books named form the specialised library of a gymnasium: this conclusion he reinforces by showing ⁵¹² that a Rhodian decree published by Maiuri (*Nuova Silloge*, 4) belongs to the same place and period as the book-list (*ibid.* 11). K. Ziegler's article ⁵¹³ on Timachidas deals at some length with the 'Lindian Chronicle,' and M. Guarducci examines ⁵¹⁴ the evidence for the Rhodian κτοίνα and for the συννομαί of Camirus, groups intermediate between the family and the tribe. To the inscribed vases found at Ialysus reference has already been made (p. 164).

F. von Hiller investigates ⁵¹⁵ the literary and epigraphical evidence for the early history of LESBOS and for the family of Theophanes, whose *stemma* he reconstructs: in particular he discusses the Orphitus-epigram from Mytilene (*IG.* xii. 2. 129) and the recently discovered top of the monument of Potamon. L. Robert publishes ⁵¹⁶ two Mytilenean inscriptions, in one of which the δᾶμος honours Φίλων Διαφένη τὰν κάρυσαν for her excellence and piety and in the other Philo, priestess (?) of Isis, dedicates an offering: he recognises this same Philo in xii. 2. 260 and conjectures that the Diaphenes of 656 may be her father, while in 255 he proposes κάρυσσαν for the Καρίσσαν hitherto regarded as the name of otherwise unattested deities and rejects in 93 the restoration [Κάρις]σα Πνιστρία, which rests on that false interpretation.

Robert's convincing proposal to substitute Τηλίους for Τηίους in Diod. xiv. 84. 3 leads him to examine ⁵¹⁷ the history and inscriptions of Telos, and G. Daux discusses ⁵¹⁸ the meaning and restoration of a passage in the Cretan decree according the right of ἀσυλία to Anaphe (xii. 3. 254).

The severe earthquake which devastated Cos in 1933 and the subsequent Italian excavations led to the discovery of numerous inscriptions, of which M. Segre gives a summary account. ⁵¹⁹ Specially noteworthy are a Telmes-

⁵⁰⁹ *RivFil.* lxiv. 293 ff.

⁵¹⁰ *Clara Rhodos*, viii. 225 ff.

⁵¹¹ *RivFil.* lxiii. 214 ff.: cf. L. Robert, *BCH.* lix. 424 f.

⁵¹² *RivFil.* lxiv. 40.

⁵¹³ *RE.* viA. 1052 ff.

⁵¹⁴ *Historia*, ix. 420 ff.: cf. *Boll. fil. class.* xlii. 222.

⁵¹⁵ *Gött. Nachr.* Fachgr. I, Bd. i. 6. 107 ff.

⁵¹⁶ *BCH.* lix. 471 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 324.

⁵¹⁷ *RevPhil.* viii. 44 ff.

⁵¹⁸ *BCH.* lix. 94 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 375 f., *AJA.* xl. 530.

⁵¹⁹ *Aevum*, ix. 254 f.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 378.

sian decree (see below, p. 211) and a new fragment,⁵²⁰ still unpublished, of the Athenian fifth-century coinage-decree (see above, p. 192): unlike the fragments already known, it is in the Attic script, and the use of the three-stroked *sigma* indicates a date markedly earlier than that hitherto accepted. Segre also publishes⁵²¹ a dedication to Poseidon Hippios made by three Rhodian naval officers and οἱ συνστρατευόμενοι and one to Apollo Didymaeus Soter made by [Μιλησί]ων οἱ στρατευσάμενοι [ἐν τῇ] ἀφράκτῳ, both of which illustrate the organisation and activities of the Rhodian fleet in the first century B.C.; he also claims as probably of Coan origin a similar inscription (Le Bas-Wadd. 504) found at Halicarnassus. L. Robert restores⁵²² a Coan fragment (*Nuova Silloge*, 439) relating to the κοινὸν [τῶν περὶ Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν] and publishes⁵²³ an interesting text recording the gift of a library and a hundred books by two donors and of other contributions in money and in books: he shows on prosopographical grounds that it belongs to Cos and dates from the early second century B.C. R. Knab edits⁵²⁴ a record of a hitherto unknown περιόδονίκης, and A. Neppi Modona comments⁵²⁵ on various Coan documents illustrating relations between Cos and Rome, especially in the early Imperial period.⁵²⁶

A tour in the CYCLADES has enabled W. Peek to publish⁵²⁷ several new inscriptions, from Ios part of an honorary decree, from Sicinos an epitaph, from Paros a votive Πειθοῖ καὶ Χάρισιν, from Ceos (now in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens) the closing phrases of a political document followed by the names of eighty-eight citizens who swore to observe it, and a list of fifteen men appointed, if Peek restores correctly, [ἐπὶ τῶ]ν στίτων, from Syros a rock-cut βουστροφηδόν-inscription which presents serious difficulties, and from Andros a second-century dedication to Ζεὺς καρποφόρος, an honorary decree for a doctor (giving us the first complete prescript of an Andrian decree) and the latter part of a long decree of the Peparethians in honour of three Andrian judges and their secretary. We may further note N. M. Kontoleon's publication⁵²⁸ of a Naxian dedication to Demeter, Kore and Zeus Eubouleus, of four fourth-century texts, two votive and two sepulchral, from Paros, and of the missing portion of a fifth-century Parian dedication (xii. 5. 260) and L. Robert's attribution⁵²⁹ to Paros of a dedication to Asclepius and Hygiea found at Zara. O. Rubensohn's essay⁵³⁰ on the neo-Parian school of sculpture collects the extant signatures of its members, two of which came to light on the island itself, M. Guarducci restores⁵³¹ a passage in a decree (*ibid.* 528) of Carthaea (Ceos), and L. Robert restores⁵³² portions of a decree of Tralles honouring a Tenian judge and his secretary (*ibid.* 869).

L. Robert deals⁵³³ with a list of names (*BCH.* xxxvii. 221 ff.) from CHIOS, examines the name Τύργαστος contained in it, and interprets

⁵²⁰ *Aevum*, loc. cit., *RivFil.* lxiii. 497.

⁵²¹ *Clara Rhodos*, viii. 229 ff.

⁵²² *BCH.* lix. 198 f.

⁵²³ *Ibid.* 421 ff.

⁵²⁴ *Die Periodoniken*, 82.

⁵²⁵ *Atti del secondo Congresso di Studi Coloniali*, 75 ff.

⁵²⁶ For a Coan mosaic see *AA.* 1936, 175 ff.

⁵²⁷ *AM.* lix. 57 ff.

⁵²⁸ *Δελτ.* xiv, παρ. 49 f.

⁵²⁹ *RevPhil.* x. 154 ff.

⁵³⁰ *Jdl.* l. 49 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 362.

⁵³¹ *RivFil.* lxiii. 504 ff.

⁵³² *RevPhil.* viii. 281 f.

⁵³³ *BCH.* lix. 453 ff.

the whole as a list of slaves emancipated and enrolled in military units (δεκάδες), probably towards the close of the Peloponnesian War. A. Salač accepts ⁵³⁴ this interpretation of the document and seeks to restore its prescript. Robert also discusses ⁵³⁵ a fragmentary record of victories won in some Chian ἀγών, in which the name of Mithridates frequently recurs, questioning the date and the interpretation given to it by M. Segre (cf. *JHS* liii. 245) and rejecting his suggestion that the festival in question was the Θεοφάνεια. In his detailed examination of the grave-stelae of SAMOS, E. Buschor deals ⁵³⁶ with three inscribed monuments of the sixth or early fifth century, and R. Eilmann publishes ⁵³⁷ a Samian deinos bearing the phrase [με]γάλης ἀντι φιλημ[οσύνης]. But the most valuable contributions to Samian epigraphy are those ⁵³⁸ of L. Robert, who (a) adds a new fragment to a decree (*BCH.* v. 480) for a gymnasiarch and restores the whole, (b) publishes a second-century decree in the Vathy Museum passed by the χιλιάσταιρες Ἐπιδανρίων οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἑλικώνιον in honour of one of their number, and discusses the cult of Poseidon Helikonios and the Samian χιλιαστές, (c) re-edits with new restorations the regulations (*SIG.* 1043) of the Samian νομογράφοι relative to that cult, (d) corrects a phrase in a fourth-century decree (*SEG.* i. 355. 36 f.) for two Argives, (e) discusses the name Ἀδήριτος, peculiar to Samian prosopography, and (f) suggests the restoration [Θρα]συδηίου in an ἐπίδοσις-list (*SBBerl.* 1904, 923 C 21).

In the same article Robert makes out ⁵³⁹ a strong case for reading Σαμ[ίων] in place of Σαν[αίων] in a Samothracian list of θεωροί (xii. 8. 171. 23), while elsewhere ⁵⁴⁰ he solves a difficult problem by reading Τραλέσιν (a body of Thracian mercenaries) instead of βραδέσιν in the decree (*ibid.* 156. 12) honouring the Spartan Hippomedon, στρατηγός of the Hellespont and Thrace under Ptolemy Euergetes. M. Launey publishes ⁵⁴¹ six inscriptions unearthed at THASOS, of which an ex-voto of the Roman period to Heracles Καλλίνικος and a late dedication of an ἀποδέκτης commemorating a sacrifice and a banquet at which he entertained πάντας τοὺς πολεῖτας καὶ περὶ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντας σὺν τοῖς ἐπιδημήσασι ξένοις deserve special notice; he also corrects an epitaph at Thasos engraved by an οἰωνοσκόπος Ἄραψ of the Syrian city of Kanotha in memory of his son (xii. 8. 528). Here too, as in so many other fields, L. Robert shows his astonishing command of the relevant materials and his power alike of eyesight and of insight, offering ⁵⁴² improved readings and restorations of (a) the earlier part of the Lampsacene decree (*BCH.* lii. 46) in honour of Nossicas of Thasos, (b) a fragmentary decree (*BCH.* xlv. 156), which he assigns to a Thessalian city, probably Larissa, (c) the month-name Ἑλευ[θερί]ω[νος] in the prescript of another decree (*ibid.* 153 f.), and (d) two passages of a decree (*ibid.* 157) of the Imperial period relating to a benefaction left to the Thasian state. In Scyros

⁵³⁴ * *Listy filol.* lxiii. 486 ff.: cf. *PhW.* lvii. 393.

⁵³⁵ *BCH.* lix. 459 ff.

⁵³⁶ *AM.* lviii. 22 ff.: cf. 242.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.* 109.

⁵³⁸ *BCH.* lix. 476 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 324.

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⁵³⁹ *BCH.* lix. 487 f.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 425 ff.

⁵⁴¹ *BCH.* lviii. 484 ff.

⁵⁴² *RevPhil.* x. 127 ff.

W. Peek has found ⁵⁴³ a fourth-century record of a *πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*, the oldest known inscription of this island, and a dedication *Συρίαι θεῶι*.

EUBOEA supplies the same scholar with two valuable documents,⁵⁴⁴ part of an Eretrian decree of about 480-45 B.C., with another archaic text engraved on the side of the stele, and an ephebic list (probably from Eretria, but now in the Chalcis Museum), the extant portion of which contains the names of the ἀντικοσμήτης, the ἱερεὺς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων and the ἀγωνοθέται of twelve festivals, three of which are here first mentioned. W. Wallace gives us,⁵⁴⁵ together with an unpublished epitaph, a new edition of the proxeny-decree just referred to, which he dates 500-466 B.C.; it is, he claims, the earliest extant decree of *προξενία* by about a quarter of a century and the earliest Eretrian decree by more than fifty years. Several of the *devotiones* edited by E. Ziebarth appear ⁵⁴⁶ to come from Eretria. Of great importance is a military ordinance (διάγραμμα) from Chalcis, edited ⁵⁴⁷ by S. B. Kougeas, who attributes it to the reign of Philip V of Macedon; it was to be publicly exhibited in the fortress and contained detailed regulations relative to the garrison's supplies and stores and the duties devolving on the χειρισταὶ and οἰκονόμοι acting under the supervision of the φρούραρχοι. K. Kourouniotes comments ⁵⁴⁸ on some features of the document and discusses the chief methods of storage in σιροί, σιτοβολεῖα and οἰκήματα. E. Ziebarth has discovered ⁵⁴⁹ near Vatheia, E. of Eretria, an epitaph and a second copy of the Eretrian decree (xii. 9. 236) in honour of Theopompus, which enables us to locate the shrine of Artemis Amarysia, and T. K. Karadjas gives a provisional report ⁵⁵⁰ of some inscriptions, one of which seems to be a fragmentary decree, found in villages near the site of Dystus.

[IG. xiii.] Among the outstanding events of the period under review is the publication of the first volume ⁵⁵¹ of the long-awaited *corpus* of CRETE, covering the centre of the island with the exception of Gortyn. Of the thirty sites represented, Lyttus is by far the most prolific, claiming 189 inscriptions out of a total of 673, followed by Lebena (61) and Cnossus (59). Begun by F. Halbherr, the work passed after his death in July 1930 to M. Guarducci, who has shown herself admirably qualified to fulfil so exacting a task. Originally intended to form part of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, it is now issued under the auspices of the R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte; like the Berlin *corpus*, it is written in Latin, but it differs from it (a) in making a far larger use of photographic illustrations, (b) in including Latin inscriptions (in the present volume these number only twenty), (c) in inserting among the inscriptions of a given state those which emanated from it though they were engraved elsewhere, (d) in arranging the sites in alphabetical rather than geographical order, and (e) in

⁵⁴³ *AM.* lix. 72 f.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 73 ff.

⁵⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, v. 273 ff.

⁵⁴⁶ *SBBerl.* 1934, 1028 ff., Nos. 4, 20, 21.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ἑλληνικά*, vii. 177 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 363.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 173 ff.

⁵⁴⁹ *Πρακτ. Ἀκ. Ἀθ.* x. 217 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 363.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 156.

⁵⁵¹ *Inscriptiones Creticae*, I, Rome, 1935: cf. *REG.* xlix. 344, *Historia*, ix. 662 f., *Athenaeum*, xiv. 218 ff., *Aecum*, x. 411 f., *Gnomon*, xiii. 344 ff.

using a separate numeration within each section. These last two features appear to me to be serious defects, but the completeness and orderly arrangement of the materials presented, the clarity and conciseness of the commentaries, and the excellence of the printing and illustration deserve the highest praise, even though, as is indicated by A. M. Woodward's constructive review,⁵⁵² this *corpus* falls short, as do all others, of finality. L. Robert treats⁵⁵³ of certain inscriptions of Lyttus, Chersonesus and Olus.

M. Guarducci examines⁵⁵⁴ the nature and affinities of the Artemis Toxia of the 'Great Inscription' of Gortyn, S.E. of which, near Gyrocephala, a fragment of a late epitaph has come to light.⁵⁵⁵ Excavating at Amnisus, S. Marinatos found three fragments⁵⁵⁶ of an inscribed marble vase, a clay lamp bearing its maker's name, and a cube of poros with a short but complete text⁵⁵⁷ referring to the κόσμοι, probably of Cnossus. G. Patriarca publishes⁵⁵⁸ three new inscriptions from Lyttus—one, of A.D. 112, honouring Trajan (identical in content with *IGRom.* i. 988), one, dated between A.D. 198 and 217, for Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, and the third, erected in A.D. 209-10, for Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna, of which another fragment⁵⁵⁹ has long been known—together with one of unknown provenance in honour of Caligula, and M. Guarducci three Lyttian epitaphs,⁵⁶⁰ of which the most interesting is an epigram of six couplets commemorating a young wife of sixteen years who died in child-birth. Other recent finds from Cnossus and from W. Crete are briefly reported⁵⁶¹ by G. Karo. S. Marinatos has discovered⁵⁶² at Drerus two copies of an honorary decree for an Aspendian, the later of which was made owing to the breakage of the earlier. F. Chapouthier provides⁵⁶³ a fuller copy of the graffiti traced on the landward side of the islet of Prasonisi in the Gulf of Mirabello, and seeks by comparison with similar graffiti to determine their significance, and L. Robert makes⁵⁶⁴ two corrections in a decree of the Cretan κοινόν found at Priansus (*SGDI.* 5138).

A. Kocavalov discusses⁵⁶⁵ the syntactical use of the article in Cretan inscriptions, Guarducci collects and analyses⁵⁶⁶ the evidence for the Cretan ἐταιρία and examines⁵⁶⁷ the meaning of σάρτος, supporting De Sanctis' view that it originally denoted the college of κόσμοι but was later extended to other magisterial colleges, F. Heichelheim summarises⁵⁶⁸ recent work on Cretan constitutional questions, and E. Fraenkel discusses⁵⁶⁹ the use of ἔγραψε, 'it is written,' in the Gortynian code (*SGDI.* 4991. xi. 20).

⁵⁵² *JHS* lvi. 94 ff.

⁵⁵³ *RevPhil.* x. 168 ff.

⁵⁵⁴ *Stud. e mat. di storia d. religioni*, xii. 181 ff.

⁵⁵⁵ *BSA.* xxxiii. 87.

⁵⁵⁶ *Πρακτ.* 1934, 22, 132, *AA.* 1935, 246.

⁵⁵⁷ *AA.* 1935, 259.

⁵⁵⁸ *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* iv. 45 ff.: cf. *RA.* vi. 228 f.

⁵⁵⁹ *Mus. Ital.* iii. 624, No. 42.

⁵⁶⁰ *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* vi. 57 ff.

⁵⁶¹ *AA.* 1936, 161 f.

⁵⁶² *CRAIInscr.* 1935, 482.

⁵⁶³ *BCH.* lix. 376 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 129.

⁵⁶⁴ *BCH.* lix. 437.

⁵⁶⁵ *Eos*, xxxv. 139 ff., xxxvi. 35 ff.

⁵⁶⁶ *Historia*, ix. 436 ff.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 443 ff.

⁵⁶⁸ *Burs.* ccl. 200 f.

⁵⁶⁹ *Zeits. vergl. Spr.* lxii. 272.

VII. WESTERN EUROPE

[IG. xiv.] The general index⁵⁷⁰ to the *Notizie degli Scavi* for 1876-1930 is of value for epigraphical purposes. Of SICILY there is little to record. The second edition of C. Barreca's work on the Syracusan catacombs, which contains⁵⁷¹ the texts of 415 Greek inscriptions with brief notes, I know only indirectly. The dedication of the Apollo temple at Syracuse (xiv. 1) continues to evoke discussion (cf. *JHS.* lv. 207). E. Drerup examines⁵⁷² minutely its reading, offering the following version: ΚΛΕΟ- [σιμέν]ες ἐποίησε τόπ(ε)λ(λ)ονι ἡο Κινιδέδα τέπιπ[λ]' ἐ(ς) στυλεια καὶ [τ]ὰ Φέργα, dating it about 550 at latest, while A. von Blumenthal, accepting Drerup's reading of the stone, restores⁵⁷³ Κινιδεύα τέπιπ[ρ]εσ(σ)τυλεία κάλ(λ)α Φέργα. M. Guarducci examines⁵⁷⁴ the cult of Anna and the Παῖδες attested by a group of texts from the grotto of Buscemi, on the plateau of Acrae. M. Feyel re-edits⁵⁷⁵ an honorary decree, probably of the first century B.C., of Phintias (Licata), the successor of Gela (xiv. 256); G. Daux comments⁵⁷⁶ on this and L. Robert substitutes⁵⁷⁷ τὸς(ς) τριάκοντα μέρος (ll. 27 f.) for Feyel's τὸ τριακοντάμερο(ν) and interprets ἀλίασματα (l. 4) as 'decrees' rather than 'meetings.' J. Bovio-Marconi publishes⁵⁷⁸ a fragment from Thermae Himeraeae, which, restored in the light of (and in turn helping to restore) xiv. 315, recalls the restitution to that city by P. Scipio Africanus of statues which had been carried off from Himera to Carthage.

E. Mele has found⁵⁷⁹ three broken stamped tiles at Calle, near Tricarico in Lucania, P. Zancani Montuoro discusses⁵⁸⁰ the signatures of two late sculptors, Aphrodisius of Athens and Carus of Putea or Puteoli, engraved on Roman copies of Greek statues discovered at Baiae, and D. M. Pippidi comments⁵⁸¹ on a metrical epitaph of Capreae (xiv. 902). The new *corpus* of inscriptions from Tibur, edited⁵⁸² by J. Mancini, comprises 653 texts, of which one (No. 70) contains a single Greek word, two (Nos. 31, 254) are bilingual and fifty are Greek: nine of these are lacking in IG. xiv and three (Nos. 70, 609 f.) are here first published, while the largest group is composed of forty herm-inscriptions (Nos. 550-88, 608). The text on a fragment of a r.-f. Attic kylix from Populonia, hitherto deemed⁵⁸³ Etruscan, is claimed⁵⁸⁴ as Greek by O. Brendel.

Among recent discoveries made in or near ROME we may note a striking relief inscribed Ὑψίστη Ἀστάρτη, found⁵⁸⁵ by G. Annibaldi 7 kilometres along the Appia Nova, together with a second-century memorial of a dead husband and two ex-votos to Ζεὺς βροντῶν, one of

⁵⁷⁰ *Indici generali 1876-1930*, Rome, 1935.

⁵⁷¹ * *Le catacombe di Siracusa alla luce degli ultimi scavi* (Rome, 1934), 79 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 293.

⁵⁷² *Mnem.* ii. 1 ff.: cf. *REG.* l. 99.

⁵⁷³ *RM.* l. 331 f.: cf. *AJA.* xli. 129.

⁵⁷⁴ *Stud. e mat. di storia d. religioni*, xii. 25 ff.

⁵⁷⁵ *REG.* xlviii. 371 ff., 623 f.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 623.

⁵⁷⁷ *REG.* xlix. 14 ff.

⁵⁷⁸ *NSc.* 1935, 201 f.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 194 f.

⁵⁸⁰ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxi. 41 ff.

⁵⁸¹ * *Revista clasica*, iv-v. 51 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 394, *RA.* vi. 255.

⁵⁸² *Inscriptiones Italiae*, I. *Latium et Campania*, fasc. 1, Rome, 1936.

⁵⁸³ *NSc.* 1934, 378, E. Fiesel, *Stud. etruschi*, viii. 435 f.

⁵⁸⁴ *AA.* 1935, 530 f.

⁵⁸⁵ *NSc.* 1935, 91 ff.: cf. *RA.* vi. 239, *AA.* 1935, 559.

which dates from A.D. 241-4; a copy of the signature of the Theban sculptor Myron, unearthed ⁵⁸⁶ near the temples of the Largo Argentina by D. Mustilli, who compares it with xiv. 1253, the genuineness of which he champions; a fragment ⁵⁸⁷ of an inscribed sarcophagus in the Museo Cristiano; and a quasi-poetical epitaph ⁵⁸⁸ of a boy of ten, containing the formula δοίη σοι ὁ Ὀσειρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ and the significant phrase οὐκ ἔ[χει σὲ] Χάρων ἀλλὰ Χάος. Of A. Silvagni's valuable *corpus* of Christian inscriptions from Rome a second volume has appeared, ⁵⁸⁹ dealing with some of the chief cemeteries; of the 2403 texts which it contains, 176 are Greek, eleven bilingual and three Latin in speech but Greek in script. E. Josi describes the cemetery of Pretextatus, in which some Greek or bilingual texts have come to light, ⁵⁹⁰ F. J. Dölger ⁵⁹¹ an epitaph with the fish-symbol in the Catacomb of S. Sebastiano, and M. Pallottino ⁵⁹² the *columbaria* of the Via Taranto with a fine relief dedicated θεῶι ἡρώϊ Οὐνεριανῶ κατ' ὄναρ to commemorate a deceased son. M. Schwabe and A. Reifenberg publish ⁵⁹³ a glass *ampulla* in the Sangiorgi collection, bearing an epitaph in gold of two Jewesses, calling attention to the part played by Jews in the glass industry, and G. Patriarca reconstructs ⁵⁹⁴ from more than twenty fragments the long metrical epitaph of a Termessian who had migrated to Rome. H. Grégoire maintains, ⁵⁹⁵ against E. Peterson (cf. *JHS* lv. 208), the Montanist character of a Roman grave-inscription, and E. Staedler argues ⁵⁹⁶ that the famous graffito in the *paedagogium* on the Palatine, widely regarded as a burlesque of the crucified Christ, has no reference to Christianity but is a pagan votive traced by an injured circus-slave in gratitude for his recovery: the opposite view, however, is maintained ⁵⁹⁷ by D. Mallardo.

The Bacchic inscription from Torre Nova, now in New York (cf. *JHS* lv. 208), is discussed ⁵⁹⁸ by M. P. Nilsson, who stresses the Greek influences under which the cult originated and developed, claiming that the Bacchic mysteries were fundamentally Greek rather than Oriental; F. von Hiller deals ⁵⁹⁹ briefly with it in connexion with Theophanes and Lesbos, and M. Guarducci ⁶⁰⁰ interprets the title ἡρώς which appears in it.

M. Launey ⁶⁰¹ solves a problem raised by a bilingual epitaph from Genay, near Trévoux (xiv. 2532). A. Schulten's valuable article on the Greeks in Spain includes ⁶⁰² an annotated list of Greek inscriptions found in the Iberian peninsula, eight of them (Nos. 2-5, 7, 9-11) hitherto unpublished, and a section on Greek personal names which occur there. A

⁵⁸⁶ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxi. 207 ff.: cf. *Historia*, ix. 346.

⁵⁸⁷ *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* x. 79 f.

⁵⁸⁸ G. Patriarca, *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxi. 211 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ *Inscr. Christ. urbis Romae septimo saec. antiquiores*, II. *Coemeteria in viis Cornelia, Aurelia, Portuensi et Ostiensi*, Rome, 1935: cf. *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xii. 218.

⁵⁹⁰ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xii. 15, 17, 24, 228, xiii. 12.

⁵⁹¹ *Antike u. Christentum*, iv. 276.

⁵⁹² *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxii. 57 ff.

⁵⁹³ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xii. 341 ff.

⁵⁹⁴ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxii. 151 ff.

⁵⁹⁵ *Byzantion*, x. 247 ff.

⁵⁹⁶ *Theol. Quartalschr.* cxvii. 253 ff., *Bull. Comm. Arch.* lxiii. 97 ff.

⁵⁹⁷ * *Atti Accad. Napoli*, xiv. 117 ff.: cf. *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xiv. 185.

⁵⁹⁸ *Stud. e mat. di storia d. religioni*, x. 1 ff.: cf. *Historia*, ix. 686.

⁵⁹⁹ *Gött. Nachr. Fachgr. I*, Bd. i. 6. 111 ff.

⁶⁰⁰ *Atti. del III Congresso naz. di studi romani*, iv. 331 f.

⁶⁰¹ *BCH.* lviii. 497 ff.

⁶⁰² *RhMus.* lxxxv. 335 ff.

fragmentary Greek inscription from Cologne is published ⁶⁰³ by F. Fremersdorf, and an openwork gold ring from Corstopitum (Corbridge) by J. D. Cowen, ⁶⁰⁴ who cites a similar ring from Stonham Aspal in Suffolk. I do not know C. Wessel's dissertation ⁶⁰⁵ on *Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae veteres Occidentis*.

VIII. ASIA MINOR

No further instalment of the *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* has appeared, but W. M. Calder reports ⁶⁰⁶ on his expedition in 1934 for the purpose of gathering materials for a forthcoming volume, chiefly at Synnada, Apamea, Aphrodisias, Attouda and Laodicea: L. Robert's review ⁶⁰⁷ of vols. III and IV deserves special attention. T. R. S. Broughton makes a valuable contribution to Anatolian history under Roman rule in two studies, one ⁶⁰⁸ of which uses epigraphical evidence for the development of Roman landholding in Asia Minor and stresses the part played by confiscation and inheritance in building up the Imperial estates, while the other ⁶⁰⁹ proves by inscription Augustus' settlement of *coloni* at Tralles, Attalea and Amisus. W. H. Buckler traces ⁶¹⁰ the evolution of the Asiatic cult of Augustus, with its centre at Pergamum, examining the successive forms taken by the title of Augustus and of the chief priest of the cult, ending after A.D. 15 with θεὸς Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ Ζεὺς Πατῆρως κτλ. found in three mutilated decrees (*IGRom.* iv. 1410, 1608, *IBM.* 894), which Buckler restores more fully, and echoed in monuments of Aphrodisias and Dorylaeum. I cannot here attempt to summarise the epigraphical materials incorporated in L. Robert's masterly topographical work ⁶¹¹ on Anatolian cities, in which he identifies a number of sites on the basis of personal observation and a minute study of the available evidence—literary, epigraphical and numismatic: several new inscriptions are published—among them two fragments of ephebe-lists from Apollonis (pp. 30 f.), an epitaph from Laodicea ad Lycum (p. 94), two others from Keretapa-Diocaesarea (p. 118), a grave-curse from Kelekchi in the valley of the Gereniz Tchai (p. 213), and an honorary inscription found near Kidrama (p. 226)—and a large number are corrected or interpreted (see Index, pp. 250 f.).

Special attention has been paid to CARIA, to the great gain of both topography and epigraphy. W. M. Calder records ⁶¹² the itinerary and summarises the results of an expedition to N. Caria in 1934. A. Laumonier deals in a ninety-page report ⁶¹³ with the epigraphical fruits of a Carian tour in 1933, commenting on some published texts and editing forty-three new discoveries and one imperfectly known text (No. 13). These belong

⁶⁰³ *Germania*, xix. 135.

⁶⁰⁴ *Arch. Aeliana*, xiii. 310 ff.

⁶⁰⁵ Halle, 1936.

⁶⁰⁶ *Türk Tarih*, iii. 215 f.: cf. *ClRev.* xlix. 216.

⁶⁰⁷ *AntClass.* iv. 459 ff.: cf. G. Radet, *REA.* xxxviii. 387 f.

⁶⁰⁸ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxv. 207 ff.

⁶⁰⁹ *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxvi. 18 ff.

⁶¹⁰ *RevPhil.* ix. 177 ff.: cf. *Stud. e mat. di storia d.*

religioni, ix. 217 ff.

⁶¹¹ *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1935: cf. *REA.* xxxviii. 105 ff., *JHS.* lvi. 83 f., *RA.* viii. 122 ff., *Byzantion*, x. 733 ff., *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 150 f., *OLZ.* xxxix. 727 f.

⁶¹² *Bull. Am. Council of Learned Societies*, xxiii. 119 ff.

⁶¹³ *BCH.* lviii. 291 ff.: cf. *RA.* vi. 219, *AJA.* xl. 364 ff.

mainly to Alinda, Alabanda, Mylasa, Cindya, Labraunda, Stratonicea and Hyllarima (Mesevle), and include two decrees, the first known, from Alinda (No. 1), a votive to Apollo Ἰσότημος from Karacollar (No. 2), an honorary inscription from Alabanda for a hereditary priest ὑγείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος καὶ Ἡλίου, who had been chief priest of Rome and Augustus (No. 3), several decrees and a list of members of a συγγένεια at Mylasa (Nos. 5-7), a record from Labraunda of a priest Διὸς Λ[αβ]ραύνδου (No. 15), a valuable group of seventeen texts from Stratonicea (Nos. 17-33), including four mutilated decrees and dedications to Zeus Panamaros & Hecate, Ζεὺς Ὑψιστος καὶ θεὸς ἀγαθός and θεῖον ἀγγελικόν, and six from Hyllarima, among them a *lex sacra*, three dedications (one of them to the Jewish synagogue), and—the gem of the collection—a Carian text followed by a fourth-century list of priests θεῶν πάντων and a statement of the terms of purchase of the life-priesthood of a number of deities, three of whom are quite new, and τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου: on one side of the stele is a record of leases of property, some of it sacred. L. Robert supplements ⁶¹⁴ this article with notes, criticisms and corrections, and himself publishes ⁶¹⁵ a 'summary report of a first journey in Caria' in 1932, dealing mainly with the epigraphy and historical topography of Stratonicea, Mylasa, Euromus, Olymus and Hydissus, which he locates epigraphically at Karaca Hissar; he gives no new texts but fuller or corrected readings of already known inscriptions of Stratonicea and Mylasa. To Robert's criticisms Laumonier briefly replies.⁶¹⁶ Robert also reports ⁶¹⁷ on a second tour in 1934, including, besides photographs of published inscriptions from Mylasa and Cindya, a Stratonicean thankoffering θεῖω ἀγγελικῶ (p. 155) and a fourth-century decree of the Κιλδαρεῖς (p. 163), engraved beneath a Carian text. O. Rubensohn publishes ⁶¹⁸ the signature of a Parian sculptor, dated about 150 B.C., found at Cnidus, and L. Robert and P. Devambez report ⁶¹⁹ the discovery, on the acropolis at Ceramus, of eight inscriptions of the type εὐσεβῆς ἱερεὺς ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ δεῖνα circled by a crown. Robert adds valuable notes ⁶²⁰ on the Theangela inscriptions, now in Paris, recording a treaty ratified by oath between Theangela and its defenders on the one hand and Eupolemus, who takes possession of the town and its citadels, on the other (cf. *JHS*. liii. 250); these throw new light on the Macedonian dynast Eupolemus and on Aristodemus, one of the defenders of Theangela. G. Jost's dissertation ⁶²¹ on the geography, history, administration and trade of Iasus is based largely upon epigraphical evidence. L. Robert shows ⁶²² that an epitaph (*BCH*. xxxvii. 234) currently assigned to Chios is in reality part of a long-known inscription of Iasus (*CIG*. 2686), corrects a misinterpretation of it and calls attention to the many Iasian stones carried off to other places, and M. Guarducci explains ⁶²³ an honorary inscription (*JHS* ix. 338) of that city. L. Robert proposes ⁶²⁴ a new

⁶¹⁴ *BCH*. lviii. 512 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xl. 366.

⁶¹⁵ *AJA*. xxxix. 331 ff.

⁶¹⁶ *BCH*. lix. 231 ff.

⁶¹⁷ *RA*. vi. 152 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xl. 354.

⁶¹⁸ *JdI*. l. 49 f.

⁶¹⁹ *AJA*. xxxix. 342.

⁶²⁰ *AntClass*. iv. 157 ff.: cf. *REG*. xlix. 384.

⁶²¹ *Iasos in Karien*, Hamburg, 1935.

⁶²² *BCH*. lix. 465 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xlii. 129.

⁶²³ *RivFil*. lxiii. 503 f.

⁶²⁴ *REG*. xlix. 9, note 2.

restoration in a text ⁶²⁵ of Stratonicea, and W. M. Calder publishes ⁶²⁶ an order, engraved on a basis at Aphrodisias, regarding the treatment of doves: it begins [Τι]βέριος Κάτιος Ἀσκώνιος Σείλιος Εἰταλικὸς ἀνθύπατος λέγει, and gives us the full name of Silius Italicus, the Roman poet, proconsul of Asia about A.D. 77.

The inscriptions of IONIA continue both historically and linguistically to evoke interest. A new instalment of the final account of the excavation of MILETUS, in which A. von Gerkan describes the city-walls, contains ⁶²⁷ nine inscriptions, eight Greek and one Latin, edited by A. Rehm; three of the Greek texts are new, and the others, including a fourth-century epigram, dedications to Apollo Didymeus, Artemis Pythia and the Demos and to Athena Soteria and all gods, and the τόπος-inscription ἱεροπλάτη τῶν φιλόπλων, are more adequately edited. Of an unpublished ἀσυλία-pact of 240-39 B.C. between Miletus and the Aetolians we learn from H. H. Benecke, ⁶²⁸ and G. Daux calls attention ⁶²⁹ to the interest of a Milesian decree found at Didyma showing that Attalus II bore the title of King before the death of his brother Eumenes II. B. Bondesson gives an account ⁶³⁰ of the phonetics and accident of the Milesian inscriptions and J. E. Fontenrose suggests ⁶³¹ restorations of two important texts of Didyma, while C. Wendel tries to prove ⁶³² the existence of a Leandrius, distinct from the Milesian historian Maeandrius of *I. v. Priene*, 37, 38. L. Robert has occupied himself to good purpose with a number of inscriptions from Magnesia ad Maeandrum, ⁶³³ while others play an important part in his discussion ⁶³⁴ of the problem of the Delphian Soteria. J. Keil's provisional report on his work at EPHEBUS in 1933 tells of inscriptions ⁶³⁵ found at the mausoleum of Belevi, which he dates about 250 B.C., and of a large fragment, ⁶³⁶ from the Theatre-gymnasium, of an Imperial edict addressed to a *praefectus praetorio* of the fifth century A.D., apparently relating to a lowering of taxation (*capitatio*) and referring to the flight of the rural population from their lands. In a study of the martyrdom of Timothy, Keil cites ⁶³⁷ inscriptions to prove the existence of a street, mentioned in the *Acta*, called Ἐμβολος or Ἐμβολον, and C. Praschniker's article on the Ephesian copy of the Hermes of Alcamenes includes an examination ⁶³⁸ of the inscription on its shaft. Of special interest is K. F. Dörner's dissertation, ⁶³⁹ in which he restores the text of an edict, of which two Greek copies and one Latin have come to light at Ephesus, instituting 'measures of economy and war against corruption'; the edict is carefully annotated and analysed, and its contribution to the understanding of the Emperor Claudius is estimated. A. Wilhelm praises ⁶⁴⁰

⁶²⁵ Le Bas-Wadd. 517: cf. *SBBerl.* 1933, 851 f.

⁶²⁶ *CIRev.* xlix. 216 f.

⁶²⁷ *Milet*, II. 3, *Die Stadtmauer* (Berlin, 1935), 129 ff.: cf. *JHS.* lvi. 82 f.

⁶²⁸ *Die Seepolitik der Aitolier*, 23.

⁶²⁹ *BCH.* lix. 226 ff.

⁶³⁰ *De sonis et formis titulorum Milesiorum Didymaeorumque*, Lund, 1936: cf. *PhW.* lvii. 150 f.

⁶³¹ *AJPh.* lvii. 55 ff.

⁶³² *Hermes*, lxx. 356 ff.: for Priene cf. *RevPhil.* x. 123 ff.

⁶³³ *BCH.* lix. 499 f. (on *I. v. Magn.* 50), *RevPhil.* x. 123 ff. (on *ibid.* 59, 73b, 80).

⁶³⁴ *REA.* xxxviii. 5 ff.

⁶³⁵ *ÖJh.* xxix, Beiblatt, 113, 141 f.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.* 148 ff.

⁶³⁷ *ÖJh.* xxix. 87 ff.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.* 23 ff.

⁶³⁹ *Der Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus*, Greifswald, 1935: cf. *PhW.* lvi. 692 f., *RA.* viii. 295 f., *Deutsche Litztg.* vi. 413 ff.

⁶⁴⁰ *Glotta*, xxv. 269 ff.

Dörner's thoroughness but makes some minor corrections and substitutes δ[υοχέρε]α for δ[αψιλέ]α in his text (pp. 16, 38). B. D. Meritt publishes ⁶⁴¹ a dozen inscriptions found in the sanctuary of 'the Mother' at Colophon, including (a) five fragments of a record, probably ⁶⁴² of 311-6 B.C., consisting of a decree about the rebuilding and extension of the walls and the organisation of a public subscription for this purpose, together with a list of donors, (b) six fragments of a measure relative to walls, loans and other financial problems, (c) a well-preserved decree of the late fourth century granting proxenia and citizenship to a Sinopean for public services, (d) parts of two similar decrees and of one referring to some public work, and (e) a fourth-century dedication to Asclepius: these should be studied with the comments, corrections and restorations proposed ⁶⁴³ by L. Robert, who also interprets ⁶⁴⁴ an honorary decree (SIG. 656) from Teos, in which Abdera praises two Tean envoys to Rome. A. Wilhelm devotes two weighty articles to Tean texts, one ⁶⁴⁵ to a much-discussed decree (SEG. ii. 579) of the late fourth century B.C., dealing with the enfranchisement of a body of new citizens, perhaps Lebedians, and defining their privileges and restrictions, the other ⁶⁴⁶ to two letters sent by Antigonos to Teos in 303 B.C. relative to the συνοικισμός with the Lebedians, recently re-edited by C. B. Welles.⁶⁴⁷ In his work on the 'Erythrae Decree' (see above, p. 171) L. I. Highby re-examines ⁶⁴⁸ two well-known Erythraean texts, one of the first half of the fifth, the other of the fourth century B.C. F. Miltner and Selâhattin publish ⁶⁴⁹ in Turkish (with a French summary) the results of excavations at Namazqâh, near SMYRNA, among which are an altar erected to Hadrian by οἱ τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸ πόλεως Βρεισέως Διονύσου μύσται,⁶⁵⁰ another recording the victories won by a δολιχαδρόμος, two more agonistic texts and a second and better preserved copy of the 'Senatusconsultum of Adramyttium' (IGRom. iv. 262) περὶ χώρας ἥτις ἐν ἀντιλογίᾳ ἐστὶν δημοσιῶναις πρὸς Περγαμηνούς, ending with a complete list of the senators who witnessed its registration. E. Pfuhr and A. Seylaz examine ⁶⁵¹ a relief from Tachtali on the Nif Dag, E. of Smyrna, and L. Robert adds to his discussion of 'Smyrna and the Soteria of Delphi' (see above, p. 182) an account ⁶⁵² of Smyrna's calendar, based on the 'Asian' calendar of the Florentine *Hemerologium*, adducing evidence for the existence there of the months Ἀντιοχεῶν and Λαοδικεῶν.

Turning to LYDIA, we are again indebted to L. Robert, whose favourable review ⁶⁵³ of Buckler and Robinson's *corpus* of the Sardian inscriptions (cf. *JHS* liii. 252) contains valuable notes (especially on Nos. 78, 93^a, 100, 152, 195) and assigns to Sardis two epitaphs, one at Leyden and the other in Rome (IG. xiv. 1760), and who throws fresh light ⁶⁵⁴ on an

⁶⁴¹ *AJPh.* lvi. 358 ff.: cf. *REG.* xlix. 382 f.

⁶⁴² *RevPhil.* x. 159 ff.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.* 158 ff.

⁶⁴⁴ *BCH.* lix. 498, 507 ff.

⁶⁴⁵ *Klio.* xxvii. 270 ff., xxviii. 293: cf. *REG.* xlix. 382.

⁶⁴⁶ *Klio.* xxviii. 280 ff.: cf. xxvii. 283 ff., *REG.* xlix. 382.

⁶⁴⁷ *Royal Correspondence*, Nos. 3, 4.

⁶⁴⁸ *The Erythrae Decree*, 35 ff.

⁶⁴⁹ *Türk Tarih*, ii. 236 ff., 310: cf. *RA.* vi. 256, *REG.* xlix. 381.

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. P. Willeumier, *RA.* vi. 99.

⁶⁵¹ *AA.* 1935, 15 ff.

⁶⁵² *REA.* xxxviii. 23 ff.

⁶⁵³ *RA.* vii. 233 ff.

⁶⁵⁴ *Istros*, i, fasc. 2.

honorary inscription of the Thyatiran guild of βαφείς (*IGRom.* iv. 1213). V. Laurent proves⁶⁵⁵ that the monastic text of Yenishehir⁶⁵⁶ can be restored by the aid of prescriptions of St. Basil.

C. W. Blegen's excavation at Troy has unearthed⁶⁵⁷ an anonymous dedication in a mosaic floor and a number of fragmentary inscriptions, together with three Greek texts, which J. L. Caskey edits,⁶⁵⁸ (a) an honorary inscription to an ἐπιτρόπῳ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ ἐπαρχειῶν Λιβύης, Ἀσίας, Θράκης, (b) a base erected by the ἱλιεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινωνοῦσαι τῆς θυσίας καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως in honour of one who had been ἀγωνοθέτης of the panegyris and ἀγορανόμος and had twice celebrated ταυροβόλια at his own expense, and (c) a public dedication Ἐρκείῳ Διὶ Προπάτορι. J. Vanseveren excellently re-edits⁶⁵⁹ from the original a decree of Ilium (cf. *SEG.* iv. 663) honouring a benefactor and regulating the use of his endowment for a πομπή καὶ θυσία to Athena, and Robert gives⁶⁶⁰ an improved reading in another decree of the same city and a restoration⁶⁶¹ of a decree of Lampsacus (*BCH.* xvii. 553).

From PERGAMUM there is less than usual to report.⁶⁶² W. von Massow describes⁶⁶³ the Inschriftensaal in the Pergamonmuseum at Berlin, and R. Zahn⁶⁶⁴ a Pergamene cameo in that Museum. G. De Sanctis doubts⁶⁶⁵ the identification of the C. Julius Quadratus Bassus of a famous Pergamene inscription (cf. *JHS* lv. 213) with the C. Julius Bassus of Pliny's 'Letters' and approves Herzog's explanation of the hymn of Aelius Aristides, and a Pergamene inscription (*I. v. Perg.* 158) figures largely in M. Segre's discussion⁶⁶⁶ of στεγνοποιία. But we can hardly exaggerate the importance of R. Herzog's masterly survey⁶⁶⁷ of the origin and development of the ancient universities, with an 'unbroken tradition from antiquity through the Middle Ages in East and West down to the present day,' with Athens as *fons et origo*: this takes the form of prolegomena to and an exhaustive commentary on a Pergamene inscription, engraved under Trajan or Hadrian, comprising (a) an edict of Vespasian, dated 27 December, A.D. 74, according immunity from billeting and taxation to ἰατροί, παιδευταί and ἰατραλείπται, protecting them from *iniuria* and granting them the right [συνόδου]ς ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσι καὶ ἱεροῖς καὶ [ναοῖς συνάγειν ὅ]που ἂν αἰρῶνται ὡς ἀσύλοις, 'die Magna Charta der Hochschule,' followed by (b) a Latin rescript of Domitian, severely checking [*avaritiam medicorum atque*] *praeceptorum* in instructing slaves [*augendae mercedis gratia*]. V. Laurent publishes⁶⁶⁸ an honorary inscription for Hadrian set up in A.D. 134-5 at Hadriani ad Olympum, and another of unknown provenance, also in the Brussa Museum, for a doctor.

Starting from an inscription (*IGRom.* iii. 42) of Nicaea in BITHYNIA, L. Robert discusses⁶⁶⁹ the μαιονμας, a Syrian festival known from the

⁶⁵⁵ *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 65 ff.

⁶⁵⁶ *Rec. inscr. grecques chrét.* 340 quater.

⁶⁵⁷ *AJA.* xxxix. 583.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 588 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 253.

⁶⁵⁹ *RevPhil.* x. 249 ff.

⁶⁶⁰ *BCH.* lix. 493.

⁶⁶¹ *RevPhil.* x. 128 f.

⁶⁶² Cf. *REG.* xlix. 379 f.

⁶⁶³ *Berl. Museen*, lv. 16 ff.

⁶⁶⁴ *Berl. Museen*, lvi. 16 f.

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.* lxiii. 129 f.

⁶⁶⁶ *RivFil.* lxiii. 222 ff.

⁶⁶⁷ *SBBerl.* 1935, 967 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 289 ff., *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xii. 18 f.

⁶⁶⁸ *Echos d'Orient*, xxxix. 230 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 272.

⁶⁶⁹ *REG.* xlix. 9 ff.: cf. *Syria*, xvii. 395 f.

Talmud and an inscription of Gerasa; he also deals ⁶⁷⁰ with a Sinopean regulation (*SIG.* 1017) of the priesthood of Poseidon Heliconius, offering some new restorations.

Coming to GALATIA, I may deal with all three texts of the *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, the famous bilingual *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the Latin *Monumentum Antiochenum* and the fragmentary Greek *Monumentum Apolloniense*, since all three must be studied in conjunction, and the Greek and Latin versions are largely interdependent. Of the whole document we must note no fewer than four editions, (a) one by J. Gagé ⁶⁷¹ with ample introduction, notes and index and a useful appendix (pp. 153 ff.) on Augustus' calendar and supplementary textual notes (pp. 187 ff.) due to W. Weber; (b) a sixth edition of E. Diehl's familiar and valued text and commentary ⁶⁷² in the 'Kleine Texte'; (c) a convenient little edition, ⁶⁷³ with translation and notes by E. Malcovati, a recognised specialist, and (d) a freely illustrated edition ⁶⁷⁴ of the *Res gestae* and the fragments of Augustus' other works, annotated for school use, by R. S. Rogers, K. Scott and M. M. Ward. A. Carettoni's *Ancyra e il testamento di Augusto* ⁶⁷⁵ I have not seen. W. Weber's detailed account of Augustus' administration ⁶⁷⁶ is based upon a very close examination of the actual *Monumentum* at Ancyra and abounds in detailed observations and critical restorations of the text. L. Homo's *Auguste* ⁶⁷⁷ contains (pp. 285 ff.) an account of the *Res gestae* and a translation of almost the whole of it. V. Groh studies ⁶⁷⁸ ch. 10, while ch. 34, perhaps the most interesting of the whole document, is discussed ⁶⁷⁹ by K. Sprey, by H. Berve, ⁶⁸⁰ who insists that the phrase *per consensum universorum*, etc., must relate to 28 and 27 B.C., and by K. Barwick, ⁶⁸¹ who, accepting Berve's historical interpretation, supplements and corrects him on the linguistic side. H. Markowski's article ⁶⁸² 'De iv virtutibus Augusti in clupeo aureo ei dato inscriptis' deals with *Res gestae* 34 vi. 18 ff. (Greek xviii. 2 ff.): he has also communicated a number of textual suggestions to F. Gottanka, who discusses ⁶⁸³ them. Other questions are examined by E. Malcovati ⁶⁸⁴ and by J. Gagé. ⁶⁸⁵ Remzi Oğuz reports ⁶⁸⁶ in Turkish and in French on his excavation at Karalar, N.W. of Ancyra, where a tumulus has been proved by an epitaph ⁶⁸⁷ to be the tomb of Deiotarus the younger, son and co-regent of the famous Deiotarus, the unifier of Galatia. G. de Jerphanion publishes ⁶⁸⁸ another epitaph found near Ankara.

⁶⁷⁰ *BCH.* lix. 431 ff.

⁶⁷¹ *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Paris, 1935: cf. *RA.* vi. 253, viii. 239 f., *AJPh.* lviii. 247 ff., *REA.* xxxviii. 253 f., *RevBelge.* xv. 178 f., *PhW.* lvii. 10 ff., *JRS.* xxvi. 278 ff., *RevPhil.* xi. 87, *Athenaeum*, xiv. 84 ff., *JournSav.* 1935, 276 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xlii. 237 ff.

⁶⁷² * *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Berlin, 1935.

⁶⁷³ * *Res gestae Divi Augusti*, Rome, 1936.

⁶⁷⁴ *Caesaris Augusti res gestae*, Boston, 1935: cf. *Boll. fil. class.* xlii. 174 f.

⁶⁷⁵ Rome, 1936.

⁶⁷⁶ *Princeps*, i, Stuttgart, 1936: cf. *RivFil.* lxxv. 87 ff., *ClRev.* li. 29 f., *PhW.* lvii. 574 f.

⁶⁷⁷ Paris, 1935.

⁶⁷⁸ *Atti del III Congresso naz. di studi romani*, i. 547 ff.

⁶⁷⁹ *Mnem.* ii. 291 ff.

⁶⁸⁰ *Hermes*, lxxi. 241 ff.

⁶⁸¹ *Philol.* xci. 350 ff.

⁶⁸² *Eos*, xxxvii. 109 ff.

⁶⁸³ *Philol.* xc. 122 ff.

⁶⁸⁴ *Athenaeum*, xiv. 67 ff.

⁶⁸⁵ *REA.* xxxvii. 131 f.

⁶⁸⁶ *Türk Tarih.* ii. 102 ff., *RA.* vi. 133 ff.

⁶⁸⁷ J. Coupry, *RA.* vi. 140 ff.: cf. *Türk Tarih.* ii. 111, 131, *RA.* viii. 285, *REG.* xlix. 387, *AJA.* xl. 354 f.

⁶⁸⁸ *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 94 f.

PHRYGIA may be briefly dismissed. W. M. Calder points out ⁶⁸⁹ the significance of the divine invocations in two metrical epitaphs (*MAMA*. i. 389 f.) of Yasili Kaya near Metropolis, offers a better restoration of one of them and comments on the Phrygian verb βεννεύω. V. Coulon seeks to solve ⁶⁹⁰ difficulties in two fourth-century Christian epitaphs from Kurd Keui (*SEG*. vi. 139 f.), in the Upper Tembris Valley. O. Casel's remarks ⁶⁹¹ on ll. 12 ff. of the Abercius-inscription from Hieropolis I have not read. L. Robert discusses ⁶⁹² the three extant decrees of Laodicea ad Lycum, corrects or restores two of them and comments on the month Ἀντιοχείων and the festival of the Ἀντιόχεια celebrated there in honour of the city's founder, Antiochus II. W. H. Buckler contributes ⁶⁹³ valuable notes on honorary inscriptions of Laodicea, Attouda and Heraclea Salbace (*CIG*. 3938, 3952, 3953f) and publishes ⁶⁹⁴ a recently discovered decree from Apamea ad Maeandrum (Dinar) honouring a citizen who had repeatedly proved a generous benefactor to the state and throwing valuable light on the life of Apamea about 188–60 B.C. H. Grégoire rejects ⁶⁹⁵ E. Peterson's denial (cf. *JHS*. lv. 215) of the Montanism of an epitaph from Dioskome (Khirka), and F. N. Pryce describes, ⁶⁹⁶ with some textual corrections, a Greek curse on a leaden diploma from Kaklik recently presented to the British Museum.

The archaeological results of an expedition to LYCAONIA, Pamphylia and Isauria carried out in 1902 by J. Jüthner, F. Knoll, K. Patsch and H. Swoboda, of which a provisional report appeared in 1903, are excellently published ⁶⁹⁷ by Swoboda, Knoll and J. Keil. Among them are 290 Greek and eight Latin inscriptions from Pappa-Tiberiopolis (a new restoration of No. 1 is proposed ⁶⁹⁸ by V. Laurent), Mithia, Vasada, Amlada and other sites, the largest contributor being Palaia Isaura; some of these texts, which are mostly dedications and epitaphs, were published in the provisional report or elsewhere, but most are new, and among them are some of real value, such as Nos. 38, 42, 75 (letter of Attalus II to Amlada), 98, 109 and 159. An epigram of the third century A.D. from the neighbourhood of Iconium (Konia) is published ⁶⁹⁹ by F. Miltner.

The latest instalment ⁷⁰⁰ of the survey of Greek epigraphical studies since 1895, begun by E. Ziebarth and continued by H. Kasten, treats of ISAURIA, Pamphylia and Lycia. From Pisidia there is little to report. Of the *Monumentum Antiochenum* I have spoken above; L. Radermacher's note ⁷⁰¹ on the brigand Tillorobos rests partly on an inscription of Apollonia (*MAMA*. iv. 190), while his article ⁷⁰² on γειτονίασις Ἀχιλλέως ἱπτήρος deals with associations of neighbours recorded in Termessian texts (*TAM*. iii. 1. 348, 765). For Pamphylia we need note only the *Denkmäler* of Swoboda, Keil and Knoll and Kasten's survey, both mentioned above.

⁶⁸⁹ *ClRev.* l. 214 f., li. 10.

⁶⁹⁰ *REG.* xlvii. 428 ff.

⁶⁹¹ * *Jahrb. f. Liturgiewiss.* xii. 65.

⁶⁹² *RevPhil.* x. 123 ff.

⁶⁹³ *JHS* lvi. 78 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xl. 534.

⁶⁹⁴ *JHS* lv. 71 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxix. 600.

⁶⁹⁵ *Byzantion*, x. 247 ff.

⁶⁹⁶ *BMQuart.* ix. 48 f.

⁶⁹⁷ *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien u. Isaurien*, Brunn, 1935: cf. *REG.* xlix. 386, *PhW.* lvii. 48 ff., *JHS*. lvi. 257 ff.

⁶⁹⁸ *Echos d'Orient*, xxxix. 226 ff.

⁶⁹⁹ *WienStud.* liii. 150 ff.

⁷⁰⁰ *Burs.* ccliii. 58 ff.

⁷⁰¹ *WienAnz.* 1936, 8.

⁷⁰² *Glotta*, xxv. 198 ff.

F. W. König investigates ⁷⁰³ the metre and content of the Lycian text on the 'Xanthian stele', and devotes a passage (pp. 79 ff.) to the interesting Greek epigram (Tod, *GHI*. 93) embedded in it. The vexed problem of the identity of the 'Ptolemy son of Lysimachus' of a decree of Telmessus (*OGI*. 55), dated in 240 B.C., is re-examined ⁷⁰⁴ by E. Cavaignac in the light of Holleaux's assignment ⁷⁰⁵ of the Eriza inscription to 204 B.C., and by M. Segre, who publishes ⁷⁰⁶ a Telmessian decree (carried to Cos, where it came to light after the earthquake of 1933) granting *ἐγκτησις* to a Macedonian, in which is a reference to a letter of Lysimachus, probably the father of Ptolemy of Telmessus: Segre carefully reviews the various theories propounded and prefers that which regards Lysimachus as a brother of Ptolemy III Euergetes of Egypt.

G. de Jerphanion edits ⁷⁰⁷ twenty-one inscriptions, almost all sepulchral, collected by the Anatolian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of Chicago University in the neighbourhood of Alishar, Cappadocia, and a metrical epitaph from Izguin, between Albistan and Yarpuz.

The quickened interest recently shown in the antiquities of CYPRUS is reflected in the increased epigraphical activity relating to the island. Of Spyridakis' history of Euagoras I I have already spoken (p. 162). F. J. Dölger discusses ⁷⁰⁸ the Salaminian appeal for vengeance to 'the sun of righteousness' (cf. *JHS* liii. 256 f.). W. H. Buckler publishes ⁷⁰⁹ the earliest extant decree of Paphos (Kouklia), dating from 150-100 B.C., in honour of one who appears to have been a designer of artillery, and W. Otto discusses ⁷¹⁰ a Paphian inscription (*SEG*. vi. 809) of about 145 B.C. set up by Demetrius II Nicator in honour of his father-in-law, Ptolemy VI Philometor. Among the results of the excavations carried out by the Swedish Mission to Cyprus are forty-three inscriptions ⁷¹¹ from Marium and three from Idalium, the majority in the Cyprian script, and three dedications ⁷¹² from Soli. S. Besques deals ⁷¹³ with the cult of Apollo *μαγείριος*, attested by a group of Greek and Cyprian texts found in 1868 near Pyla, N. of Larnaca, and collects evidence for the appearance of *μάγειροι* among temple- or guild-functionaries. Two epitaphs from Cyprus are re-edited ⁷¹⁴ by M. Schwabe.

IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

In this section I follow the order of *SEG*. vii and the forthcoming fascicule of *SEG*. viii. No new texts from Susa have been published, but A. Wilhelm discusses ⁷¹⁵ two noteworthy epigrams (*SEG*. vii. 12 f.) commemorating hydraulic enterprises carried out there, attempting to restore the earlier one, of which about one-third has perished, and L. Robert

⁷⁰³ *Die Stele von Xanthos*, i, Vienna, 1936: cf. *JHS* lvi. 256 f., *Klio*, xxx. 131 ff., *PhW*. lvii. 307 ff.

⁷⁰⁴ *Εἰς μνήμην Σ. Λάμπρου*, 7 ff.

⁷⁰⁵ *BCH*. liv. 245 ff.

⁷⁰⁶ *Atti del IV Congresso int. di Papirolog.* 359 ff.

⁷⁰⁷ *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 67 ff.

⁷⁰⁸ *Antike u. Christentum*, v. 138 ff.

⁷⁰⁹ *JHS* lv. 75 ff.: cf. *AJA*. xxxix. 600.

⁷¹⁰ *AbhMünchen*, xi. 130.

⁷¹¹ E. Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, ii. (Stockholm, 1935), 854 ff.

⁷¹² A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli* (Stockholm, 1936), 142, pll. xxiv f.

⁷¹³ *RA*. viii. 4 ff.

⁷¹⁴ *Tarbiz*, vi. 535 ff.

⁷¹⁵ *Gött. Nachr. Fachgr. I*, Bd. i. 79 ff.

restores and interprets ⁷¹⁶ an important manumission (*ibid.* 15) of the second century B.C. and proposes ⁷¹⁷ a change in another document of the same series (*ibid.* 18). A. von Haller publishes ⁷¹⁸ two stamped amphora-handles from Uruk (Warka), and R. H. McDowell devotes a monograph to *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, ⁷¹⁹ chiefly impressions of seals and stamps associated with documents or containers, commercial or official, from the Seleucid control of Babylonia, together with three fragments of stelae and other miscellaneous inscribed and stamped objects of Seleucid and Parthian levels. G. de Jerphanion publishes ⁷²⁰ two texts from Kilafil Huyuk and Kara Pounar, near Aintab in Commagene, of which the former is an interesting honorary inscription for Antiochus I erected by one who calls himself τῶν πρώτων καὶ προτιμωμένων φίλων ὁ ἐγλογιστὴς τεταγμένος.

F. Cumont stresses ⁷²¹ the political interest of the Rhosus inscription (cf. *JHS* lv. 216 f.) and H. Seyrig comments ⁷²² on the Yakto mosaic from Antioch on the Orontes, especially on the central figure of Μεγαλοψυχία, and on a bronze prism and nine inscribed leaden figurines of horses, probably of magical use, in the Antioch Museum; a new mosaic, uncovered at Daphne, depicting Ὀπώρα, Ἀγρός and Οἶνος, is published ⁷²³ by W. A. Campbell and more fully by G. W. Elderkin. ⁷²⁴ R. Mouterde edits ⁷²⁵ a fragment from Laodicea honouring a *legatus pro praetore*, and E. Michon ⁷²⁶ a leaden weight in the Louvre, dated 127 B.C. and found at Baga, to which he adduces two parallels from the same collection. The Belgian excavation at Apamea proceeds steadily, and the provisional reports ⁷²⁷ issued by F. Mayencé indicate the interest, especially for Jewish and Christian archaeology, of the epigraphical finds, the significance of some of which is discussed ⁷²⁸ by H. Delehay. J. Lassus has drawn up a valuable *Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama*, ⁷²⁹ containing brief descriptions of 173 tells and other sites and 134 inscriptions, almost all Christian, of which most date from the fifth or sixth century A.D., though a few are of the second (Nos. 123, 124, 129). Two inscriptions from Souran, 18 km. from Hama, are recorded ⁷³⁰ by du Mesnil du Buisson. Among the leaden sarcophagi collected in the National Lebanon Museum one, found near Emesa (Homs), bears ⁷³¹ a name, while a well-known votive relief from the same district, now in the Brussels Museum, evokes a lively discussion regarding the identity and characteristics of the three divinities portrayed, in which S. Ronzevalle, ⁷³² R. Dussaud ⁷³³ and R. Mouterde ⁷³⁴ have taken part.

⁷¹⁶ *RevPhil.* x. 137 ff.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.* 140, note 1.

⁷¹⁸ *AbhBerl.* 1935, 4, 35.

⁷¹⁹ Ann Arbor, 1935: cf. *RA.* viii. 243 ff., *OLZ.* xl. 15 ff., *JHS* lv. 66, 251 f., *Syria*, xvii. 89 f., *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 117 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xli. 341 f.

⁷²⁰ *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 91 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 278.

⁷²¹ *AntClass.* iv. 191 f.

⁷²² *Berytus*, ii. 42 ff.

⁷²³ *AJA.* xl. 5 f., 8.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.* 348 ff.: cf. *Bull. ét. or.* v, pl. 12, *Mél. Beyr.* xviii. 164 ff.

⁷²⁵ *Bull. ét. or.* iv. 115 f.

⁷²⁶ *RA.* v. 264 f.

⁷²⁷ *Bull. des Musées Royaux*, viii. 6, 10, *AntClass.* iv. 199 ff., v. 409 ff.: cf. *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 130 ff.

⁷²⁸ *Anal. Bolland.* liii. 237 ff.

⁷²⁹ Vol. i, *Texte*: cf. *REA.* xxxviii. 233, *RA.* viii. 301, *Syria*, xvii. 390 f., *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 137 f., *REG.* xlix. 352 f.

⁷³⁰ *Berytus*, ii. 121 f.

⁷³¹ M. Chehab, *Syria*, xvi. 54.

⁷³² * *Orientalia*, iii. 121 ff.

⁷³³ *Syria*, xvi. 323 f.

⁷³⁴ *Mél. Beyr.* xviii. 176 f.

I regret that the important new instalment of J. Cantineau's *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*,⁷³⁵ in which he continues his account of the inscriptions in the Palmyra Museum, is not yet accessible to me. M. Rostovtzeff's edition⁷³⁶ of an inscription from Palmyra honouring one who had aided the merchants and so won public favour, includes a valuable study of the tribal organisation of Palmyra, Dura and the East, while H. Ingholt deals⁷³⁷ with three Greek and Palmyrene epitaphs, the earliest of which is dated A.D. 98, and R. Amy and H. Seyrig discuss⁷³⁸ a grave-concession of A.D. 240 in a Palmyrene cemetery.

An inscription discovered⁷³⁹ at Sadad by W. Telfer has been more satisfactorily read⁷⁴⁰ by M. Rostovtzeff, and an altar from Niha in Coelesyria, published⁷⁴¹ by R. Mousterde, bears in front a dedication and the enigmatic words εὐτυχῆς Κοῦλσος and on either side a memorial inscription. A. Wilhelm re-edits⁷⁴² an epigram of A.D. 436 from Heliopolis (Baalbek) celebrating the completion of a work of irrigation, L. Robert calls attention⁷⁴³ to a series of painted stelae from Sidon commemorating foreign mercenaries and specially to one, now in Istanbul, hitherto misunderstood, set up in memory of a Pisidian of Adada, J. Lassus discusses⁷⁴⁴ the mosaics of Jerusalem and of Damascus, and F. W. Deichmann reports⁷⁴⁵ the discovery of a fragmentary epitaph in the cathedral of Tyre (Sur).

It would be hard to exaggerate the interest of the excavations carried on at DURA-EUROPUS, and it would be a disaster if the work were to be hampered or discontinued through lack of means. With commendable promptitude M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, C. Hopkins and C. B. Welles have issued a 'preliminary report'⁷⁴⁶ of 538 pages and fifty-four plates dealing with the season 1932-33, a splendid example of team-work in which M. Crosby, C. Hopkins, F. E. Brown, Rostovtzeff and Welles share the publication of 234 inscriptions, all of which, save fifteen Latin texts, are Greek. The great majority are graffiti or dipinti from private houses, of little interest singly yet useful in bulk as throwing light on the city's population and life. In the Roman baths was the acclamation μεγάλη τύχη τοῦ βαλάνιου (No. 631); elsewhere two astrological records came to light (Nos. 652, 736) and in the synagogue four inscribed tiles (Nos. 798 ff.), while other finds were made in the temples of Artemis-Nanaia (Nos. 802-4) and Azzanath-kona (Nos. 806 ff.): the report closes with numerous corrections of texts in previous reports and indexes of Greek and Latin inscriptions. Those in the Mithraeum (cf. *JHS* lv. 218) are commented on⁷⁴⁷ by A. Orlandos and the dated mural inscription in the Christian church by A. von Gerkan,⁷⁴⁸ while the reviews of the fifth report by E. Bickermann,⁷⁴⁹ of the fourth and

⁷³⁵ * viii. (suite), Beyrout, 1936: cf. *RevBibl.* xlvi. 306 ff., *OLZ.* xl. 107.

⁷³⁶ *Berytus*, ii. 143 ff.

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.* 57 ff.

⁷³⁸ *Syria*, xvii. 259 ff.

⁷³⁹ *JRS.* xxv. 33 f.: cf. *RA.* vi. 237.

⁷⁴⁰ *JRS.* xxvi. 74: cf. *RA.* viii. 277.

⁷⁴¹ *Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxxvii. 67 ff.

⁷⁴² *Gött. Nachr.* Fachgr. I, Bd. i. 91 ff.

⁷⁴³ *BCH.* lix. 428 ff.

⁷⁴⁴ *Bull. ét. or.* iii. 31 ff.

⁷⁴⁵ *Berl. Museen*, lvi. 50.

⁷⁴⁶ *Excavations at Dura-Europos: Sixth Season*, Yale U.P., 1936: cf. *JHS.* lvi. 244 f., *Gnomon*, xliii. 225 ff., *Gött. Gel. Anz.* cxcviii. 509 ff., *RA.* ix. 297 ff.

⁷⁴⁷ *AJA.* xxxix. 5, 259 f.

⁷⁴⁸ *Röm. Quart.* xlii. 232.

⁷⁴⁹ *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxiii. 99 ff.

fifth by L. H. Vincent ⁷⁵⁰ and of various works relative to Dura by R. Mousterde ⁷⁵¹ merit careful attention. R. du Mesnil du Buisson's inventory ⁷⁵² of the Palmyrenian inscriptions found at Dura contains thirty-seven items, of which four (Nos. 12, 14, 15, 23) are bilingual. Some indication of the epigraphical results of more recent campaigns may be gained from C. Hopkins' report ⁷⁵³ on 1934-5 and from du Mesnil du Buisson's summary accounts ⁷⁵⁴ of the eighth and ninth campaigns. Not to keep us too long in suspense, Rostovtzeff gives a preliminary edition ⁷⁵⁵ of two of the main finds of 1934-5, viz. (a) an opisthographic tablet, one side of which records the building of a ναός, the other its restoration by the builder's son and the substitution of new doors for those taken by the Romans, an indication that Dura was evacuated before October, 117, i.e. by Trajan himself rather than by Hadrian, and (b) a Palmyrene *foundouk*, the official centre of the Palmyrene colony at Dura in the second century A.D., with some Latin and Greek and many Palmyrenian inscriptions.

Another extraordinarily productive site is that of GERASA (Jerash). C. C. McCown gives an interesting summary ⁷⁵⁶ of the historical value of its 347 inscriptions (279 Greek, two Latin and Greek and one Greek and Nabatean), dating between A.D. 22 and 611, and of the light they throw on the racial elements—Greek, Latin and Semitic—intermingled in the city; in especial he deals with the city walls and gates, the religious life of Gerasa and the inscription on the triumphal arch erected in A.D. 129-130, on the occasion of Hadrian's visit, with funds bequeathed by a certain Flavius Agrippa. This is admirably edited by Rostovtzeff ⁷⁵⁷ and by W. F. Stinespring, ⁷⁵⁸ who adds ⁷⁵⁹ an honorary inscription for a well-known consular, C. Allius Fuscianus (*SEG.* vii. 831), a Christian graffito and a fragmentary text on a column. R. Boecklin and J. P. Hyatt edit ⁷⁶⁰ an interesting text from the forum, recording the building of a wall at the public expense in A.D. 66-7 ὑπὲρ τῆς σεβαστῆς εἰρήνης and enabling us to restore correctly two other Gerasene inscriptions. F. Poland emends ⁷⁶¹ the restoration of an important decree (*SEG.* vii. 825) of the guild of Dionysiac τεχνῖται and F. J. Dölger comments ⁷⁶² on the sign of the cross as a church greeting in an epigram of Gerasa. F. M. Abel publishes ⁷⁶³ a grave-epigram of the first century A.D. and P. Lemaire ⁷⁶⁴ a building-inscription of A.D. 150, both from Amman. Of exceptional value is M. Dunand's account ⁷⁶⁵ of the inscriptions and sculptures of the Museum

⁷⁵⁰ *RevBibl.* xlv. 115 ff.

⁷⁵¹ *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 121 ff.

⁷⁵² *Rev. Et. Sem.* (appendix to *Rev. Et. Juives*, c bis), xvii ff.

⁷⁵³ *AJA.* xxxix. 293 ff., xl. 123 f.; cf. *AJA.* xl. 166 f., *Mél. Beyr.* xix. 121 ff., *Bull. of the Associates in Fine Arts at Yale Univ.* vii. 4 ff.

⁷⁵⁴ *CRAIInscr.* 1935, 275 ff., 1936, 137 ff.

⁷⁵⁵ *CRAIInscr.* 1935, 285 ff.; cf. *RA.* viii. 269 f., *AJA.* xxxix. 295.

⁷⁵⁶ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xvi. 67 ff.

⁷⁵⁷ *CRAIInscr.* 1934, 264 ff.; cf. *RA.* vi. 230.

⁷⁵⁸ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* lvii. 3 ff., *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* v. 117 f.

⁷⁵⁹ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* lvii. 8, 12; cf. *RA.* vi. 227.

⁷⁶⁰ *AJA.* xxxviii. 511 ff.; cf. *RA.* vi. 208, *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* xlv. 6, xlix. 7 f.

⁷⁶¹ *PhW.* lv. 141 ff.

⁷⁶² *Antike u. Christentum*, v. 141.

⁷⁶³ *RevBibl.* xlv. 233 f.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 542 f.

⁷⁶⁵ *Le Musée de Soueida*, Paris, 1934; cf. *Syria*, xvi. 213 ff., *JHS* lvi. 84 f., *JRS.* xxvi. 120, *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1936, 357 ff., *RevBelge*, xv. 213 f., *Mél. Beyr.* xviii. 181 ff., xix. 129, *OLZ.* xxxix. 141 ff., *RA.* viii. 296, *REG.* xlix. 389, *Arch. Orient.* viii. 379.

at Soada-Dionysias (Soueida), including not only the seventeen Greek texts now preserved there and in the outlying depot of Kafer, but also the seventy-two which perished in the revolt of the Druses in 1925; the work is well indexed and excellently illustrated by 151 photographs of the objects described. Noteworthy also are S. Witkowski's corrections, restorations and interpretations ⁷⁶⁶ of many inscriptions contained in the epigraphical volumes ⁷⁶⁷ of the American Expeditions to Syria in 1899-1900, 1904-5 and 1909, as well as two Syrian amulets of uncertain provenance, an intaglio ⁷⁶⁸ with the legend $\sigma\chi\iota\omicron\nu\ \theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\iota\alpha$ (cure for lumbago?) and another engraved $\omicron\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\kappa\omicron$, of which a new explanation is offered ⁷⁶⁹ by E. Peterson.

Turning to PALESTINE, we note two inscribed mosaics, edited ⁷⁷⁰ by A. M. Schneider and illustrated ⁷⁷¹ by C. Watzinger, from the ancient church at 'Ain et-Tābgha (*SEG.* viii. 5, 6), and a curious grave-epigram of an ex-decurion from Tiberias (*ibid.* 11), published ⁷⁷² by M. Schwabe. S. Lösch's work, ⁷⁷³ in which the famous $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ acquired at Nazareth for Froehner (*ibid.* 13) is assigned to Caligula, I know only from O. Eger's review ⁷⁷⁴; to the same text H. Markowski devotes two articles, one ⁷⁷⁵ of which I cannot read and the other ⁷⁷⁶ is inaccessible to me. M. Schwabe publishes ⁷⁷⁷ a late epitaph (*ibid.* 15) from Diocaesarea (Sepphoris), E. L. Sukenik ⁷⁷⁸ four inscribed fragments of the screen in the synagogue of El-Hammeh and a ring bearing an invocation (*ibid.* 30 f.) and M. Avi-Yonah ⁷⁷⁹ two mosaics from El-Hammām, near Scythopolis (Beisan) with symbolical pictures of the months (*ibid.* 41 f.); I do not know M. Schwabe's note ⁷⁸⁰ on an inscription of Caesarea. In an essay on the official dynastic cult of the Seleucids in their empire, M. Rostovtzeff examines ⁷⁸¹ the prescripts of two second-century documents from Scythopolis and Samaria (*ibid.* 33, 96) which mention priests $\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\nu\omega\nu$. G. Ricciotti gives ⁷⁸² an incomplete copy of the dedication of a $\sigma\eta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ and statue at Capitolias for the safety of Commodus (*ibid.* 91), M. N. Tod interprets ⁷⁸³ an epitaph of Joppa (*ibid.* 143), E. L. Sukenik discusses ⁷⁸⁴ a fragment of a prayer (*ibid.* 146) from Azotus (Ashdod), J. Starr publishes ⁷⁸⁵ a memorial mosaic from Shiloh (*ibid.* 149), and L. H. Vincent describes ⁷⁸⁶ two mosaics (*ibid.* 166 f.) outside the basilica at Emmaus ('Amwās). J. H. Iliffe has discovered ⁷⁸⁷ at Jerusalem part (*ibid.* 169) of a second copy of the well-known prohibition warning gentiles against entering the Temple-court, and W. R. Taylor

⁷⁶⁶ *Mem. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxvii. 185 ff.

⁷⁶⁷ *Am. Arch. Exp. to Syria*, iii, Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. to Syria, iii.

⁷⁶⁸ *Berytus*, ii. 50.

⁷⁶⁹ *Röm. Quart.* xlii. 433.

⁷⁷⁰ *Die Brotvermehrungskirche von Et-Tābgha* (Paderborn, 1934), 17, 53 ff.: cf. *AJA.* xxxix. 639 f., *BZ.* xxxvi. 174 ff., *Or. Christ.* xxxii. 163.

⁷⁷¹ *Denkmäler Palästinas*, ii, pl. 38.

⁷⁷² *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xvi. 158 ff.

⁷⁷³ * *Diatagma Kaisaros*, Freiburg, 1936.

⁷⁷⁴ *JSav.* lvii. 455 ff. By anticipation I mention the editions of the 'Nazareth edict' in *SEG.* viii. 13 and L. Robert, *Collection Froehner*, i, No. 70: cf. W. Weston, *REA.* xxxix. 176.

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⁷⁷⁵ *Eos*, xxxvii. 43 ff.

⁷⁷⁶ * *Munera philol. L. Cwiklinski oblata*, 128 ff.

⁷⁷⁷ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xv. 88 ff.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 148 f., 161, * *The ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh* (Jerusalem, 1935), 58 f., 71.

⁷⁷⁹ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* v. 22 ff.

⁷⁸⁰ * *Bull. Jew. PES.* 1935, 44 f.

⁷⁸¹ *JHS* lv. 60 f.

⁷⁸² *Roma*, xiii. 19 ff.

⁷⁸³ *PEFQS.* 1935, 85 f.

⁷⁸⁴ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xv. 151 f., * *The ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh*, 61 f.

⁷⁸⁵ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* lvii. 26 f.

⁷⁸⁶ *RevBibl.* xlv. 403 ff.

⁷⁸⁷ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* vi. 1 ff.

exposes ⁷⁸⁸ a second forgery of the same text. A mosaic inscribed ΙΧΘΥC (*ibid.* 236) in the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem is described by W. Harvey, ⁷⁸⁹ E. T. Richmond ⁷⁹⁰ and L. H. Vincent, ⁷⁹¹ and its significance is discussed ⁷⁹² by F. J. Dölger. W. Kubitschek enquires ⁷⁹³ about the present home of the edict (*ibid.* 171) of Flavius Aeneas reporting an Imperial order relative to an aqueduct, found near Bethlehem and believed to be in some North American Museum. R. W. Hamilton publishes ⁷⁹⁴ a sixth-century mosaic at 'Ain el-Jedide (*ibid.* 232), D. C. Baramki ⁷⁹⁵ a stamp on a jar found at Beit Nattif (*ibid.* 262) and E. L. Sukenik ⁷⁹⁶ a votive text (*ibid.* 266) on a column at Ascalon: Sukenik also re-edits two thankofferings, one, dated A.D. 604-5 (*ibid.* 267), from the same neighbourhood, the other (*ibid.* 277) from near Gaza. The interesting epigram (*ibid.* 269) from Gaza commemorating the Cretan mercenary Charmadas (cf. *JHS* lv. 221) is republished ⁷⁹⁷ by L. H. Vincent with a full commentary, especially on the palaeography of the inscription, which he assigns to 225-200 B.C. G. E. Kirk presents ⁷⁹⁸ a summary of the inscriptions found by the Colt Expedition at 'Auja Hafir, some 75 km. from Beersheba, and gives facsimiles of an abacus-inscription of an uncommon type and of another text. S. Saller describes ⁷⁹⁹ the nine inscriptions (*ibid.* 318-26)—one on the font, the other eight in mosaics—found in the church and baptistery of Ras Siaghah (Mount Nebo), one of which dates the baptistery in A.D. 597; to these B. Bagatti adds ⁸⁰⁰ two more (*ibid.* 327 f.). A painted epitaph near Marwa in Transjordan is described ⁸⁰¹ by C. C. McCown. A. Alt edits ⁸⁰² some results of F. Frank's journey in the 'Araba, S. of the Dead Sea, including a building-text of A.D. 587-8 and four Christian epitaphs from Fēnan, a curious rock-cut inscription, blending Greek and Latin letters and words, from Wādi eṭ-Tuwebe, and a Christian graffito from a hermitage-chapel at Wādi el-Ḥesa (*ibid.* 339-45). Four Greek graffiti from the temple of Allat at Iram are published ⁸⁰³ by M. R. Savignac and G. Horsfield (*ibid.* 348 f.), and W. F. Albright's account of the Conway High Place at Petra includes ⁸⁰⁴ a fragmentary dedication, probably of the second century A.D., of a small shrine. Two inscribed rings of uncertain origin in Palestine are discussed ⁸⁰⁵ by M. Schwabe (*ibid.* 350 f.), and Avi-Yonah's useful account of the mosaic pavements hitherto discovered in that land is issued ⁸⁰⁶ in book form.

⁷⁸⁸ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xvi. 37 f.

⁷⁸⁹ *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity* (Oxford, 1935), 22, *PEFQS.* 1936, 30, 33.

⁷⁹⁰ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* v. 78, pll. xlii f.

⁷⁹¹ *RevBibl.* xlv. 567 f.

⁷⁹² *Antike u. Christentum*, v. 81 ff.

⁷⁹³ *PhW.* lvi. 560.

⁷⁹⁴ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* iv. 111 ff.: cf. Avi-Yonah, *ibid.* 187.

⁷⁹⁵ *Quart. Dep. Ant. Pal.* v. 7.

⁷⁹⁶ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xv. 152 ff., * *The ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh*, 64 ff.

⁷⁹⁷ *Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxvii. 41 ff.: cf. H. H. Benecke, *Seepolitik der Aitolier*, 43 f.

⁷⁹⁸ *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.* xvi. 279 ff.

⁷⁹⁹ *Antonianum*, ix. 345 ff.: cf. *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xii. 217.

⁸⁰⁰ *Riv. Arch. Crist.* xiii. 115, 121 ff., 138.

⁸⁰¹ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* lxiii. 2 ff.

⁸⁰² *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lviii. 61 ff., reprinted in

* *Aus der 'Araba*, Leipzig, 1935: cf. *RA.* viii. 292, *RevBibl.* xlv. 157 ff., *JRS.* xxvi. 119 f., *Gött. Gel. Anz.* cxcviii. 183 ff., *OLZ.* xxxix. 516 ff.

⁸⁰³ *RevBibl.* xlv. 263 ff.

⁸⁰⁴ *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* lvii. 24.

⁸⁰⁵ *Tarbiz*, vii. 345 f.

⁸⁰⁶ * *Mosaic Pavements in Palestine*, Oxford, 1935.

X. AFRICA

Of the inscriptions found in Egypt I do not here speak, for I give a survey of them elsewhere.⁸⁰⁷ No new finds from CYRENE are noted here,⁸⁰⁸ but useful work has been done in the interpretation of already known texts. G. De Sanctis comments⁸⁰⁹ on Segre's article (cf. *JHS* lv. 223) on the economic and historical significance of the 'corn-stele,' and P. Roussel points out⁸¹⁰ that in the decree from Ngàrnes (*ibid.* 222) σιτῶνα must be read in place of σιτῶνα<ν>, enquires into the nature of such σιτῶνες and explains the privilege granted to the donor of the granary, that of choosing the inscription to be engraved on it. L. Robert corrects⁸¹¹ a passage in the decree regulating the endowment of Barcaeus (*AbhBerl.* 1925, 5, 26 ff.). F. Heichelheim gives a useful conspectus⁸¹² of recent articles on the 'Decretals,' the 'Founders' Stele' and the 'Magna Carta,' and P. Romanelli a summary⁸¹³ and photograph of the 'Stele of Augustus.' But attention has been mainly concentrated on the 'Testament of Ptolemy the Younger' (cf. *JHS* liii. 263 f., lv. 223). In his exhaustive research⁸¹⁴ into the history of the period of Ptolemy VI, in which the epigraphical evidence is fully exploited, W. Otto re-edits the text, examines each section in detail with constant reference to previous discussions, and concludes that the document is anything but a verbatim reproduction of the will of Ptolemy VIII (p. 106), that the date prefixed, 155 B.C., is not that of the will (which Otto assigns to 162-1 B.C.) but that of the erection of the stele (pp. 107 ff.) and that the text is not a purely juristic document but bears a typically political character (p. 110): V. Arangio-Ruiz also deals⁸¹⁵ with the testament in detail in his survey of juridical inscriptions. E. Weiss's article⁸¹⁶ is inaccessible to me; T. Lenschau gives⁸¹⁷ a critical survey of recent views and D. Siciliani a brief account⁸¹⁸ of the content and context of the inscription and a brilliant photograph.

A. Merlin describes and discusses⁸¹⁹ an intaglio, bought at Tunis, representing the punishment of Eros, and collects examples of the legend δικάτως (sc. πάσχεις) on such objects, while L. Poinssot deals⁸²⁰ with an intaglio from El-Djem portraying the triumph of Poseidon. A. Dain's * *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Bardo*⁸²¹ edits, in one case for the first time, the cargo of Athenian inscriptions contained in a vessel which foundered in antiquity at Mahdia, off the Tunisian coast (cf. *JHS* liii. 225). J. B. Chabot makes known⁸²² a brief Greek epitaph from Carthage, and F. Icard publishes⁸²³ seventeen amphora-handles, almost all Rhodian, and a

⁸⁰⁷ *JEA*. xxiii. 106 ff.

⁸⁰⁸ But see footnote 1.

⁸⁰⁹ *RivFil.* lxiii. 124 f.

⁸¹⁰ *Mél. Navarre*, 375 ff.

⁸¹¹ *RevPhil.* x. 134.

⁸¹² *Burs.* ccl. 233 f., 263 ff.: on the *lex sacra* see *RA*. viii. 206 f.

⁸¹³ *Africa Romana* (Milan, 1935), 226 ff.

⁸¹⁴ *AbhMünchen*, xi.: cf. *JEA*. xxi. 262 ff., *AJPh.* lvii. 349 ff., *OLZ.* xxxix. 81 ff.,

⁸¹⁵ *Studia et documenta*, ii. 482 ff.

⁸¹⁶ * *Μνημ. Παππ.* (Athens, 1934), 285 ff.

⁸¹⁷ *Burs.* ccliii. 168 f.

⁸¹⁸ *Africa Romana*, 55 f., pl. iii.: cf. *ibid.* 221.

⁸¹⁹ *Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxxvii. 131 ff.

⁸²⁰ *Rev. Tunis.* 1936, 137 ff.

⁸²¹ *Limoges*, 1936.

⁸²² *CRAIInscr.* 1935, 84.

⁸²³ *Rev. Tunis.* 1935, 141 ff.: cf. *Bull. Arch.* 1930-1, 326.

number of leaden seals and stamps ⁸²⁴ found on the same site. L. Robert restores ⁸²⁵ with his wonted skill a dedication made by a group by Arabs, perhaps soldiers, at Volubilis in Morocco to the deities Theandrius and Manaphus, and discusses three other votive inscriptions of the same provenance and the nature of the gods in question.

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⁸²⁴ *Rev. Tunis.* 1934, 147 ff., 1936, 319 ff.

⁸²⁵ *REG.* xlix. 1 ff.: cf. *RA.* viii. 286.

AN ETRUSCAN BRONZE MIRROR IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

[PLATE VII]

In the early years after its foundation in 1857, the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington pursued its policy of acquisition with a vigorously catholic taste. Since then its scope has become gradually limited to exclude work of the pre-Christian era, but in addition to the original purchases of Greek vases, the accession of large miscellaneous collections containing antiquities has contributed to what is now an excellent group of Greek and Roman objects. Important Greek vases were included in the big collection of modern European ceramics transferred in 1901 from the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn Street, and in 1910 the late George Salting bequeathed his entire collection, other than paintings, to the Victoria and Albert Museum. His good taste in



FIG. 1.—PALMETTE PATTERN ON MIRROR.

every other direction was sufficient guarantee that the Greek civilisations should be represented by work of more than average merit. Unfortunately, Salting kept few records concerning the provenance of his acquisitions, and so one of the finest Etruscan engraved mirrors in existence came to the Museum without a past history.

The mirror (Pl. VII), which was unknown to Gerhard or his successors Körte and Klügmann, is of the usual Etruscan shape, a bronze disk with projecting tang for insertion into a handle of some other material.¹ The edge is cast with a tongue-pattern and a row of beading in low relief. The reflecting surface of the disk, slightly convex, still bears traces of its former high polish in parts where the surface has not deteriorated, and is of course without decoration except for a small palmette, flanked by double volutes, engraved just above the handle² (Fig. 1). On the slightly concave

¹ Salting Collection, M. 707-1910. 21 cm. × 15 cm. In good condition, with smooth green patina on back and front; traces of corrosion on rim and haft, surface worn at the point where the handle once overlapped it, and slightly flaked on the reverse of the disk. Here published by the courtesy of the Museum authorities.

² Another mirror (Gerhard, Körte, Klügmann,

Etruskische Spiegel, V, pl. 97), engraved with the struggle between Peleus and Thetis, has a similar pattern on the reverse and the leaf border is not very different. The Peleus mirror is clearly derived from late black-figure vase-painting, but in view of the archaising tendency to be mentioned later, a possible origin in the same workshop and at the same date as the Salting one cannot be definitely ruled out.

outer surface, the engraved figures are surrounded with a border of sequent ivy-leaves³ and tendrils which terminate in two clusters of berries at the top. A small palmette fills the semi-circular space formed by the handle-plate. As with most Etruscan mirrors, a horizontal chord across the bottom supplies a flat base for the figures to stand on, the exergue being filled with a pattern of interlocking hatched triangles.⁴ An ithyphallic silen, with a fillet tied round his head, pursues a maenad to the right, grasping her arm and trying to raise her skirt. Poised on her toes in the act of flight, she turns back to glare at her pursuer; in her left hand is a thyrsus bound with a taenia below the head. She wears a spiky stephane, presumably of metal, a long chiton, a dappled deerskin slung across her right shoulder, and a himation or shawl rolled up and tied round her waist.

The composition of the group to fit the space is perfect; though the figures strain in different directions, their movement is kept within the frame by the diagonal line of the thyrsus and the maenad's lowered head. Violent motion is suggested by her flying hair, the swinging leg of the deerskin, the taenia fluttering from the thyrsus, and the tumbled drapery. But the genius of the artist extends beyond formal arrangement to a vivid rendering of emotion, in the contrasted expressions of the two faces. The maenad, tight-lipped, wild-eyed, dangerous, might be one of the band who tore Pentheus limb from limb; the silen, half animal though he is, quails in very human dismay before the demented creature he has provoked. It is the woman who has inherited the ferocity of the archaic vase-paintings,⁵ while the silen shows a nature attuned to the milder pursuits of the advancing fifth century.⁶

Judged by Greek standards there are certain anachronisms to be seen in the group, over and above the reversed emotional rôles played by the two figures. The general arrangement is like that of the roundel inside Attic red-figure kylikes of the second quarter of the fifth century—one might quote the work of the Penthesilea Painter for parallels. Here we find the same elegant silen and similar tricks in drawing, such as the perspective rendering of the foot in front view with the ball only resting on the ground.⁷ Diepolder dates the relevant vases about 460–50 B.C., and we may accept this as a *terminus ante quem* for the engraving of the Salting mirror. The maenad may also have been inspired by a drawing on a vase, but has obviously been much modified. Her archaic-looking dress, with its tubular folds indicating a thick and rather stiff material, departs from the Attic fashion and recalls one of the great masterpieces of native Etruscan art—the wall-paintings of the Tomba dei Leopardi

³ This motive developed out of a pair of more naturalistic trees bent sideways to flank the design (*RM* 1912, p. 258, pl. ix and fig. 2). Already stylised into a conventional border, the ivy-branch is found in Etruscan tomb-paintings (Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, pl. 32), and on the Salting mirror the double row of leaves has been telescoped into one in order to save space. A very similar border occurs on the British Museum mirror (Ger-

hard, Körte, Klügmann, pl. 38).

⁴ Common throughout the series of Etruscan mirrors, from the late sixth century to the fourth. See Gerhard pls. ccclxiii, ccclxiv and *passim*.

⁵ Compare the Kleophrades Painter's amphora in Munich, *FR* pls. 44–5.

⁶ See Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, pp. 28–9.

⁷ H. Diepolder, *Der Penthesilea-Maler*, pls. 19, 20; 10 (top), 12 (bottom), 26.

at Corneto.⁸ The broad, dotted borders of chiton and shawl on the mirror are found in the paintings of the Tomba del Triclinio (Weege, pl. 31), and a similar rendering of the seam along the upper arm appears on the left-hand figure of Weege, pl. 32. On Attic vases this seam would be without a border and held together by pins at short intervals. More striking is the extraordinary resemblance of her profile to the heads in the Tomba dei Leopardi, with their broad, straight noses, square chins and tight lips (Weege, pls. 15, 16, 20, 22). If conjecture be allowed, I should say that the idea of the group and the pose of the maenad were borrowed from Attic vases of about 460 B.C., while the archaisms of her dress and expression were interpreted in an Etruscan way from an older archaic vase, or actually copied from Etruscan work of an earlier date.

The shape of the typical Etruscan mirror, a disk with a tang for insertion into a handle of some other material, was a native invention, as was the practice of decorating the reverse with engraved figures. The commonest kind of Greek mirror, instead of a tang, has a handle in the form of a figurine joined to the disk with volutes, palmettes or other intervening members,⁹ and incised decoration on the reverse is extremely rare.¹⁰ But if the shape and its treatment are original, the subject-matter of the decoration on the Etruscan mirror is composed of elements fundamentally Greek, however much transformed in the process of application. The mirrors discovered before 1897 were illustrated, more or less as they came to light, in the monumental work of Gerhard.¹¹ A key to these five vast, labyrinthine volumes is provided by Ducati's invaluable *Contributo allo studio degli specchi etruschi figurati*.¹² The earliest example is the Paris mirror showing two youths worshipping the solar disk, the head of the Etruscan god Usil, which may have been made in the decade 530-20 B.C. (Ducati, *Storia*, pl. 119). From this point onwards it is impossible to trace an orderly sequence or divide the mirrors into distinct classes. Etruscan art was essentially derivative, and when a particular object shows such skill in design and accomplishment in technique as the mirror from the Tomba del Triclinio¹³ one might be justified in supposing it the work of a Greek who worked, perhaps, at Corneto, where it was discovered. Necessarily he would be at work in Etruria, for the shape is Etruscan and unparalleled in Greek bronzes. But in the absence of authenticated Greek works of a closely similar kind for comparison, we have left only guessing, or the subjective criterion of what is, in the critic's mind, "fine drawing and harmonious composition,"¹⁴ to distinguish genuine Greek work from its derivatives. On these grounds alone I should rule out a second mirror claimed by Ducati as Greek,¹⁵ for the figures are cramped in their frame and embarrassed by the intruding palmette (to say nothing of their Etruscan boots), while the lotus-bud and

⁸ Weege, *Etruskische Malerei*, pls. 15, 19 (right).

⁹ See W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pp. 115, 125 ff., for other types.

¹⁰ For references, see Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* I, 292, 310, notes 80, 81 (mirrors from Rossano and Locri).

¹¹ E. Gerhard, *Die Etruskische Spiegel*, 1840-67; Vol. V, ed. Körte and Klügmann, 1884-97.

¹² *RM* 1912, pp. 243 ff. See also the same author's *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca* I, 291 ff., 328 ff.

¹³ *RM loc. cit.*, p. 265, fig. 4.

¹⁴ *RM loc. cit.*, p. 282.

¹⁵ *RM loc. cit.*, pp. 274-5.

palmette border shows a barbarous malformation found also on the so-called "Pontic" Vases.¹⁶ In fact, this mirror is marked by "una faticosa espressione figurativa, un lavoro prettamente italico-etrusco."¹⁷ If there were Greeks engraving mirrors in Etruria, the question at once arises, where did they come from? Magna Graecia or the Eastern Aegean? There are few early-looking mirrors which, from the absence of solecisms in design or of definitely Etruscan styles in dress, might be called Greek, and these are related, not to the art of South Italy or Ionia, so far as we know it, but to the paintings on black or red-figure vases made in Attica.¹⁸ There were at this time no Athenian colonies in Magna Graecia from which a wandering artist might settle in Etruria, and we can only conclude that the best of the early mirrors, so far from being made by a non-Attic Greek, copying the Attic style, were done by native Etruscans who made use of the patterns they found on imported Attic vases.¹⁹ Here everything depended on the individual gifts of the copyist, and some mirrors are so bad as to suggest that they were made in places remote from the influx of Greek trade by men who had half forgotten the paintings they had once seen. A good artist might add something of his own and improve on his model; for example, the figures on the Corneto mirror²⁰ are those of the Andokides Painter²¹ or his contemporaries, while the landscape elements are good Etruscan work like that of the painted tombs.²² A pleasant divergence from his models appears in the work of the Etruscan who engraved the mirrors illustrated in Ducati's article on pp. 259, 261; clearly conscious of Attic black-figure or early red-figure vases,²³ he is more directly interested in the delightful wavy lines and curves with which, regardless of logical form, he persuades his subject to grace the flat surface. The spontaneity of these mirrors is truly archaic, and they can hardly be later than 500 B.C. Once adopted, however, the Attic manner soon shows signs of lapsing into a mannerism, and the British Museum mirror with a maenad between two silens (Gerhard, Körte, Klügmann, pl. 38) has a certain stolidity and dullness which suggest that it is later than would appear from the treatment of the drapery. Even more pronounced are the over-elaboration and heaviness of the mirror in low relief, also in the British Museum, showing the struggle between Heracles and Malache;²⁴ the drapery is that of the vase-paintings of Euphronios, but the technique and secondary decoration connect it with

¹⁶ Compare the split, stupidly misunderstood palmette with Sieveking-Hackl, *Kön. Vasensammlung zu München* I, 100, fig. 100. And what Greek would tolerate a bud and palmette frieze made up of four different kinds of complicated plant?

¹⁷ *RM loc. cit.*, p. 283.

¹⁸ *RM loc. cit.*, p. 278, fig. 7 (Eros) and Gerhard pl. clxxix, 1 (Sphinx) were made for attachment to a support in the form of a human figure, a non-Etruscan shape; there can be no doubt that they are South Italian work.

¹⁹ M. N. Plautine, on p. 22, Pls. I, II of this volume, publishes a most interesting Etruscan red-figure cup with the Attic piece from which it was undoubtedly

copied. In this case an unfamiliar technique has embarrassed the copyist; a bronze-engraver, using his accustomed tools, might have rendered the subject with a sureness of hand worthy of his model.

²⁰ *RM loc. cit.*, p. 265, fig. 4.

²¹ Compare Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figure Vases*, pp. 33, 41, 449.

²² Weege, pls. 3, 10.

²³ Ducati notes the three-figure composition; the female curled headdress would be a corrupt rendering of the Attic fashion on early red-figure vases—compare Caskey, *Attic Vase-Paintings in Boston*, pl. ii, no. 3 (Menon Painter).

²⁴ Ducati, *Storia*, pl. 144; Gerhard, pl. cccxliv.

a mirror which can hardly be much earlier than the middle of the fifth century—the lady with a goose (Gerhard, Körte, Klügmann, pl. 142), so oddly reminiscent of the figures on the Boston throne. The Heracles-Malache subject was repeated, in feebler copies,²⁵ a fact which in itself suggests that the workshop where it was made possessed a model which might have been kept and used for years. A fine mirror with two girls at a basin (Gerhard, Körte, Klügmann, pl. 153) was no doubt a careful reproduction of a kylix roundel, though the legs of the figure on the right may have been supplied with their surprising muscles by a workman interested in the brown anatomical lines of a male figure seen on some other vase. A maenad (Gerhard, I, pl. xcvi) in the style of the Brygos Painter is shown running away from a snake instead of brandishing it. The silen, her original pursuer, has been left in place on the vase from which she was taken. A similar process of ingenious adaptation perhaps explains the anachronism we have already noticed on the Salting mirror; two figures from different quarters have been brought together.²⁶ The artist, though historically inaccurate, has made the meeting a success.

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²⁵ Gerhard, pls. clix, clx; A. Delatte, 'Un nouveau monument de la série Héraclé-Malacukh,' in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales*, iii, 1935, 113 ff.

²⁶ Two other mirrors, greatly inferior, appear to have come from the same workshop—Gerhard, IV, ccclxxxvii, Peleus and Thetis, and Gerhard, Körte, Klügmann, V, 39, 2, silen and maenad.

THE POSEIDON ISTHMIOS BY LYSIPPOS

[PLATE VIII]

FROM an old Italian collection there has come to Holland the bronze statuette here published, representing Poseidon as he is known to us from several marbles and bronzes and numerous Hellenistic and Roman coins.¹ The god is shown leaning forward on his raised and bent right leg, his right forearm resting on his thigh, his left hand raised high. The statuette, which measures 17½ cm. in height, is in an excellent state of preservation; only the tops of the thumb and of three fingers of the right hand are missing; too vigorous cleaning has removed much of the patina; on the right side of the neck is a hole, probably a vent. The statuette is of very fine quality and excellent workmanship. In spite of its small size it is impressive and monumental, and strongly recalls a life-sized original; evidently this was a modelled, not a sculptured one; we have to think of a bronze statue. Coins of Demetrios Poliorketes,² the figure on which shows exactly the same posture as our bronze, tell us that the right leg rested on a rock and the left hand held a trident.

The most famous of this well-known type is the Lateran statue,³ which has been much discussed as to the authorship of its original. Unfortunately this is rather a bad example of a Roman copy, made in a very classicist taste, probably in the first half of the second century A.D.; moreover, it has been much restored. Helbig⁴ tells us that nose, left arm, both legs up to the knee, ship, dolphin and plinth are restored, while parts of the hair and beard are new. These numerous restorations completely alter the original aspect and give us a wholly wrong impression, the more so as they are executed with great skill and are not recognisable at first sight. The other copies are of very moderate quality or else badly damaged. The figures on the coins are too small to enable many stylistic conclusions to be drawn from them. Therefore this well-preserved and beautifully executed copy is a very welcome addition to the list Johnson⁵ gives in his admirable book on Lysippos, where he discusses all opinions regarding the important but unfortunately lost original.

When, unbiased by any previous ideas, we look closely and attentively at this statuette, we are immediately struck by its Lysippian appearance. It has the Lysippian proportions, the long limbs and small head, it has the rich modelling of the back and the roundness of the shoulders of which Johnson⁶ speaks. It has, above all, the typical three-dimensional character which was the principal innovation of Lysippos' art; neither from the side nor from the front can we obtain a satisfying and all-embracing view;

¹ See Johnson, *Lysippos*, pp. 144 ff.

² Newell, *The Coinage of Demetrius Poliorketes*, Pls. vii, viii.

³ Brunn-Bruckmann, 243.

⁴ Helbig, *Führer*, II, p. 25.

⁵ Johnson, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

on the other hand, it shows beauty of mass and line from every angle of view.⁷ Previous to Lysippos' time such a pose is inconceivable, but the severe simplicity and the restful harmony without any trace of academism closely connect this statue with Greek classical sculpture and place it only on the threshold of Hellenistic art. In spite of the small size of this copy we can observe even many details characteristic of Lysippos' works: the vivid rendering of the hair which Pliny⁸ mentions, the crescent-shaped line above the shallow navel, the triangular depression at the waist, the deep groove along the spine to which Johnson⁹ draws attention.

Now we know not only that Lysippos was the creator of the type of gods which prevailed throughout the third and following centuries and even into Imperial times¹⁰, but also that he actually made a bronze statue of Poseidon for the Corinthians.¹¹ We know besides that Lysippos was a very able inventor of motives¹²; and certainly this statue of Poseidon shows a most appropriate motive for the god of the sea,¹³ a motive so well chosen and generally appreciated that it has been repeated always and everywhere throughout antiquity. The more so as it is almost certain that Lysippos' statue was not erected inside the sanctuary, but in the open air, near the sea.¹⁴ It is highly possible, even probable, that the figure on Demetrios' coins represents a Corinthian statue, as Corinth was one of his most prized possessions where, moreover, he had been appointed commander-in-chief by the Hellenic confederation.¹⁵ Furthermore, Poseidon appears with persistent occurrence on Corinthian coins. This evidence strengthens the conclusions we drew from the style of the bronze and makes it well-nigh certain that our statuette, together with the similar copies and figures on coins mentioned by Johnson, represent the Poseidon Isthmios made by Lysippos.

The name of Lysippos has already often been mentioned in this connexion, but till now every discussion has been hampered by the very un-Lysippian appearance of the best copy, the Lateran statue. This appearance we may, in view of the new evidence, consider as an alteration made by the copyist to satisfy the classicist taste of the period which, even while admiring the motive, objected to the complicated posture. Too often we are likely to forget that it was not always the intention to give an exact copy of the original, but that many times the copyist, taking over the motive, 'corrected' the form according to the taste of himself or his employer; moreover, many centuries often separate creator and copyist. This holds good especially for big marble copies of bronze statues where the translation from bronze into marble implies a certain re-creation.¹⁶ Therefore bronze statuettes often give a more exact idea of the original, as we see in the case of the Discus-thrower at Munich and the Wounded Amazon of Florence.¹⁷

⁷ Johnson, pp. 258-9.

⁸ Pliny, *NH*, XXXIV, 65; Johnson, p. 257.

⁹ Johnson, p. 81.

¹⁰ See the long list in Johnson, pp. 144 ff.

¹¹ Lucian, *Zeus Tragoedus*, 9.

¹² Cf. Gardner, *JHS* 1905, 255.

¹³ Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, II, p. 151; Loewy, *Gr.*

Plastik, p. 105; Klein, *Gesch. Gr. Kunst*, II, p. 366.

¹⁴ Bulle in Roscher, *Lexikon*, III, 2, cl. 2890.

¹⁵ Klein, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ Cf. Wace, *Approach to Greek Sculpture*.

¹⁷ Discus-thrower; see Rodenwaldt, *Kunst der Antike*, Pls. 303-5. Amazon in Room XIII, Arch. Mus. Florence, *Guida Sommaria*, p. 15.

All the arguments against the authorship of Lysippos are overthrown by our statuette. Lange¹⁸ was the first to ascribe the original statue to Lysippos. Even if, as Six¹⁹ points out, the motive of the raised leg was not invented by Lysippos, it certainly is very appropriate for obtaining the effect at which he aims, and does not contradict his authorship, which we have concluded for other reasons. Bulle²⁰ says that in Lysippos' works every form taken separately is rotund and plump and fleshy, and dissolves itself into many charming separate shapes; in the Lateran statue he rightly sees the contrary, but he would be fully satisfied by our bronze, which shows exactly those characteristics. Helbig²¹ and other scholars who are against the authorship of Lysippos hold about the same view. Lippold²² does not give any definite argument against it. Mme. Maviglia²³ has a wholly different view of Lysippos' art, and therefore of his Poseidon, which, however, has not been shared by other scholars. Johnson²⁴ is inclined to ascribe the statue to Lysippos, as far as he can judge by the coins, but is restrained from doing so by the appearance of the Lateran statue, which, contrary to our bronze, lacks all the Lysippian characteristics he himself so clearly describes. Newell²⁵ is convinced that the coins of Demetrios were inspired by some famous statue, feels inclined to think that it stood at Corinth, but does not feel certain who the sculptor was, and awaits new evidence. The improbability of Svoronos' ²⁶ theory that this statue was part of a group on the Akropolis at Athens has already been pointed out by Newell; that it cannot possibly be the work of Alkamenos is clearly proved by our copy, posture, proportions and forms of which are, as we have seen, inconceivable before Lysippos' times.

As the history of the stylistic evolution of copies on one hand and of bronze statuettes on the other is still very incomplete, we dare not say with certainty to which period our copy has to be assigned. It certainly does not give the impression of dating from Imperial times. Its full and vigorous modelling, its plastic force, its general appearance point to the Hellenistic period, when the Lysippian tradition was still fully alive. We should like therefore to attribute it to the Greek school of copyists which exhibited such activity in the last half of the second century B.C., working especially for the export to Italy. In this connexion it is not uninteresting to note that, according to oral tradition, our statuette was found in the Adriatic Sea. In any case, the copyist has done, with great skill and care, full justice to the form and spirit of his famous example in which we may certainly recognise the bronze statue of Poseidon which Lysippos made for the Corinthians.

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¹⁸ Lange, *Motiv des aufgestellten Fusses*, p. 31. For attribution to Lysippos by other scholars see Johnson, p. 143; also Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 274.

¹⁹ Six, *JdI* 1909, p. 25.

²⁰ Bulle, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Helbig, *loc. cit.*

²² Lippold, *Lysippos*, in Pauly-Wissowa.

²³ Maviglia, *Lisippo*, pp. 85 ff.

²⁴ Johnson, p. 149.

²⁵ Newell, p. 89.

²⁶ Svoronos, *J. Int. Numismat.*, XIV (1912), pp. 288 ff.

AMASIS AND THE GREEKS IN EGYPT.

THE excuse for this article is that the accepted reconstruction of the Hellenic policy of Amasis misinterprets statements of Herodotus and ignores the archaeological evidence. Most historians seem to agree that Amasis was put on the throne as the nominee of a fervid nationalist party; that about 565, to please this party, he concentrated the Greeks in Naucratis, reorganised, if not founded, at this time, and only permitted them access to Egypt by the Canopic branch of the Nile; that at the same time he brought to Memphis from Stratopeda, usually equated with Daphnae and Tell Defenneh, the Greek and Carian mercenaries—either to have them more securely under control or from latent philhellenism; and that later he began more openly to favour the Greeks.¹ Further, the date of the foundation of Naucratis needs further discussion: the view most widely held puts it back to the middle of the seventh century.

Much of this theory can be traced back to Flinders Petrie,² who, as a busy excavator and Egyptologist, can be excused for an over-hasty reading of the account of Herodotus. Rumpf—alone, I believe—has criticised the orthodox views about Naucratis and Tell Defenneh;³ but though he first published these criticisms in 1925, I do not think they have been noticed in any more recent study.

The evidence for the relations of Amasis to the Greeks in Egypt is slight. First we have the statements of Herodotus; secondly, the results of excavation and finds, chiefly at Naucratis and Tell Defenneh; thirdly, the Egyptian records—only the stele of the death of Apries⁴ and a demotic papyrus⁵ seem to be relevant. Herodotus's statements are ambiguous. So it seems best to begin with the archaeological evidence.

I. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE.

*Naucratis.*⁶ Much excavation was done on the site, by Petrie in 1884-5, E. Gardner in 1885-6 and Hogarth in 1899 and 1903. No stratification was

¹ So Glotz, *Hist. Grecque* I, 204,—he makes Amasis pursue throughout a double policy; 'le meilleur témoignage de son philhellénisme persistant se trouve dans une ingénieuse application de mesures contraires en apparence à l'expansion hellénique.' Hall, *CAH* iii, 292, 303-4; Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums* III², 623-4; How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, on ii, 30. 2, 154. 3, 178-9, also attribute a double policy to Amasis.

² *Naucratis* I, 7-8; *Tanis* II, 47-9.

³ *Gnomon*, 1925, 330; *Chalkidische Vasen*, 139: *Jdl* 1933, 60.

⁴ *Rec. Trav.* xxii, 1.

⁵ *Rev. Eg.* i, 59.

⁶ The bibliography for Naucratis is considerable. *Excavation Reports*:

W. M. F. Petrie *Naucratis* I (1886): the conclusions are often hasty and the drawings unreliable.

E. A. Gardner *Naucratis* II (1888).

D. G. Hogarth (1899) *BSA* V, 26-97; (1903) *JHS* 1905, 105-36.

General Studies:

H. Prinz *Funde aus Naukratis*, *Klio Beiheft* 7 (1908): much of it out of date.

P. N. Ure, *Origin of Tyranny*, 103-24: archaeological sources often obsolete.

E. M. Smith *JSOR* 1926, 119-207: a useful and uncritical collection of material.

possible. The finds of pottery were the most important and numerous. It is unlikely that the excavators' sorting has made unrepresentative the selection which has since been scattered through the classical museums of the world. As Payne observed, there is nothing that should be earlier than the end of the seventh century,—say 615–10. The Attic black-figure sherds in the British Museum, which has much the largest selection of the finds of any museum, and the Attic and Corinthian sherds in Oxford, have been studied by Beazley and Payne.⁷ Very few are of the seventh century and those late. Laconian begins about 590. The chronology of East Greek pottery is admittedly vague; but as far as I know, no East Greek sherd from Naucratis looks earlier than the end of the seventh century.⁸

Imports of Greek pottery begin in the last ten or fifteen years of the seventh century, and their mass becomes great immediately. Later there seems to be no sudden increase to correspond to the alleged reorganisation by Amasis: only the replacement of East Greek wares by Attic is perhaps less marked than in the West or in the Pontic colonies.

The finds of 'Naucratis' pottery at Naucratis are important. First, no other site has yielded a comparable amount. Secondly, dedicatory inscriptions, painted before firing, are very frequent. If, as seems probable, 'Naucratis' was manufactured in Chios,⁹ there must have been some close

Special Studies:

E. R. Price *JHS* 1924, 180–222: on the East Greek pottery,—the text is largely out of date.

J. D. Beazley and H. G. Payne *JHS* 1929, 253–72: on the Attic B.F. in the British Museum, and the most important study for the early chronology of Naucratis. (Cf. Payne *Necrocorinthia* 25).

E. Gjerstad *LAAA* 1934, 67–84: an unsuccessful attempt to recover a useful stratification (see *BSA* xxxiv, 86, n. 2).

Further Publication of Material:

CVA Oxford ii (Attic, Beazley; Corinthian, Payne; East Greek, Price).

CVA Cambridge ii (W. Lamb).

A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in Boston*.

CVA Hague i and ii (L. Scheurleer).

E. Prins de Jong, *Scherben aus Naukratis* (in Hague).

C. C. Edgar *Catalogue du Caire, Greek Vases*.

R. M. Cook *BSA* xxxiv, 1–98 (for the Fikellura pottery: list on p. 97).

E. A. Lane *BSA* xxxiv, 99–189 (for the Laconian pottery: esp. p. 180).

The finds from Naucratis were scattered without being properly studied. Besides the four excavations a collection of sherds from the site was made by von Bissing, which also has been dispersed; and another by de Mot, who presented his to Brussels. By far the largest mass of the finds is in the British Museum. Next come Oxford, Cambridge and Boston. There are small assortments in The Hague, Cairo, Brussels, Heidelberg, Leipzig and University College, London. And numerous collections have a few relics.

⁷ For references see above. Three or, at the most, five Corinthian fragments from Naucratis of the seventh century were known to Payne (*Necrocorinthia*, 25). The attribution to Naucratis of a transitional sherd in Boston (Fairbanks pl. 37, 340) is extremely doubtful. Anyhow, a single earlier piece would not affect the argument.

⁸ A representative selection published by Price, *JHS* 1924 and *CVA Oxford* ii.

⁹ This view seems to have been accepted since Miss W. Lamb's excavations in 1934 at the site of Apollo Phanaios in Chios (see *JHS* 1934, 196–8): Payne was convinced. Briefly the arguments are as follows: (1) the continuation from Chiot Geometric of the technique of varnish paint on top of a white slip. (2) A possible ancestry for the 'chalice' shape. (3) The distribution of 'Naucratis': Chios has more plausible connections with the Pontus. (4) That Chios otherwise has no archaic style of vase-painting, while a foreign settlement like Naucratis is hardly to be expected to have a strong and purely Greek style. (5) That there is not time for the reserving 'Naucratis' style to develop in Naucratis after 615–10. (6) That the most prominent dedicators of 'Naucratis' pottery at Naucratis are Chiot.

Dedicatory inscriptions painted before firing occur also in Chios and Aegina. The connection between Naucratis and Chios holds, therefore, even if 'Naucratis' pottery was manufactured in Naucratis and exported to Chios.

The uniformity of clay, slip, technique, style and alphabet makes it most unlikely that 'Naucratis' was made in both Naucratis and Chios.

connection between Naucratis and Chios. Herodotus does not suggest this.¹⁰

*Tell Defenneh.*¹¹ Tell Defenneh, a site in the east of the Delta, was partially excavated by Petrie in 1886. Again the Greek finds of use for dating are pottery. The quantity is small, if, as one must believe, the British Museum¹² has nearly everything that was removed from the site. These finds have only a limited value, since the excavations were incomplete and the bulk of the pottery came from two rooms.¹³ The site appears to be that of a fort.

The Greek pottery belongs to four main categories: Attic black-figure, Fikellura, Clazomenian, and the Situlae. The Attic belongs to the middle and third quarter of the sixth century. The Fikellura probably covers the years 560–30.¹⁴ Clazomenian has not yet been accurately dated, but the finds are roughly contemporary with the Fikellura: one fragment¹⁵ at least is not before 540. The date of the Situlae is uncertain, but apparently may fall in the Persian period.¹⁶ Except for an odd stray or two¹⁷ the earliest date given by the pottery is 570–60, the latest not before 535–30 and possibly the end of the century. The common belief is clearly wrong, that Amasis recalled his Greek mercenaries from the eastern frontier about 565.

The comparison of the contemporary pottery from Naucratis and Tell Defenneh is interesting. At Tell Defenneh the proportion of East Greek wares is higher, and there is no Laconian—a point which must not be stressed because of the relatively small quantity of the finds from Tell Defenneh. But whereas fragments of at least fifteen to twenty Situlae were found at Tell Defenneh, not a single fragment of that class is recorded among the numerous finds from Naucratis. This can hardly be accidental. The place of origin of the Situlae is still in doubt,¹⁸ unnecessarily, I think. If the Situlae were manufactured in an East Greek city, specimens should have been found locally. Actually two have turned up—at Ialysos in Rhodes, and Rhodes is the one East Greek district for which we have evidence enough to think that the Situlae were not manufactured there. And why, if the Situlae were made in an East Greek city, should they have been exported to Tell Defenneh and not to Naucratis? On the other hand,

¹⁰ Nor among the sanctuaries does he mention that of Aphrodite, judging from finds one of the two most important in the early years of Naucratis. Chiots are, I think, the most frequent dedicators to her.

¹¹ *Excavation Report*: W. M. F. Petrie *Tanis II* (1888); inadequate, especially the drawings. Important criticism by A. Rumpf, *Gnomon*, 1925, 330 and *JdI* 1933, 60.

¹² Inventoried under the serial 88. 2–8. Some at least of the sherds inventoried under 1924. 12–1 are also from Tell Defenneh (see *BSA* xxxiv, 86–87).

¹³ *Tanis II*, 58.

¹⁴ See *BSA* xxxiv, 87: list given on p. 97.

¹⁵ B.M. B 115 (*Tanis II*, pl. 29. 3). Rumpf dates it to the last third of the sixth century (*Gnomon* 1925, 330).

¹⁶ Two Situlae have been found outside Tell Defenneh: Rhodes 10641 (*Cl.Rh.* iii, grave clxxxiii, figs. 186–9; fig. 188 execrable: *CVA Rhodes* i, pl. 423. 4–5) and Rhodes 10773 (*Cl.Rh.* iii, grave cxci, fig. 198)—both found with Attic B.F. of about 500–490: I thank Professor Beazley for this information. See Rumpf *JdI* 1933, 61. On the other hand, the context of the Situlae at Tell Defenneh would suggest their dating to the third quarter of the sixth century.

¹⁷ Middle 'Rhodian'—*Tanis II*, pl. 24. 6: late 'Rhodian'—Boston 28. 86. 114. Further excavation might well prove a seventh-century origin for the Greek settlement.

¹⁸ E.g. Price, *East Greek Pottery* 9. Rumpf *JdI* 1933, 61, does not commit himself. Petrie thought the Situlae of local manufacture (*Tanis II*, 62).

the situla is apparently derived from an Egyptian shape. And the Situlae show no stylistic unity, but borrow from various sources: compare similar phenomena in Etruria, and perhaps Aeolis and Cyprus. There are a few other probable examples of fringe Greek art from Egypt.¹⁹ Whether, as seems to me reasonably certain, the Situlae were made at or near Tell Defenneh, or were imported from some East Greek city, there are two important consequences to be considered. First, that at some time Tell Defenneh was not entirely dependent on Naucratis and perhaps not even closely related. Secondly, that Tell Defenneh was sufficiently important to have a pottery fabric of its own; or, if not, was yet in direct communication with the Aegean. Herodotus does indeed note that there were at Stratopeda, which anyhow cannot have been far away, ὅλκοι τῶν νεῶν (ii. 154).

Greek Archaic Pottery from other Egyptian Sites.

A few Greek sherds of the late seventh and of the sixth centuries have been found at sites in Egypt other than Naucratis and Tell Defenneh. A tentative list is given in the Appendix. The distribution is wide—in the Delta, round Memphis and in the Thebaid. Petrie's claims for Memphis²⁰ are interesting: it is a pity more exact information has not been published. Most of these sherds are East Greek imports: a few are perhaps the work of Greeks resident in Egypt, painting in an East Greek tradition. The dates of these strays should be observed: the majority belong to the reign of Amasis, but the evidence may, of course, be unrepresentative.²¹

Conclusions from the Archaeological Evidence.

1. Naucratis was probably founded about 615–10, and was without doubt a very important Greek settlement—an East Greek settlement: witness the proportion of East Greek pottery, the nationalities of the dedicators and the literary tradition. 2. But Naucratis was not the only settlement of Greeks during the reign of Amasis. In the East of the Delta, Tell Defenneh, and perhaps other Greek outposts,²² had a more or less independent life, which Rumpf suggests may have continued into Persian times.²³ The pottery suggests even closer East Greek connections for this area than for Naucratis. 3. The contact between Greeks and Egyptians was probably greater than is usually recognised: there was some infiltration beyond Naucratis and Tell Defenneh of Greek settlers or sentiments. And influence of Greek sculpture on Egyptian is considered possible.²⁴ The Egypt of Amasis was not entirely closed to the Greeks; indeed, it seems to have been more open than before. These views conflict with the conventional

¹⁹ See below, p. 237, Appendix II.

²⁰ See *Memphis* I, 3.

²¹ There are no certain Hellenic finds from Egypt, from Naucratis, Tell Defenneh or elsewhere, which are to be dated back beyond 615. If, as the literary evidence suggests, it was Psammetichus I whose need for mercenaries opened Egypt to the archaic Greeks, commercial relations do not seem to have been

firmly established till the very end of his reign. But the archaeological evidence is inadequate.

²² See below, p. 234.

²³ *Jdl* 1933, 60.

²⁴ A. W. Lawrence, *History of Herodotus of Halicarnassus* II, 182, n. 1: 'the "archaic smile" of sixth-century Greek sculpture, was probably introduced into Egyptian portraiture under Amasis.'

interpretation of Herodotus, but archaeological evidence is better than the records of a traveller of a century later. Nor is that interpretation of Herodotus necessarily correct.

2. THE LITERARY EVIDENCE.

Herodotus is our chief authority for the archaic Greeks in Egypt. The points that call for criticism are the policy of Amasis, the 'gift' of Naucratis, the 'concentration' in Naucratis and the identity of Tell Defenneh. The statements of Herodotus are vague, even if they are reliable; and the archaeological evidence must be used to interpret them.

The important passages of Herodotus are the following.

1. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι, τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐνοικεῖν αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμούς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. (ii. 178.)

2. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μόνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δὲ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶα τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. (ii. 179.)

3. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα . . . εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἑωυτοῦ ποιεῦμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων . . . ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων ἐν τούτοις δὴ οἱ τε ὅλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. (ii. 154.)

4. Ἐπὶ Ψαμμήτιχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἐν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπίων καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι ἄλλῃ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Συρίων καὶ ἐν Μαρήνῃ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμήτιχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουροῦσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. (ii. 30.)

The origin of the accepted theory is simple. Seven data are selected: Naucratis was founded in the seventh century; Amasis became king at the head of a nationalist reaction; Amasis 'gave' Naucratis to the Greeks; Greek trade in Egypt was at some time confined to Naucratis; Psammetichus settled Greek veterans at Stratopeda and Amasis removed them; Daphnae also is a post on the eastern frontier; Tell Defenneh shows evidence of Greek military occupation. The conclusions are most economical. Amasis on his accession concentrated the Greeks in Naucratis (τὸ παλαιὸν has to be ignored), reorganised it and removed the mercenaries from Stratopeda—all at the same time. The concentration was to please the Egyptians, the reorganisation to please the Greeks, the removal of the mercenaries to

please Egyptians, Greeks and himself. To round this off, Stratopeda, Daphnae and Tell Defenneh become a single site—three in one and one in three.

(1) *The Philhellenic Policy of Amasis.*

The general belief that Amasis became king at the head of an anti-Greek movement is supported by the stele of the death of Apries,²⁵ which states that in the third year of the co-regency of Amasis, Apries raised the Greeks in an attempt to recover effectual sovereignty. The account of Herodotus is garbled and makes no definite statement of the nationalist attitude of Amasis,²⁶ but his text will admit of this construction. The conclusion that Amasis's early policy would have been anti-Greek is therefore reasonable; and the spectacular philhellenism recorded by Herodotus fits best to a later period of the reign, as indeed the datable examples suggest.

The contribution to the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi (ii. 180) must be after 548. The alliance with Polycrates (iii. 39) falls in the thirties. The dedication at Samos seems to be later than the completion of the Rhoikos temple (ii. 182)—that is, after about 540. The capture by the Samians of the dedication intended for Sparta is mentioned by Herodotus as a preliminary to the Spartan expedition against Polycrates (iii. 47), and so should not be much earlier than 526. The dedication at Lindos (ii. 182) and the connections with Cyrene (ii. 181–182) offer no help to conjecture. It is, then, logical to expect nationalist measures early rather than late in the reign of Amasis, and philhellenic measures late rather than early. Since we have no explicit evidence for the time of the alleged innovations at Naucratis or of the evacuation of Stratopeda, the only indication of the dates of these measures is the attitude they imply towards the Greeks. The attitude is debatable; and so conjecture is free.²⁷

(2) *The 'Gift' of Naucratis.*²⁸

There are two interpretations of the text of Herodotus, depending on the translation of the word ἔδωκε. Either he thought, wrongly, that Amasis founded the Greek city of Naucratis, or else he meant that Amasis gave special privileges to an existing settlement. The arguments are as follows.

(1) The simple interpretation of the text is that Amasis founded the Greek city. Even if ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι could be taken as referring to a reorganisation, a difficulty is presented by ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμούς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. Can ἔδωκε be given two different meanings in two parallel clauses? Πόλιν is scarcely to be taken predicatively: according to Herodotus's usage, it goes naturally with Ναύκρατιν; compare δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι in ii. 154. If Herodotus meant that Amasis only reorganised Naucratis, he certainly expressed his meaning ambiguously.

(2) But Herodotus presumably visited Naucratis, and it would there-

²⁵ See above, p. 227, n. 4.

²⁶ Unless φιλόλην γένόμενος (ii. 178) is to be taken as a sign of (sudden) conversion.

²⁷ See above, p. 227, n. 1.

²⁸ Hdt. ii. 178.

fore be surprising if he was ignorant about its foundation.²⁹ On the other hand, he says nothing about its earlier history, nor mentions any event connected with it before the accession of Amasis. About some of the τεμένεα Herodotus is certainly wrong: although he ascribes the gift of the sites to Amasis, some at least of the sanctuaries mentioned later go back to the seventh century. Nor do the finds from the site suggest any considerable changes or increase in prosperity during the reign of Amasis.

It is, I think, better to conclude that Herodotus made a mistake, and wrongly attributed to Amasis the work of one of his predecessors. Even so, if Herodotus did make a mistake, there may have been some reorganisation by Amasis that led to this mistake; but for such a reorganisation there is no direct evidence.

(3) 'The Concentration of the Greeks in Naucratis.'³⁰

It is usually assumed that Amasis on his accession, either to please nationalist sentiment or to secure the goodwill of the largest Greek settlement in Egypt, or with both purposes, concentrated the Greeks in Naucratis. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος, says Herodotus, ὁ Ἀμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι. After mentioning the sanctuaries of Naucratis, he writes: ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου.

First, Herodotus does not specifically connect these restrictions with Amasis's 'gift' of Naucratis, nor even with Amasis; and the vague τὸ παλαιὸν does not suggest that *previously* there had been any considerable period of unrestricted trade. Secondly, these restrictions should not be regarded as applying to Stratopeda and the mercenaries—εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκειτο . . . τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν. Thirdly, the motive is uncertain, though xenophobia is the most obvious.

With reference to the second point, Tell Defenneh, presumably a military settlement, shows Greek occupation for at least most of the reign of Amasis: to the first, the pre-Persian finds of Greek pottery in Egypt outside Naucratis seem to belong mainly to his reign. If, however, Herodotus believed that Amasis founded the Greek settlement of Naucratis, he must then have attributed the concentration also to Amasis; but on this also he might well have been wrong.

(4) *Stratopeda*.³¹

Petrie in 1886 made partial excavations at Tell Defenneh, where he found what from his plan appears to be a fort, and in it weapons and Greek sherds. Collating two passages of Herodotus (ii. 30 and 154), he jumped to the equation Tell Defenneh = Daphnae = Stratopeda.³² On the whole

²⁹ Naucratis was not a Greek colony, properly founded, so that there may have been few data about its origins. Two centuries later Apollonius Rhodius wrote a Ναυκράτειος κτίσις (Ath. vii. 283): but how far he is likely to have used historical evidence I do not know. Strabo's date for the foundation of

the Μιλήσιον τεῖχος (xvii. 801) could fit the archaeological conclusions about Naucratis.

³⁰ Hdt. ii. 178-179.

³¹ Hdt. ii. 154.

³² Tanis II, 48.

historians have assented, though some more scrupulous of the text of Herodotus make Stratopeda a suburb or an appendage of Daphnae.³³ Rumpf has objected on literary and archaeological grounds;³⁴ but his objections have been neglected.

First, is Stratopeda Daphnae? The only argument for the identification is that the topographical descriptions of Herodotus put them in roughly the same area.³⁵ On the other hand, Herodotus does not specifically equate Stratopeda and Daphnae, as one would expect him to do if they were one and the same. Stratopeda seems to be rather a colony of veterans than the frontier fort that Daphnae is described as being. Stratopeda was in ruins in the time of Herodotus, Daphnae still garrisoned. These arguments still allow the view that Stratopeda was a suburb of Daphnae. But there is one more point. Herodotus nowhere describes the position of Daphnae: perhaps it was too well known to need description. He does describe the position of Stratopeda, not in relation to Daphnae, but as πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. Unless Stratopeda and Daphnae were to the Greeks (of the time of Herodotus) interchangeable names—and for this there is no evidence—the two sites should be some distance apart and Stratopeda should lie south of Daphnae: it would be reasonable to settle veterans in reserve behind an important frontier post.

Next, is Stratopeda Tell Defenneh? For this the only argument is that they were in the same area. In itself this is inconclusive; and Petrie's results do not fit too well with the description of Herodotus—χώρους ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος. No sign of the second camp is given in *Tanis II*.

Lastly, is Daphnae Tell Defenneh? Again the area seems to be the same. More important is the similarity of name.³⁶ And from the map it is very possible that Tell Defenneh is on the strategical route between Egypt and Asia.³⁷

There are, then, no conclusive reasons for identifying Tell Defenneh with Stratopeda or Daphnae, though the identification with Daphnae is plausible. And Daphnae is not Stratopeda. If it is objected that three Greek or partially Greek sites are unlikely close together up the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, it must be remembered that this area has been little explored.

It is usually assumed that when, early in his reign, Amasis concentrated the Greeks in Naucratis, he removed *at the same time* the Greek and Carian mercenaries from Stratopeda. Even if the initial assumption is granted, the date of this evacuation does not follow. Herodotus gives no precise date, nor does he connect it at all with Naucratis. Amasis, he says, recalled these foreign mercenaries φυλακὴν ἔωτο τοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. If,

³³ E.g. Hall (*CAH* iii, 292) and Lawrence (*op. cit.* II, 30, n. 2) take Petrie whole. Glotz (*op. cit.* 203, n. 223) puts Stratopeda just outside Daphnae. How and Wells (*op. cit.*, on ii. 30, n. 2) partly outside.

³⁴ *Gnomon* 1925, 330: *JdI* 1933, 60. Cf. R. M. Cook *BSA* xxxiv, 87, n. 3.

³⁵ Position of Stratopeda (ii. 154). Daphnae is on

the Pelusiac branch and on the strategical route to Asia, since the frontier post is there (ii. 30); and Sesostris is casually mentioned as returning by way of Daphnae (ii. 107).

³⁶ See Petrie *Tanis II*, 47: Rumpf *JdI* 1933, 60.

³⁷ And Petrie claims that the modern caravan route passes Tell Defenneh (*Tanis II*, 47).

then, the policy of Amasis was at first nationalist, the installation of a foreign bodyguard belongs more naturally to a later period of his reign. In 565 such an action would have been rash and dangerous, both for its effect on Egyptian sentiment and for the opportunity it might have offered to angry foreigners. Even more rash if he was at the same time introducing vigorous restrictions on Greek trade with Egypt. To call this a subtle compromise is perverse. Whether, then, Amasis did or did not introduce the restrictions on Greek commerce, from Herodotus, as well as from the finds at Tell Defenneh, it appears that they did not interfere with the mercenaries. So much for the literary evidence.

Herodotus, then, is not a very useful guide to the position of the Greeks in Egypt before the Persian conquest. He wrote a history of Egypt, not a history of Greek contact with Egypt, and his allusions to Greeks are mainly casual. The Amasis of Herodotus is a half-legendary figure, and his reign the Golden Age of the Greeks in Egypt. The Amasis of the Egyptian records rose to power as the head of an anti-Greek movement: Herodotus, deliberately or from ignorance, does not record this. But even if Herodotus's sketch of Amasis and his policy is correct, there is no excuse for an arbitrary selection of isolated statements to fit conventional theories.

3. CONCLUSIONS.

The following conclusions seem to be permitted by the available evidence.

(1) The Greek settlement at Naucratis was founded about 615-10.³⁸ There is no evidence in Egypt of Greek trade before this time. Naucratis immediately became an important East Greek community, and the sanctuaries of Apollo and Aphrodite³⁹ were established then.

(2) There were apparently Greek mercenaries on the eastern frontier from some time in the reign of Psammetichus I till about the time of the Persian conquest. Herodotus says that Psammetichus settled Greek veterans at Stratopeda, and that this settlement lasted till the reign of Amasis; and Tell Defenneh shows Greek military occupation for most at least of Amasis's reign.

(3) A concentration of Greek traders in Egypt at Naucratis is mentioned by Herodotus. First, the object of this concentration is unknown—possible motives are nationalist jealousy of the Greeks, better control of commerce and of foreigners, deference to the Greek community of Naucratis by granting a monopoly. Secondly, the date is uncertain: τὸ παλαιόν suggests that it was early, but one or more of the motives mentioned above would fit

³⁸ Cf. Payne *Necrocorinthia*, 25. To judge from the archaeological evidence the end of the seventh century seems to mark the beginning of the distant colonising period of the East Greek cities. Naucratis seems to have been founded about 615-10, Berezan, Istria and Apollonia Pontica about 610-600. For Berezan there are some hundreds of sherds collected by von Stern and given to Halle and Leipzig, and perhaps to Heidelberg. For Istria

Mme. Lambrino's final report will be illuminating: I base my conclusions on the sherds in the National Museum, Bucharest, some of which she has published in *Dacia* iii-iv, 362-77. For Apollonia Pontica there are numerous sherds in Sofia and Burgas, and some in the Louvre and in Bonn.

³⁹ Not mentioned by Herodotus. The most prominent dedicators are Chiotis.

any period. Thirdly, the concentration did not affect mercenaries: and on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile Tell Defenneh seems to have had some commercial life of its own, certainly during the reign of Amasis.

(4) The policy of Amasis is probably rightly interpreted as balanced between conciliation of the Egyptian nationalists and fear of Persia. Fear of Persia, eventually at least, dominated. Hence his alliances with Lydia and then with Polycrates, and perhaps with Cyrene; and the philhellenism, even at home, which won him his place in Greek fable. The recall of the mercenaries from Stratopeda to be his bodyguard looks like a late stage in this policy. Archaeological finds suggest that intercourse between Greeks and Egyptians may have increased during his reign.

(5) It is not known what Amasis did at Naucratis; nor, if he did anything, when it was.

(6) Amasis did not necessarily evacuate Stratopeda at the beginning of his reign. If the motive given by Herodotus is right, and anyhow if Amasis removed the mercenaries to Memphis to be his bodyguard, the evacuation is likely to have been later.

(7) Stratopeda is not Tell Defenneh or Daphnae. Tell Defenneh may be Daphnae. Anyhow Tell Defenneh provides no absolute date for archaeology.⁴⁰

(8) Herodotus on Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt is vague and not entirely reliable.

The future lies with the archaeologists. A thorough exploration of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile and further excavations at Tell Defenneh might elucidate Stratopeda and Daphnae. A careful survey of the Delta, if it is possible, might decide whether there were other Greek settlements besides Naucratis and Tell Defenneh, and, if so, when they flourished. Perhaps more work could be done at Naucratis:⁴¹ certainly more could be done on the finds from Naucratis. But Egypt is remote for Hellenic specialists, and Egyptologists not unnaturally neglect Greek intrusions in the late Saite period.

It remains for me to express my gratitude for help and criticism to Mrs. K. M. T. Atkinson, Mr. J. A. Davison, Miss M. S. Shaw and Professor T. B. L. Webster.

Manchester University.

R. M. COOK.

APPENDIX.

*I. Pre-Persian Greek Pottery from sites in Egypt other than Naucratis and Tell Defenneh.*⁴²

SAIS. Late 'Rhodian': 1. Cairo 26138. Fragment of dinos. Edgar, pl. 2. Early first quarter of sixth century.

BENHA. Clazomenian: 2. Berlin Inv. 4530. Amphora. AD ii. pl. 54: Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, pl. 33, 144. Middle of sixth century.

ZAGAZIG (?). Clazomenian: 3. Oxford 1921. 1204. Plastic head from vase. CVA Oxford, ii, pl. 401. 22. Bought at Zagazig. Middle of sixth century.

⁴⁰ As Rumpf says, 'die Funde aus Defenneh datieren nicht, sie sind zu datieren' (*JdI* 1933, 60).

⁴¹ See Hogarth, *BSA* v, 46.

⁴² Numbers of pieces in Cairo are those of Edgar, *Catalogue du Musée du Caire: Greek Vases*. Classifica-

tion of 'Rhodian' as in *BSA* xxxiv, 2, n. 1.

Apparently no Greek pottery has been discovered in Egypt between Mycenaean and the fabrics of the end of the seventh century.

MEMPHIS.⁴³ *Early Corinthian*: 4. British Museum. Aryballos. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* 187, as no. 585. Last quarter of seventh century.

Fikellura: 5. University College, London. Fragment of amphora. *BSA* xxxiv, 33, P. 23 c. Second half of sixth century.

Clazomenian: 6. Oxford G. 129. 4. Fragment of amphora, decorated with scale-pattern. *CVA Oxford* ii, pl. 401. 14.⁴⁴ Middle of sixth century.

ABUSIR. *Late 'Naucratis'*: 7. Bonn 2002. 14. Fragment of oinochoe (?), decorated with lions. First quarter of sixth century.⁴⁵

Fikellura: 8. Bonn 2002. 18. Fragments of oinochoe. *BSA* xxxiv, 43, T 8. Middle of sixth century.

Clazomenian: 9. Bonn 2002. 3-4. Fragments of amphora, decorated with scale-pattern. Middle of sixth century.

SAQQARAH. *Egyptian Greek*: 10. Cairo 26135. Amphora. Edgar, pl. 1: Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, pl. 3. In the 'Rhodian' tradition. First half of sixth century.

11. Cairo 32377. 'Amphora.' Edgar, pls. 5 and 6. Middle of sixth century (?).

LUXOR. *Early Corinthian*: 12. Aryballos. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, 187, no. 599b. Last quarter of seventh century.

Fikellura: 13. Berlin University D. 764. Fragments of amphora. *BSA* xxxiv, 13, G 9. Third quarter of sixth century.

Clazomenian: 14. Berlin University D. 764. Fragments of amphora. Middle of sixth century.

15. Hildesheim 1539. Amphora. Middle of sixth century.

KARNAK. *Clazomenian*: 16. Berlin Inv. 5844. Amphora. Said to be from Karnak. Third quarter of sixth century.

17. Oxford 1924. 64. Fragments of amphora. *CVA Oxford*, ii, pl. 401. 24. Middle to third quarter of sixth century.

EDFU. *Middle 'Rhodian'*: 18. Oxford 1892. 1103. Fragment of Middle 'Rhodian' stemmed dish. *CVA Oxford*, ii, pl. 395. 17. Very end of seventh century.

In addition, a considerable number of Greek pots and sherds have been bought on the market at Cairo and Alexandria. This is in itself no proof that such pieces were found in Egypt; but the poor quality of many of them is against importation by art dealers. The vast majority are of the reign of Amasis or the early Persian period: if these pieces had been picked up at Naukratis, the late seventh and early sixth centuries should have been well represented. It is therefore likely that some at least are from other sites in Egypt.

II. Egyptian-Greek Pottery.

Besides the Situlae⁴⁶ some of the Greek pottery found in Egypt was possibly made by Greeks resident in Egypt. A tentative list follows. These pieces show little or no influence of Egyptian art, but rather are provincial Greek.

1. Cairo 26135. (No. 10 above). This amphora is in the general 'Rhodian' tradition, but fits into no close group. From Saqqarah. First half of sixth century.

2. Cairo 32377. (No. 11 above). A freak in shape and style. From Saqqarah. Middle of sixth century (?).

3. Bonn 1524. Bauch-amphora. Said to be from the Delta. Pfuhl, *MuZ* III, pl. 39, 167. Greifenhagen, *JdI* 1936, 396-7, figs. 48-51. Middle of sixth century (?). This piece has been considered by some to be Pontic and the provenance doubted.

4. British Museum 88. 2-8. 57. Amphora. The shape perhaps derived from Clazomenian; the cable-pattern from Fikellura. The style and clay do not belong to any known Greek ware. From Tell Defenneh. *Tanis* II, pl. 32. 4: *BSA* xxxiv, 79, n. 1. Second half of sixth century.

⁴³ Petrie, *Memphis* I, 3, mentions more Greek pottery from that area.

⁴⁴ Price, *CVA Oxford*, ii, 88, mentions two similar fragments from Memphis.

⁴⁵ I thank Dr. Kukahn for knowledge of this fragment.

⁴⁶ See above, p. 229.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SICILY AND MAGNA GRAECIA

THIS year again funds and labour have been scarce, and little work has been done by the archaeological departments for South Italy, except in Campania. Most of the finds have been made accidentally during operations of the *Bonifica* or of road-making.

Sicily.

In the basin of the river Gela, where the *Bonifica* was levelling the gorge of Mt. Dessucri for a dam, workmen reported the discovery of a Sikel site. The cemetery had already been found and illustrated by P. Orsi (*NdS* 1903, *Mon Ant* 21). The Department has preserved, among other finds (*NdS* 1937, 368), a jug with vase-spout containing a filter, the tall foot of a one-handled cup, some fragments of decorated bowls, and, among the bronze material, two axe-heads, a knife-blade, and a spear-head. These recall similar material found by Orsi in the cemeteries of Mt. Dessucri, Mt. Finocchito and Pantalica, and date the site to the second Sikel period.

In April 1937 the Sicilian Dept., financed by the Commune of Agrigento, practically completed its prehistoric excavations of the hill of Serrafferlicchio above the old railway station, which were successfully started by Orsi and continued later by P. Marconi. It is one of the oldest sites of West Sicily; Orsi had acutely divined the importance of the region, and by 1928 the museum at Syracuse had been enriched by a large collection of painted pottery, of novel shape, with bold and complex geometric patterns. Dr. P. Arias in a short campaign in 1937, established the following points:—

(a) The hill was pierced by a 60-metre tunnel and inhabited by cave-dwellers.

(b) Their painted pottery falls into several classes, ranging from the first Sikel period (full Chalcolithic) to a final phase of the Neolithic age (assuming with Orsi that Megara Hyblaea and Stentinello are Neolithic and not, as others believe, Neolithic in type but not in date).

(c) Together with the painted ware is found pottery of *Bucchero* type: big bowls made of a refined clay and shaped like a truncated cone. This is closely allied with Chalcolithic finds at several places on the Aegean and in Southern Italy.

This brief but important exploration has brought back memories of Orsi, and has thrown further light on some of his researches. Its results, which will presently be published in *Mon Ant*, open an entirely new chapter of great scientific interest in the pre-history of Western Sicily.

To cap my remarks (*JHS* lvi, 221) on the prehistoric finds of Dr. Bovio Marconi near Palermo, I will mention the excavations at Boccadifalco, where some material had been brought to light in the course of hydraulic work. It is a village of huts; no metal was found, but by the hut-forms and the pottery it may be dated well within the Bronze Age. The huts are oval and rather big; one had two deeper chambers used for stores, to judge by the fragments of large massive jars found in them. Pavements and walls were covered with clay and there were probably—



FIG. 1.—MT. CASTELLACCIO.

though not certainly—small outer walls of stone. The pottery was abundant, unpainted and undecorated, and of three predominant types:—

- (1) Dippers, large and shallow with tall handles which were often pointed and horned at the top. The type shews some peculiarities, but is similar to that of Thapsos and other centres of the second Sicel period;
- (2) Large oval jars of red clay, well baked and sometimes polished;
- (3) Middle-sized oval vases with grip handles.

Two campaigns—too short to be conclusive—were also carried out by the same lady inspector of the Palermo museum at Mt. Castellaccio near Termini Imerese (fig. 1) (*NdS* 1937, 462), where, in 1896, Luigi Mauceri had discovered megalithic walls. Two caves were explored and the walls were cleared. The first (Del Drago), which ends in a large water-logged pit, contained at successive levels stone weapons, fragments of Sicel pottery, bits of bronze, and Greek spindle-whorls. In the second cave, which is smaller but more interesting, were found sherds of the fourth Sicel period and also Greek wares.

The clearing of the megalithic remains revealed three great walls, enclosing on three sides a gorge approached by a ramp. In one of these walls to the west is a deep, low, postern door. The whole looks impregnable

and primitive; the walls are about 5 m. thick, constructed of big, irregular blocks piled up without mortar, though with some slight attempt at regularity on the outer face. The postern projected half its height above the wall, which was partly buried and partly demolished, and was taken for a dolmen before it was dug out. Fragments of a wall were found barring all the clefts that lead to the top of the hill. It is a natural fortress completed by the work of man, and conceived on a grand scale which contrasts with the rudeness of the technique. Whorls and sherds, found in the caves and all over the mountain, bear witness both to Sicel and to Greek occupation; and it may be supposed that the Sicels, who were perched there from the earliest Bronze Age, fortified themselves against the arrival of the Greeks. At any rate, their life shows Hellenic influence from the sixth to the fourth centuries. They may have moved down to the lower hills, where the finds are all Greek.

Calabria.

From Calabria come two small clay altars found some years ago at Medma (illustrated in *Italia Antichissima* Fasc. XI) with notable reliefs. One (29 × 40 × 21 cm.) represents the meeting of Paris with Helen, who sits on a throne holding a sceptre; behind Paris a slave brings gifts for Helen, and behind him stands an armed man, conjectured by the editor, Prof. Putorti, to be Aeneas. The other altar (33 × 36 × 21 cm.) depicts the departure of Neoptolemus (nude, full-face) while old Lycomedes sits with Deidameia trying to retain him. Both pieces represent fifth-century reliefs, and were found near tombs with other fragments of the same class; this new evidence confirms the view that already in the fifth century small altars with scenes from mythology were used as funeral gear.

Lucania.

At Banzi, an East Lucanian town, where Greek and Apulian pottery has often been found, four tombs of tufa slabs came to light during drainage operations. The richest of these contained about 123 objects set round the dead man: clay and bronze vases, weapons, ornaments of gold, silver and amber, dated about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. There is an interesting archaistic vizor of a helmet (fig. 2), probably worn by the dead man as a funeral mask; a red-figured crater with funeral scenes; a lekythos with a woman seated facing right, in white chiton and red himation, on a white ground. Most of the other pottery is black-varnished, of various shapes.

Other tombs were recently discovered at Irsina, with undistinguished finds and moderate quantities of local pottery. At Metaponto, during the canal works of the *Bonifica* begun in 1935, there appeared walls of *opus incertum*, sometimes founded on courses of masonry, and clay piping probably belonging to the Hellenistic period of the city. Among the finds were a statuette in Pentelic marble (fig. 3) measuring 57 cm. with base (*NdS* 1936, 441). It is an Aphrodite with a short-sleeved tunic and a large himation, which she holds over her head with her right hand; in her left she carries a small Eros, which has lost its arms and legs. The



FIG. 2.—BANZI: HELMET MASK.



FIG. 3.—METAPONTO: MARBLE STATUETTE OF APHRODITE.



FIG. 4.—TARANTO: BLACK-FIGURED VASES.

work belongs to the late third or early second century B.C. There were found fragments of terracotta of the fifth to fourth centuries: a small altar with reliefs, a griffin and a stag chased by greyhounds, bits of red-figured Italiote pottery, and later sherds.

Very good work has been recently done in Metapontum by Superint. Prof. E. Mancini: the clearing of the remains of the temple of Apollo.

Apulia.

Dr. R. Bartoccini has recently published (*NdS* 1936, 107) an account of 184 chance finds during August 1933–August 1934 from public works in the modern quarter of Taranto, which is built chiefly on the site of the ancient cemeteries. The graves are of three types. The earliest is merely a hole cut in the rock or earth, the second a sarcophagus, the third a chamber in the rock, often with its walls frescoed. All three are covered with limestone blocks and all continued in use contemporaneously. The bodies were variously orientated. No. 167, of the chamber type, is imposingly constructed, with a Doric column supporting its lid. It was used for over three centuries.

In tombs Nos. 13, 43, 91, 103, 104, 106, the Protocorinthian and Corinthian pottery is worth mentioning. There are also Ionic kylikes and archaic Attic pots. Black-figured vases were found in Nos. 57 and 58 (fig. 4). The most remarkable of the red-figured vases are two pelikai by the Pisticci Painter and a large krater, from No. 167. One of the former represents a bearded warrior with archaic helmet and round shield, a girl in tunic and himation handing him a bowl, and behind him a bearded figure with a crown. The other illustrates Peleus pursuing Thetis. On the back of both vases is the common scene of ephebi standing face to face. The crater depicts a scene of the departing warrior (fig. 5), and on the other side Kephalos being carried off by Eos (fig. 5 *bis*). Besides many vases, a large number of terracottas were found in various places, mostly in a pit (No. 74) which was probably the *favissa* of some sanctuary, and which held fragments of statuettes ranging from the fifth to the third century B.C. One of the typical products of Tarentine industry is a two-handled cup (from No. 19) with figures of Eros in applied relief and traces of silver-white colouring—a terracotta imitation of embossed silver cups. The gilt stuccoes which were stuck on to the wooden coffins of the dead, mostly represent animals fighting or facing each other and flowers.

The ruins were also found of a small shrine of the sixth century B.C. In my last report I mentioned the two winged figures of the acroteria (*JHS* *l.c.*).

At Gravina in Apulia, during road-making works, a few graves were found, with pottery, which, like most of the plentiful material from the neighbourhood of Gravina, has been collected in the Museo L. Pomarici-Santomasi.

Campania.

The excavations of the Lucanian Heraeum at the mouth of the Sele directed by Dott. P. Zancani-Montuoro and myself were even more



FIG. 5.—TARANTO: RED-FIGURED KRATER.

SCENE OF DEPARTURE:

EOS AND KEPHALOS.



FIG. 6.—THE HERAION: LOCULI. THESE WERE OPEN IN FRONT; THE TWO SLABS SHOWN AS CLOSING THE ENTRANCE WERE SHELVES.



FIG. 7.—THE HERAION: TERRACOTTA STATUETTE OF HERA.

fortunate this year than in the preceding campaign, and have yielded discoveries of fundamental importance for the history of art in the early and late archaic period. In my last report I announced the discovery of a new *favissa* to the south-west of the great temple. Here over a thousand terracottas were carefully deposited in five 'loculi' made of slabs designed to contain and protect them (fig. 6). The objects belong to a period extending from the end of the sixth century to the end of the third, and were buried about 200 B.C., by the evidence of a silver Republican coin which was presumably dropped during the deposit. The votive offerings are various: small ritual vessels and statuettes of different sizes, chiefly of the goddess on her throne (fig. 7). Some are extremely simple and primitive, some of the finest make. The goddess is generally dressed in a Doric peplos with the polos on her head, and her commonest attributes are the phiale and the basket of pomegranates. Sometimes she has instead a lotus flower and a necklace or wreath; sometimes the throne has lion's feet and two sphinxes on the back. We found over 200 specimens of a type (fig. 8) which has hitherto been interpreted as Demeter, from the examples found at Paestum near the so-called Demeter temple, and now in the museum of Naples. Two notable types of Kourotrophos occur, of which one was known from an example in Berlin which came from the region of Paestum. There are busts of different sorts and sizes: some severe (one of these recalls some famous heads from Agrigento), others of later date and of local style. These last included many representations of the 'Flower-Goddess,' and a complete specimen of the type known from a fragment published by Gerhard (*Ant. Bildw.* pl. xviii). Lastly we have numerous statuettes of the votaries themselves; Hellenistic figures of standing women in ample himatia, some of them over a metre high. Scattered round the 'loculi' were more broken terracottas, mostly archaic stuff.

But the most important discoveries awaited us at the opposite end of the excavated area. I have already mentioned (*JHS* lvi, 231) the two buildings about 45 m. north-east of the small prostyle temple. We had noticed that their foundations were of sandstone blocks evidently used second-hand: we therefore dug trenches in order to examine their underface without displacing them, and were lucky enough to discover in the southern wall of the *Stoa*, on either side of the columns, six metopes with the corresponding triglyphs. Their height is 0.79 m., and their length, with the triglyph that is carved in the same slab, 1.38 to 1.42 m. The subjects are: (1) Apollo and Heracles fighting for the delphic tripod. (2) Two women, full-face, tearing their hair in despair, one holding out a baby: probably Hecuba and Andromache with Astyanax mourning for Hector's death. (3) Two women fighting for a double axe: probably Electra or Laodameia preventing Clytemnestra from running against Orestes while he murders Aigisthos. (4) A man riding a big tortoise. (5) One man running a sword through another who is clinging to the column of a temple: probably the murder of Neoptolemos at Delphi. (6) Herakles carrying the Kerkopes. The surface of all the reliefs is weathered more or less, but, except for small breakages, complete. Nos. 4 and 5 are burnt, but as there was no trace of fire in this building, the damage must have

been done to the temple in which they were originally set, and that we believe to be the small prostyle one. In nos. 2 and 3 the background was cut deeply away from a flat surface (the same technique of relief as that of



FIG. 8.—THE HERAION: GROUP OF TERRACOTTAS.

the first metope we found, *JHS* p. 230); the other four are in round relief, but the whole set belongs to the same age and style; a typical style, to be dated before 550 B.C.



FIG. 9.—THE HERAION: BOTHROS.

While examining the foundations of the neighbouring building, we recovered two more sculptured metopes (83×69 cm.) built into either side of the west entrance. These are masterpieces of the late archaic style under Ionic influence (about 500 B.C.). Each represents a couple of dancing-girls in Ionic costume, facing right. They certainly belong to

the Doric frieze of the great temple. The first is slightly rubbed on the surface; the second is perfectly preserved; only one foot is missing and the fingers of both left hands are broken. In the same building was another metope with two women facing left. The relief unfortunately had been cut off in ancient times, and the upper part of the slab is missing. Other slabs from this foundation belong to a moulding carved in sandstone with rosettes and egg and tongue of early type. In the trenches near and beneath the foundations we gathered many fragments of bronze and pottery.

In the space in front of these two buildings we dug out a great bothros (2×1 m.) lined with limestone slabs to a depth of 4.30 m. Two opposite walls had been forced in by the movement of the soil (fig. 9). In this, as in the other bothros, all the votive-offerings were found intact: remains of sacrificial victims, burnt wood, and much fourth- and third-century pottery, including a large fourth-century vase with reliefs and traces of silver-white colour.

To north-east of the small archaic temple we uncovered the foundations of a rectangular construction (6.95×2.15 m.), made of shattered blocks of limestone and sandstone badly built together, that must have been the plinth of a large ex-voto or of a late altar. We picked out two more pieces of reliefs from its walls. A little way on, we discovered another metope with the figure of a fully armed hoplite facing left and shaking his spear. The metope seems to have been cut in one piece with a triglyph which has disappeared. It is smaller (79×62 cm.) than any of those found hitherto, which suggests that there was another late fifth-century temple on the site. We shall try to find this in our next campaign.

Prof. Maiuri, Director of Antiquities for Campania, has made an important excavation round the early hexastyle temple at Paestum (so-called temple of Ceres). He has uncovered the stereobate, which goes down 4.60 m. below the line of the euthynteria, and is built of re-used stones. Round the temple appear the foundations of small archaic shrines, which held the numerous and interesting terracotta finds, and perhaps also some of those already housed in the Paestum Museum. There are terracotta offerings dating from the sixth century to Hellenistic times, and some fine Corinthian sherds. In a small cache Prof. Maiuri came across a little hoard of 210 silver coins in perfect preservation, including some superb specimens. They belong to various cities of Magna Graecia, chiefly Tarentum, Thurii, Elea, Metapontum, and Croton. There are also some coins with incuse reverses from the last two cities, and a few coins from Posidonia, Caulonia, Terina and Sybaris.

A few weeks ago an Oscan tomb with wall paintings dating from the third century B.C. was discovered in Nola: on one of the side walls is painted a draped figure, on all the others only decorative wreaths.

Palazzo Taverna, Rome.

UMBERTO ZANOTTI-BIANCO.

NOTES

Note on JHS 1937, p. 1.—Dr. Buckler's text (from Sterrett's and my copies of 1883) of a Benefaction made to the village Orkistos in 237 A.D. is a real gain. In regard to two small points I record a different opinion (as arranged with him last year). The exordium is modelled on that of *Senatus Consulta* and ends as usual with the statement of the place *ἐν Ὀρκιστῶ οὐαῖ*; my friend conjectures *ἐν Ὀρκιστῶ. Οὐά[ριος]* to which there are many objections: P was not on the stone. The broken symbol is ¹, not P or I. Sterrett's copy confirms mine. Though I have transcribed the entire text several times, first for another friend in 1909,¹ I have never thought it possible to restore P. I might hesitate to found any absolute assertion on my copy alone, for it was made with one eye on the stone and one on the workmen. Now Sterrett's copy confirms, as I study it here for the first time. My transcriptions were made from my own copy: details and comparison were left to an editor. According to the conjecture of Dr. B. the *dosis* is made by *Ouaris Aur. Markos*, but the acknowledgment is made to *Aur. Markos*. That one (or two) of several cognomina should be omitted in later repetitions of the name in a document is quite in accordance with custom: but this case is different. The formal acknowledgment and quittance must be made to the same name and person who makes the gift. Other objections may be here omitted; they are also serious, but need a wide survey of the system of naming, which has been made in my *Social Basis of Roman Power and Permanence in Asia Minor*. The rare word *οὐά* (*i.e.* *κώμη*) was unknown to me till about 1931; it lies at the basis of Anatolian society; it is found in Attica as *ὠή*, a deme, and among the *Τουρκομαννοί* or *Νομαδες* of Asia Minor (*Anna Comnena: Cinnamus*) as *obá*; *Hesychius* has it in many forms; it was used as in rustic speech as late as the ninth century; derivatives from it are numerous from Homer on. *Οὐά* is not used in Doric dialects, only in Old Ionian: *ὠβα* Doric. The omission of *οὐά* in LS and other lexicons is perhaps due to the fact that *Hesychius* has it in so many forms.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Buckler for the

trouble he has taken over this text. I have made a practice since 1880 of entrusting any important inscription (except topographical) to any friend who would do it better than I could, to Momm- sen for many years, to Dessau, to Anderson and Buckler. Many companions in travel have taken the toil of publication: Sterrett (in part) in 1883, 1884 and 1886; A. H. Smith in 1884; Hogarth in 1887 and 1890; Bishop Headlam in 1890; Cronin in 1902; Callander in 1906 and 1907; Calder in 1908 to 1913; Mrs. Hasluck in 1911; Anderson in 1912.

(2) As to translation I regard the superscription *Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ* as a dedicatory formula "To Good Fortune (the goddess), not "with Good F."

In the textual note p. 7 "B line 6 *Ὀροβούλου*" is obscure. The facts are thus: the name occurs twice: Sterrett has once *Θεο-*, once *Ορο-*. I read in both *Θεο-*. With *Ὀροβούλος* compare *Ὀροφέρνης* (Persian, like *Τισσαφέρνης*); *ορο-* recalls Phrygian *όρου* = *άνω* as in *Orovandeis* (Highlanders), *οὐρανός* (Ach. Tatius *comment. in Arati Phaenomena* 5); with *Θεόβουλος* Homer's *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή*. The doubt can never be resolved. *Orophernes* is the villain of the tale of Judith in the Apocrypha.

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The Hermes and Dionysus of Olympia.—

My suggestion² as to the date of the transfer of this statue to the Heraeum, on which Mr. S. Casson comments in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 80), was not regarded by me as proof of the Praxitelean authorship of the work, but was merely put forward as a possible explanation of the transfer on the supposition of that authorship, which is still, I think, the general one. It is impossible here to re-open the discussion conducted in *The American Journal of Archaeology* in 1931, but I may perhaps point out that the fact that Pausanias, in other cases, mentions the removal of original statues to Rome raises a presumption that where he makes no such statement the original remained; and also that he says expressly³ that there were in the Heraeum, besides the Hermes, chryselephantine statues of Olympias and Eurydice by Leochares. It can hardly be suggested that these were

¹ Press of other work prevented him from publishing it.

² *JHS* lvi, 236. ³ Pausanias V, 17, 4; 20, 10.

'Roman copies' and their depredatory value would have been much greater than that of a work in marble.

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An Iranian Standard used as a Christian Symbol.—One would naturally expect that the standards of the Christian emperors of Rome, which are often represented on Roman coins, would be decorated with well-known Christian symbols, and that they would show the cross when not the monogram. In fact part of them do bear the emblems we expect, but certainly not all: a great number of the banners show devices we never learned to look upon as Christian. Very frequent, for instance, is a big circle, or two concentric circles;¹ a combination of five small

this matter: they do not distinguish between the various forms of the standards, but call them all labarum.

To make a study of all the different early Christian banners is beyond me at present; I will only speak about the last type I mentioned. It consists of a vexillum on which the diagonals are indicated; in the four sections thus formed four balls are sometimes added.² Tassels occasionally fringe the lower edge of the cloth. It occurs on the coins of many Roman emperors of the IVth and the Vth centuries; on going through the imperial coins in the British Museum I found it on those of Constantius II, Valentinianus, Jovianus, Gratianus, Valens, Arcadius, Constantine III, Jovinus, Theodosius I, Eugenius, and Theodosius II.

At a much later period it came again into use in the East; several Byzantine emperors of the

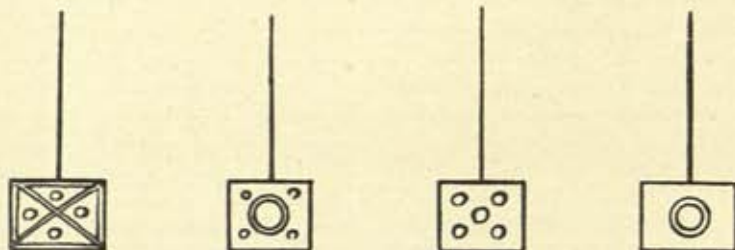


FIG. 1.

circles,² or four small ones arranged round a big circle,³ is not rare either; frequent also is a design consisting of two diagonals (Fig. 1). When we come to study the subject, we see that the literature about the labarum, abundant as it is, does not help us much. Eusebius in his famous description of the banner of Constantine tells us nothing about the vexillum, beyond the fact that the cloth was hidden under precious stones.⁴ Consequently the attention of scholars was not drawn to the vexillum; it used to be concentrated upon the shaft and the form of the monogram. Nor do numismatic works aid us in

IXth and Xth centuries, as pictured on their coins, hold the very same standard with or without the four balls and the heavy tassels.⁵ This reappearance in the middle ages clearly shows that the standard, although never commented upon by the writers of handbooks and encyclopedias, was a Christian symbol still considered holy by the Byzantine church. The emblem was not confined to the standard alone: the rectangle with its diagonals and the four dots occasionally has a prominent place in the decoration of the robes of the emperors:⁷ this shows that the rectangular frame was not merely the border of the vexillum, as one might be inclined to think, but that it formed part of the symbol itself. The cross in the nimbus of Christ may also be found ornamented with this design.⁸

¹ See for inst. Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, VII, p. 421, n. 113; p. 469, n. 193; Gnechi, *Medaglii romani*, I, pl. 30, 12, 13; pl. 32, 15; *Catal. Hess*, 1917, pl. xx, 4459, xxi, 4474.

² Gnechi, *op. cit.*, p. 13, 5; Maurice, *Numism. constantinienne*, pl. xiii, 6; *Catal. Hamburger*, 1923, pl. 56, 1365.

³ Gnechi, *op. cit.*, pl. 29, 15; pl. 33, 14.

⁴ The portraits of the emperor and his sons were attached to the shaft of the labarum, not to the vexillum; compare Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi Romani*, I, p. 170.

⁵ Cohen, VII, p. 91, n. 30; p. 109, n. 40; p. 132, n. 51; *Catal. Hess*, 1917, pl. xxii, 4574, 4605; 1929, pl. 23, 982; 1933, pl. 32, 1108.

⁶ *BM Imp. Byz. Coins*, II, pl. li, 14, 15; pl. lii, 7.

⁷ Sabatier, *Monn. byz.* pl. lv, 7; lvi, 13; lvii, 13, 22; lviii, 6; lxx, 6.

⁸ Sabatier, pl. xlviii, 2; *BM Imp. Byz. Coins*, II, pl. lvii, 3.

We may add that this is not the only one of the standards mentioned above that still survived in Byzantine days: the vexillum with the one big circle¹ and that with the four or five small circles² also reappear on the coins of the Byzantine emperors. Consequently all of them, strange as it may appear to us, must have been considered as Christian in early days.

Although standard and emblem may surprise us on late imperial coins, neither of them is entirely unknown. Our standard can already be seen on the coins of Persepolis.³ These coins, dating from the IIIrd and the IIInd centuries B.C., show a temple, on one side of which the king is seen holding up his hand in adoration, while on the other side we see the standard,



FIG. 2.

often with a bird perched on it (Fig. 2); apparently it was the sacred banner of the Persepolitan kingdom. Again we meet with the fact that sometimes four balls are put between the diagonals and sometimes not; the heavy tassels also are added on some coins and omitted on others.

It would still be impossible to write a history of standards in the Iranian world, for unfortunately we still know very little about the Iranians. Yet from time to time this particular banner reappears, to show that it had not been forgotten. On coins of Augustus, struck in memory of the rendering of Crassus's lost standards by the Parthians, we see a Parthian kneeling;⁴ he offers a standard to the Romans, who do not appear on the picture. With its metal disks and halfmoon the object looks exactly like the well-known legionary standards, but the vexillum attached to its lower part has an unusual aspect. Sometimes a decussated cross is pictured on it, and sometimes the diagonals

of the rectangle are clearly indicated; on one of the coins in the British Museum the design consists of four small circles. Domaszewski believed the vexillum to bear the number X;⁵ this is impossible, for not only is the indication of any special number hard to explain in this case, but from the aforesaid we have seen that the cross alternates with the diagonals and the four balls, so that it cannot have been a Roman letter. It looks more as if the designer was asked to represent a Roman standard with a Parthian vexillum attached to it, in order to put a greater stress on the submission of the Parthians. It is extremely curious that we meet on this vexillum three different designs that are also found on early Christian banners. On Christian monuments the X is usually explained as the first letter of the name of Christ; from what we saw this explanation may be wrong, or only partly right, in so far that the emblem may afterwards have been identified with the monogram.

The next time we meet the Iranian standard it is on the coins of M. Aurelius. In memory of a Sarmatian victory a 'tropaeum de Sarmatis' is represented on some of them:⁶ from the top of a pile of armour the banner with the diagonals is seen emerging. Probably it was common to a great part of the Iranian world. We have another, much earlier indication that the use of this type of banner was not confined to Persia. On Gaulish coins we frequently see a driver standing in a chariot that is drawn by a horse with a human head. He is generally explained as a sun-god, because of the many solar symbols by which he is accompanied. In most cases he holds in one hand a pole or a long rope to which a rectangle with diagonals



FIG. 3.

is attached (Fig. 3).⁷ Often heavy tassels are hanging from it, the same as we saw it on Persepolitan, Roman and Byzantine coins.

¹ Sabatier, pl. xlix, 13; lii, 9; liii, 2, and elsewhere.

² Sabatier, pl. xlix, 3, 4, 10, 16; xliii, 14; xlvii, 15; l, 6; li, 4, 8, 13.

³ *BM Persis*, pl. xxviii, 7-11; xxix, 1-12; xxx, 1-8; lii, 11, 12.

⁴ Cohen, I, p. 133, 483-485.

⁵ Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im röm. Heere*, 1885, p. 46.

⁶ Cohen, III, p. 19, n. 174.

⁷ De la Tour, *Atlas des monn. gaul.*, pl. xxi, 6493, 6522, 6527, 6533; pl. xxiii, 6833, etc.; Hucher, *L'art gaulois*, I, 1, 2; 6, 1; etc. On the coin shown in II, p. 58, fig. 81, a wheel with four spokes takes the place of the rectangle.

Two other types of vexilla we have spoken about also appear on these coins in the same connexion; there is one example of the crux decussata¹ and one of the four small circles.² In itself it is by no means impossible that the Celts were acquainted with Persian standards, for there were certainly relations between Gaul and the Iranians, as is proved by the various motives their arts have in common.³

That the standard goes back to a still earlier period is shown by the fact that it already appears in Greek geometric art, in which, as I have tried to show, many old Iranian motives can be detected.⁴ It is confined to Argive geometric vases, and it generally appears underneath a horse, as if the horse had some connexion with it. These are, as far as I know, the earliest instances of the standard; the emblem itself, however, is much older. Herzfeld published a number of Iranian button seals, dating from the end of the neolithic or the beginning of the chalcolithic period,⁵ which are ornamented with different symbols, almost all of which persisted for thousands of years. We can, for instance, mention the swastika and its different variants, the equal-armed cross, the cross with the filled-up corners, the rosette with six petals, and the quatrefoil. Among them are also the two designs given in Fig. 4; they are the same as those of our standard.

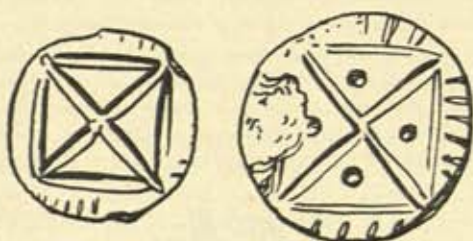


FIG. 4.

There is another instance of the symbol that deserves to be mentioned, not because it is very

old, but because of its apparent connexion with another symbol we meet in early Christian art. On an electron coin of uncertain provenance from Asia Minor we see on one side the decussated cross ending in pommels and on the other our familiar emblem (Fig. 5).⁶

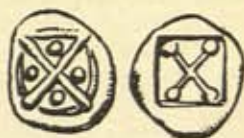


FIG. 5.

When speaking about the standard on geometric vases, I had already supposed that the symbol had a solar character, just like the wheel with the four spokes and the four dots between them.⁷ In fact it often occurs among other symbols of the sun; so on the prehistoric Iranian seals, on Greek geometric pottery and on the Celtic coins.

If I am right, it follows that the early Christian church adapted an Iranian standard for her own use. This standard probably was a solar symbol, and as such its adoption by the Christian church can also best be explained. For in the early Christian period a certain relationship must have been felt between Christianity and the cult of the sun, not only by pagans,⁸ but also by Christians. Baynes sees in it the personal influence of Constantine the Great, in whose mind the solar god came afterwards to be identified with Christ.⁹ This may be true, but, of course, the identification could hardly have had any lasting results, had not Christianity taken as a whole shared his feelings and had it not felt that its religion was in certain respects related to the then popular solar cult. This being so, it is not to be wondered at when solar symbols of the Iranian East, with which the Christian church had more things in common,¹⁰ were used before the cross of the crucifixion became the universal emblem. It is very possible that the other early Christian banners

¹ Hucher, I, pl. 83, 2.

² Hucher, I, pl. 83, 3.

³ Jacobsthal, *Einige Werke kelt. Kunst (Die Antike, 1934, p. 39)*, after pointing out different parallels between Iranian and Celtic animal motives concludes: "Schon diese wenigen Parallelen . . . stellen eine Berührung der frühen La Tène Kunst mit dem skythischen, thrakischen und iranischen Kreis sicher." Compare also Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, p. 67 ff.

⁴ Roes, *op. cit.*, p. 32 ff. and figs. 24-28.

⁵ Herzfeld, *Mitt. aus Iran*, 1933, p. 88, fig. 15; p. 89, fig. 16; p. 90, fig. 17.

⁶ *BM Greece*, pl. i, 3. Another coin of the same description is in the Dublin collection. They date from the VIth century B.C.

⁷ Roes, *Greek Geometric Art*, p. 34 ff.

⁸ Tertullian, *Apologeticum*, XVI, 9: Alii plane humanius et verisimilius solem credunt deum nostrum. Ad Persas, si forte, deputabimur, licet solem non in linteo depictum adoremus, habentes ipsum ubique in suo clupeco.

⁹ *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1929, p. 440.

¹⁰ Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I, p. 176; Glück, *Die Christl. Kunst. des Ostens*, p. 7 f.

we were unable to explain also had a solar meaning. The two concentric circles certainly stood for the sun in many cases,¹ and can hardly be explained otherwise when they appear on the standards.

It is interesting to note that Deonna came to the same conclusion with regard to the more ornamental side of early Christian symbolism: he says that all the crosses, rosaces, whirl motives and six-petalled stars with which Christian monuments and objects are often decorated allude to Christ, the sun of righteousness.²

¹ King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, pl. xix, shows an Assyrian standard of this shape, undoubtedly meant for the sun-disk, with two tassels attached to it. In early Christian art it occurs on a wall painting at Doura; *AJA* 1933, p. 379, fig. 2. Here the rays with which it is surrounded do not leave any doubt about its meaning.

² *Genava*, 1929, p. 181 ff.

The banners we have spoken about were afterwards disused, with perhaps one exception. It is possible that the Iranian standard still survives in the Scottish flag, which is said to go back to a very early period.³ This flag shows white diagonals on a blue ground; they are explained either as the decussated cross on which St. Andrew was crucified, or as a saltire, an instrument for scaling walls. These explanations must be wrong, because the diagonals do not stand for a concrete object. So it might be, although it cannot be proved, that in the white saltire of St. Andrew we still have a reminiscence of the old standard of the Persepolitan kingdom.

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³ MacMillan, *Scottish Symbols*, pp. 84, 86; Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art*, p. 366.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Briefe von Heinrich Schliemann, gesammelt und mit einer Einleitung in Auswahl herausgegeben von ERNST MEYER. Geleitwort von WILHELM DÖRPFELD. Pp. 362; 3 pls. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 8m.

Dr. Ludwig in his biography of Schliemann published in 1931 gave as the principal motive of his life the hunt for and the acquisition of gold. His excavations were represented as treasure hunts and this idea of Schliemann has been adopted by other writers. That biography was founded on Schliemann's papers in the possession of his widow, his diaries, his notebooks, and his letter-books. Before then Dr. Meyer had already begun to collect and edit this selection of Schliemann's letters. These original documents reinforce Dr. Meyer's introduction and the preface by Professor Dörpfeld. Both feel that Dr. Ludwig, who quoted few original documents *in extenso*, has misinterpreted and misunderstood Schliemann in his desire to write a picturesque biography in the modern manner. The value of these letters is that they provide every reader with the means of forming an independent judgment on Schliemann, in human, in business, and in archaeological relations. Surely no one after reading them can uphold the theory that he was nothing but a treasure-seeker? He set himself to make a fortune to have the means to search for Troy and to prove by unearthing solid facts the truth of the Homeric tradition. As soon as he had made a fortune he took up the quest for Troy and other Homeric sites. He says in a charming letter to the sweetheart of his youth, Minna Meincke, that tales of buried treasure near his old home in Germany first suggested excavation to him, but that was after all only another instance of his desire to find facts to prove or disprove tales. The treasures he found at Troy and Mycenae were to him evidence that he had found what he was seeking, in the one case Priam's Troy and in the other the graves of Agamemnon and his companions. Further proof against Dr. Ludwig's gold theory is provided by Schliemann's emphasis from the very beginning of his excavations on the archaeological value of pottery. This, at Troy, especially, was largely undecorated prehistoric ware which

many contemporary trained archaeologists would have disregarded. At a time when professional archaeologists were concentrating on buildings, sculptures, bronzes, and paying little or no heed to pottery, especially if it was broken, Schliemann collected and carefully noted the pottery, particularly marking the depth at which it was found. Schliemann therefore from the purely technical side, in observing stratification and in realising the importance of pottery, brought to excavation scientific common sense. His methods were at first crude and his great north trench at Troy was, we now know, disastrous in some respects, but only too many excavations carried out by professional archaeologists in Schliemann's time and even since his time have neglected some of the first principles of scientific excavation. It has been my good fortune to have been able to excavate at Mycenae and I am happy to give evidence in Schliemann's favour. His notes made during the actual excavation of the ground show his acute observation of strata and record clearly the simple facts he saw. He had undoubtedly an eye for a site and a flair for digging. These letters give also his opinion of Knossos and show clearly that it was the site of the Palace of Minos which he planned to dig.

He was right in claiming that he had discovered a new world for archaeology. He discovered far more than he realised. During his lifetime the outlook was obscured by petty controversies over the site of Troy and the like. The prophet had at first little honour in his own country. Later Boetticher's theory of an incineration necropolis (*O Unsinn unter allen Unsinnen!*) tormented him like a mosquito. This has now died a natural and unregretted death in spite of the efforts of Seyk and Vellay to revive it. Questions like these loom large in his letters, but first and foremost his thought is not of treasure, but of *Wissenschaft*. He dreamt always of what he had done and could still do to increase human knowledge and longed to immortalise the name of Schliemann. He succeeded in that, certainly no base ambition. On his enthusiasm, his experience, his untiring energy which exhausted even his physique is founded the whole fabric of modern knowledge of the prehistoric ages in the Aegean and the

Nearer East. Without the leadership and inspiration of Schliemann's faith and example what would scientific archaeology in those regions be to-day?

Dr. Meyer's introduction is excellent and properly emphasises these and many other facets of Schliemann's life, work, and character. In the letters we see his attitude to his family, to his colleagues and friends such as Brockhaus or Virchow, who to his honour stood fast by Schliemann. We get glimpses of him in business matters and in more formal relationships as in his letters to Schöne and Bismarck. Though a rich man he had once been poor and so knew well the value of money and was apt to flare up whenever he thought he was being exploited or deceived in money matters. He was touchy, for he once broke with Virchow for a fancied slight. On the other hand he was generous and loyal to his helpers and friends, witness his advice to Virchow about their Egyptian journey. He was devoted to his Greek wife to whose remarkable character, tactful, affectionate and practical, he owed so much. His great mental powers are shown in his wonderful knowledge of languages, and he had a natural gift for handling objects which is essential for an archaeologist. We are grateful to Dr. Meyer for this picture of Schliemann, a truer portrait than that painted by Ludwig, and this is Schliemann as he should be remembered and honoured. A. J. B. W.

Die griechische Fundgruppen der frühen Bronzezeit und ihre auswärtigen Beziehungen. By SIEGFRIED FUCHS. Pp. 157; 12 plates. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1937. 8.50 m.

It is an officially established dogma in the Third Reich that the true Greeks were blood-brethren of its citizens, sprung from the same north European cradle. The archaeological proof of this dogma is a natural theme for a doctoral dissertation. The one here published is the most ingenious and convincing presented up to date.

Fuchs contends—and after recent work on the Dorians most will agree with him—that the Hellenisation of Greece must begin at least in Early Helladic times; so it is there he must find proofs of Nordic influence. However, he admits that the Early Helladic culture was essentially Anatolian—East Mediterranean; it would be the resultant of two colonising currents that intersected in central Greece. The one, characterised by sauceboats and beaked jugs, would have come from East Crete via the Cyclades, the other, distinguished by askoi and jugs with

cut-away necks, from north-western Asia Minor via Macedonia. To the bearers of this culture are attributed the well-known pre-Hellenic place-names of Asianic character, but it is noted that its area of most intensive colonisation, centred round Corinth, agrees rather well with the original distribution of Ionic dialects as deduced by Myres.

Fuchs, of course, with Matz and Frankfort, admits earlier Danubian invasions of Greece and Macedonia, represented on the one hand by the Dimini wares of East Thessaly and Corinthia, on the other by the dark-faced incised and incised wares of Macedonia and Central Greece. He finds Dimini ware in form and style more closely allied to the fabrics of the Middle Danube basin than to those of the Black Earth region. But it is from that quarter that the spiral system might have reached Crete. Nevertheless Fuchs refuses to regard the Danubians as Indo-Europeans; the latter's archaeological counterparts are rather the Battle-Axe cultures. Pressure from these is suggested as a cause of the Danubian invasion of Greece; the first tangible proofs of their actual advent emerge in the Early Helladic culture. The Early Helladic globular pithos is really very like the corded amphora of the Battle-Axe cultures; both forms are often decorated in a tectonic style. Then there are actual cord-ornamented sherds from Eutresis, Hagia Marina and Macedonia. Fuchs adds the rare battle-axes (admittedly mainly Middle Helladic) and an undoubtedly Danish flint dagger in the Museo Archaeologico at Florence, said to have been found in the Peloponnese. Such are the memorials of the first Indo-European invasion of Mainland Greece.

What is the value of such arguments? I am not competent to criticise the stylistic arguments expressed in the grandiose phraseology of van Scheltéma. I just do not know what, if anything, is meant by such a statement as, "It is not the natural object that has evoked the apparently naturalistic ornament in Cretan art, but its own irritability (Nervosität) has so long forced the linear ornament in the hot-house of its temperament that it begins to put forth shoots and blossoms." I am prepared to qualify as nonsense the statement on p. 33 that 'the askos is obviously developed from a jug which slouches forward, and is divided into bulging body, cylindrical neck and ribbon handle,' and the typology deduced therefrom; to me an askos is a clay copy of an askos. In talking about beaked spouts, 'skeuomorphic' seems a better password to comprehension than 'Formgefühl der Töpfer.'

Fuchs does not and cannot attempt to show that a whole complex of traits as a coherent whole from north of the Balkans was transferred bodily to Greece. He is almost obliged to snatch at isolated traits in the two areas and compare them rather indiscriminately. Analogies to the the Dimini jugs are found mostly in the Copper Age Bodrogkeresztur culture of Hungary, to dishes in the rather earlier Bükki ware of the same area, to the patterns in the Linear Ribbon ware of Bohemia and the Rhineland. Such comparisons are legitimately used to enhance the impression that common traditions inspired the inhabitants of Dimini and of the löss lands beyond the Balkans. They give no clue to which of the very numerous groups scattered over those lands the Dimini people were most closely allied nor to the nature of the alliance. It is the same with the 'Nordic' parallels.

The Early Helladic pithos is really like a corded amphora in shape; even in the decorative similarities exist that between individual specimens may be quite striking. But in Central Europe the corded amphora is repeatedly associated with corded beakers, battle-axes and other traits in graves. Not so in Greece. Beakers are missing altogether; battle-axes are very rare, even though Fuchs includes under this term the "bored celts" that can quite easily be derived from the triangular Danubian axes, and at least at Eutresis are all Middle Helladic in date. That is particularly awkward, since in north-western Anatolia battle-axes seem as old as the Early Helladic culture itself (Fuchs hardly sufficiently realises the importance of battle-axes from Yortan, Troy I, Thermi A). Some other traits of the battle-axe cultures can indeed be found in Macedonia—battle-axes, bored teeth—but in explicitly South Russian not Central European variants. (The plain-handled mug from Vardaroftsa has none of the distinctive features of the corded beaker it is claimed to represent.)

To make up for these deficiencies Fuchs cites ceramic parallels from groups, other than the Corded Ware, to which the names Nordic or Danordic have been attached, and even from the Bell Beaker group that Germans themselves would refuse to term Nordic in any sense. And he is not always quite fair; the 'handled beaker of late Corded Ware from Gross Tschernosek' illustrated in Fig. 11 would not now be assigned to Corded Ware, but to the Early Aunjetitz group.

So we are left with a single, not very highly specialised, pot-form as the sole effective link between the Early Helladic and the Battle-Axe

cultures. Is that an adequate counterpart to the replacement of Asianic by Indo-European speech?

V. G. C.

Kretische Kunst; Versuch einer Deutung.

By G. A. S. SNIJDER. Pp. 174; 32 plates. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1936. 29.25m.

This book tries to apply ideas and observations of modern psychology and psychopathology to a circumscribed period of art history. A review by a psychologist seems therefore justified. Such a review, however, cannot deal with the large archaeological content of the book. Having a rather scanty knowledge of the underlying objects and facts, the reviewer is quite unable to judge the author's arguments to the extent that they make use of historical influences or comparisons. Similarly, only intimate familiarity with the works in question could furnish the basis for criticising the author's aesthetic judgments which serve him often as an ultimate test.

Cretan art is, in the opinion of the author, especially suited to a psychological approach because it is self-contained, its main products can easily be surveyed from the beginning to the end, and no fixed scientific doctrine exists with regard to its historical place. On the contrary, there is a large diversity of opinion as to its origin and its environmental interrelations. An account of the disputable views is given in the introductory chapter. It is followed by a descriptive analysis of the most important works of Cretan painting which Snijder has chosen as the special object of his investigation. The way in which this analysis, especially of what has been called the 'naturalism' of Cretan art, is tendered prepares one for the special interpretations that are submitted.

The underlying ideas of this interpretation, as developed in the third chapter, are those of E. R. Jaensch on so-called eidetic imagery. Investigating the well-known tendency of children to vivid visualisation in play and day-dreaming, Jaensch found in a considerable proportion of children between the age of 6 and 11 approximately, an intensification of visual memory. They are able to reproduce all the details of objects and pictures with a degree of exactitude which seems almost similar to that of the physiological after-image. But the duration of this reproduction exceeds by far the few seconds in which the after-image is visible; it not only lasts much longer, but may be awakened again deliberately. Thus 'Anschauungsbilder' (eidetic images), as Jaensch called them, are to be regarded as phenomena in between the after-images and the visual images of adult memory.

The faculty of producing eidetic images disappears in most persons at the time of puberty; it is rarely preserved in adults, some of whom become artists. Two types of eidetic images can be distinguished, which Jaensch has linked up with types of personality and constitution: the T-type whose images are rigid and not influenced by phantasy, and the B-type with mobile and plastic eidetic phenomena. The discovery of the impressive and vivid visualisation has thrown new light on those aspects of child psychology which are related to reality and thinking. If eidetic images are seen just like real objects, phantasy and reality are mixed up; the distinction between the self and the world is much less sharp ('fairy-tale period') and instead of the antithesis: subject and object, a kind of unity is experienced: 'eidetische Einheitsphase.' Thinking takes place in terms of concrete pictures, until concepts which depend on verbalisation are formed by the use of fully developed language, when the child outgrows the eidetic stage. If this stage is—as Jaensch thinks—an important phase in personal evolution, one might expect to find a similar stage in the evolution of humanity, e.g. in primitive people. This has also been proposed by Jaensch.

Psychiatrists, on the other hand, have tried to find eidetic phenomena in states of morbid disintegration of the brain function; drug intoxication produces visions which have been regarded as the reappearance of eidetic imagery; hallucinations in psychoses were interpreted in the same way; Snijder, himself, makes use of a kind of test case, viz., psychiatric observations in a girl, who, although mentally defective, showed unexpected artistic abilities in 'naturalistic' drawing. Her productions are presented for comparison side by side with the works of Cretan art; but, at the first glance, one finds it difficult to realise how these childish and dilettant drawings could elucidate the decorative grandeur of Minoan frescoes. However, in his analysis of the style of Cretan painting, Snijder returns again and again to this case and finds numerous formal analogies. K. A. Bouman, the Dutch psychiatrist, who first wrote about this patient, drew parallels between her productions and the famous palaeolithic cave drawings (which were also related to eidetic phenomena by Hoernes). The antagonism, mentioned above, between verbal language and eidetic gifts seemed confirmed by the following observation of Bouman: the artistic productivity of the patient was arrested at the time when an attempt was made to improve her retarded speech by schooling; it reappeared when the attempt was abandoned

after giving poor results. In contrast to verbalisation, non-verbal expression by gestures is—as Snijder shows—closely connected with the eidetic phase of 'subject-object unity.' Hence he derives the abundance of movements, vividness and liveliness in ornaments and figures of eidetic artists, especially of those belonging to Jaensch's B-type.

The reader will by now certainly have guessed how Snijder applies psychological ideas to his subject: Cretan painting was not only produced by artists of the eidetic B-type, but also Cretan people themselves lived at this period in the eidetic phase of subject-object unity. The arguments put forward in support of this view are far too numerous to record here. They are of all varieties, from the biological (Cretan soil is rich in chalk, chalk increases eidetic faculties, according to Jaensch) through psychological to arguments based on purely aesthetic qualities like colour, contour, etc.

Snijder naturally first seeks support outside his special subject. Thus he devotes the fourth chapter to reviewing other products of Cretan culture and finds ample evidence of its primitive nature. He maintains that in the architecture of Minos's huge palaces a clear plan and preliminary survey are lacking; the technique of construction is often faulty; enlargement of buildings is accomplished by pure addition. The beauty of Cretan architecture is, according to the author, not conveyed by a structural and rational division of space, but is purely picturesque and quite irrational.—Cretan sculptural art is similarly unstable and mobile and shows a lack of internal cohesion.—Snijder finally draws language and religion into the debate, well aware of the difficulties and fallacies in matters about which so little real knowledge exists. Cretan language, when considered from the point of view of Levy-Bruhl's psychology of primitive cultures and Cassirer's philosophy of symbols, exhibits numerous primitive qualities. The 'eidetic' character found in some of Homer's allegories, the 'mythic' factors in Cretan religious beliefs, all support the view that Cretan life was primitive and, perhaps, in the hypothetical eidetic stage.

Before setting the keystone on his conclusions, Snijder deals with the relations of Cretan art to its precursory and surrounding influences. This part, containing proper archaeological work, is of special interest. The Greeks' acceptance of forms and motives and the development of these elements into a different style are given an admirable description and elucidating analysis. Paragraphs like one which explains the attractive-

ness of Cretan 'eidetic' art to the 'non-eidetic' Greeks, and the dangers menacing the latter by taking over the former's insular elegance and accomplishments are so convincing that one might easily forget the fragility of Snijder's hypotheses.

The isolated position of Cretan art, however, remains unchanged by Snijder's investigations: he indicates only a few connecting links with North African cave drawings, as discovered by Frobenius, and the similarly isolated productivity of the Palaeolithicum.

In the sixth chapter, finally, the significance of eidetic attitude is followed up into the different productions of Cretan art, and their content. The skeleton of hypothesis is thus filled in with flesh and blood which, however, cannot increase its structural solidity. When, for example, the use of intoxicants for an artificial enhancement of the eidetic faculties is suggested, the conjectural nature of such an assumption cannot be emphasised sharply enough. Passages on the lack of abstract thinking and the prevalence of 'visual concepts,' (*visuelle Begriffe*) as incorporated in Cretan ornaments and frescoes have to be judged by experts in aesthetics; their psychological foundation seems weak.

In conclusion, Snijder returns to general problems: how far can the laws of evolution and similar biological concepts be applied to art history? Snijder sees the limitations of a transfer of ideas from natural to historical sciences clearly enough. Evolution involves the concept of an aim towards which evolution takes place. Thus the idea of 'progress' is introduced; and if the historian speaks of progress, he cannot dispense with some system of values which must be subjective in character. For the art historian of our time the standard of valuation is provided by the art of ancient Greece. Snijder refers to this scale of value as having been used in his present study.

If the reviewer—with all the modesty of a layman in archaeology—may be allowed to express an opinion, he would like to say this: the parts of the book dealing with the relations between Cretan and Greek art seem to him far more interesting and well-founded than the applications of and flirtation with a psychological theory which is still very much in dispute among psychologists.

W. MAYER-GROSS

Il Palazzo Minoico di Festos. By LUIGI PERNIER. Volume 1: *Gli strati piu antichi e il Primo Palazzo*. Pp. xxiii + 475; 40 plates in separate folio. Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1935. 350l.

This publication contains the results of the

work of the Italian Mission at Phaestos from the first campaign in 1900 to the small supplementary excavations of 1934. There is much to be said for delaying the final publication until the site as a whole can be reviewed. Nothing is more annoying than to find that what appeared to be a definite account has been corrected later in some periodical, and until now the various reports on the site have been scattered over no less than seven separate journals, some of them extremely difficult to obtain.

The sole author of the present work is Professor Luigi Pernier, whose premature death occurred so recently. We can say at once that it is a worthy memorial to a fine archaeologist, scholar and gentleman. But, as he stresses throughout, a great debt is due to his colleague, the late Professor Halbherr, one of the pioneers of exploration in Crete whose loss was a blow not only to archaeology but also to all those who had the good fortune to know him.

Any criticisms which follow are the duty of a reviewer who himself owes a great deal to both of them and are what they themselves would expect.

The introduction gives a good sketch of the topography of the district, the history of the excavations and a bibliography. The first section is concerned with the Neolithic strata explored by A. Mosso in 1906 and further examined by the author in 1928-30. No plans were recovered and many of the walls found in association with Neolithic pottery may have been foundations of the succeeding period sunk into a lower stratum. The pottery corresponds to Upper Neolithic at Knossos. Incision is rare, but some of the sherds have a mottled, rainbow surface. The second section deals with the Early Minoan remains and brings us down to the foundation of the first Palace at some date in Middle Minoan I. Again the material is comparatively scanty for, as at Knossos, earlier structures were swept away to provide a level space for the Palace. The third section deals with the Middle Minoan buildings abutting on to the Palace, and with the first Palace itself. This had very much the same plan and history as that of Knossos except that it does not seem to have been subject to so many alterations. Thus floor deposits earlier than MM IIb, when it was, again like Knossos, severely damaged by an earthquake, are rare. The MM I pottery corresponds to MM Ib at Knossos. MM IIa is rare, either owing to the fact that the floors continued in use into the next period or because the MM I style of pottery continued at this site until MM IIb was under way at Knossos. The

fourth section contains chapters on masons' marks, architectural problems and relative chronology. Throughout the book the text is clear and easy to read.

The volume of plates contains the large-scale maps, plans and sections. The general plan of the Palace is reproduced in different colours for the various periods, a very sound idea enabling one to grasp easily its lay-out at any particular moment. There are also large-scale photographs and thirty coloured plates of pottery. The half-tone blocks and the small, detail plans are given in the text volume as near as possible to the relative text. The printing, photography, drawing and reproduction are really admirable and the inclusion of the objects after the description of the area in which these were found is excellent. But the heavy paper necessitated by the inclusion of photographic illustrations needs a stronger binding.

Since a second volume dealing with the later (MM III-LM I-II) Palace is promised, it may not be amiss to mention a few points we hope to see in it. First of all we lack a chapter giving us a general view of the first Palace as a whole. Secondly, we want a general chapter on the pottery. Naturally, as the author expressly states, the site does not conform to the comparatively clear cut divisions of Knossos and he has very properly divided his ceramic material in accordance with the Phaestian evidence. But though a lack of catastrophes may mean that MM I and MM II pottery are found in the same floor deposit on one site, it does not alter the fact that at Knossos they are divided and subdivided into no less than four periods, the styles of which are distinguishable. It is therefore desirable, even when there is no stratigraphic evidence, that the pottery should be—not divided—but labelled stylistically as MM Ia or b, MM IIa or b. If in the excavator's opinion the evidence of his site goes to disprove the Knossian sequence, then he is bound to say so and give his reasons, but meanwhile the 'Evanstonian' terminology supplies a very good series of labels, which is after all what we want. Lastly, there must be a complete index and cross-references from plates to text.

If the second volume is up to the standard of the first and if we could be given a third which should co-ordinate the results from the cemeteries of the district, the Italian School could rest assured that it has done its duty not only by the site but also by the archaeologists whose skill and enthusiasm have produced so excellent a first volume.

J. D. S. P.

Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Deuxième Rapport: Exploration du Palais (1925-1926). By F. CHAPOUTHIER et R. JOLY. Pp. 53; 36 plates; 12 line drawings in the text. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936. 100 fr.

This volume is a definitive account of the excavations carried on by the French School at Athens on the important Minoan site of Mallia. The excavation was begun in 1922. The first report, published in 1928, carried the account down to the end of the 1924 season: since then the inscriptions have been published (1930) and the present work only brings us to the end of 1926.

We therefore begin by grumbling. The excavation of the Palace was completed by 1930 (*BCH* 1930, 517 ff.) and it is surely not too much to expect that the work of the last four years, much of it in the nature of small, confirmatory explorations, could have been incorporated in *Mallia II*. As it is, the account is scrappy. Bits of the east magazines are described and pieces of the south and north fronts. But at the moment we have to rely for a proper explanation of these on preliminary reports which appeared nearly ten years ago. It is very much to be hoped that there will be a final volume which will take the Palace as a whole.

The Palace lies some way to the east of the present village and considerably nearer the sea. Its importance is twofold. First, it is a link between the great sites of central Crete and those of the east. Secondly, it never quite lost its archaic character. It was founded, like all the palaces, at the beginning of MM I. In MM II it imported a few Knossian vases and took over the developed hieroglyphic script, but, like most sites, it continued locally the MM I style of pottery. In MM III considerable structural repairs were undertaken and no doubt a good deal of the masonry is of that date, but to the reviewer it seems as if the authors have not allowed nearly enough for the fact that the plan in its essentials is practically what it was in MM I. It bears a remarkable resemblance to Knossos, *mutatis mutandis*. The site being comparatively level, there was not the necessity of terracing or making a great cutting as on two sides at the latter site and, as a result, it would seem that much of the building was only one storey high, a fact which probably saved it from the worst effects of the severe earthquakes which periodically wrecked Knossos and Phaistos. In Late Minoan times it seems to have been overshadowed by its more powerful neighbour and little or no building took place. At the end of Late Minoan II, though it was not rich enough even to import vases of

that style, it suffered the same fate as the rest of the Cretan cities. The palace site was deserted in LM III, though tombs of that period near by prove that the settlement merely moved elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

The first part of the report deals with the architecture. There are interesting discussions of the 'hypostyle hall' at the north end of the central court, whose irregularly spaced pillars are explained by an original screen wall, and of the gaming board or offering table on a terrace in the west wing. The authors incline to the latter interpretation though strong arguments for the former are given in *P. of M.* III, 391. Both the façade looking over the West Court and the South façade on the Central Court show the set-backs which are found in the early palaces at Knossos and Phaistos. They are here explained as an attempt to break a monotonous wall space by casting shadows. If this was the intention it seems strange that they are in all cases placed in the position where they will receive the least sun: it is probable that the solution is still to seek. This section is well done; the special plans illustrate the points they are meant to, though personally I should prefer them as figures in the text. Also 'rendered' plans always look rather fussy. The architectural photographs are as good as they can be. But there should always be a scale with them and if the scale is to be human one would suggest somewhat more picturesque figures than those shown.

The second part of the report is devoted to the finds. These on the whole are poor. There is nothing to touch the magnificent broadsword and the stone axe in the form of a leopard which were the high spots of the first volume. A criticism in general of the publication of the finds is that they are not related closely enough to the architectural section. If they must be separated in the report, then there should be cross references both ways, so that on reading of a particular room one can find at once what objects were discovered there.

The soil of the district unfortunately has the worst possible effect on the pottery which constitutes the bulk of the 'mobilier' and as a result most of it has had to be published in line drawings rather than in photographs. Indeed the object of Plates XXXI and XXXII is hard to see. The outlines have been unskilfully blocked out and the photography is not good enough to show the patterns. The drawings of whole vases also are unsatisfactory. Elevation, silhouette, section and perspective are used indiscriminately without consistency. Nor

except in very few cases is the scale, which certainly differs even on the same plate, given.

These criticisms, may seem captious, but the faults do detract from the usefulness of this publication. The site is of great importance as being half-way between the great centres like Knossos and Phaistos and the provincial towns like Gournia. It has fallen into sympathetic hands, and a great virtue of the work is that they have neither been overawed into forcing their material to fit exactly the Knossian periods nor have they attempted to revise the whole chronology of Bronze Age Crete on the basis of the natural divisions into which their site falls.

J. D. S. P.

Die Ruinen von Bogazköy. By KURT BITTEL. Pp. 107; 63 figs., 3 plans. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1937.

Bogazköy: die Kleinfunde der Grabungen 1906-1912, I. By KURT BITTEL. (*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft*, 60). Pp. 72; 30 figs., 43 pls. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1937.

Dr. Bittel, director of the excavations at Bogazköy and the chief authority on prehistoric Anatolia, has put in his debt not only the specialists who will read both the books catalogued above, but also the wider public who will consult the smaller of the two. *Die Ruinen von Bogazköy* introduces the site, giving so admirable a résumé of what may be seen there that even the many who cannot achieve a visit will obtain an accurate and vivid picture of the impressive architectural and sculptural remains, a picture that could only have been drawn by one who has lived among them and who knows the material, its implications and its setting. The fortress of Büyükkale, the fortifications, five temples and the sculptures of Yazilikaya and of the main gateways are the most arresting antiquities that have escaped destruction and depredation, while the archives are the most important; the yield has been rich, and each year adds something fresh and brings hopes of further revelations.

The descriptions, business-like, concise and readable, are supplemented by a number of excellent photographs, plans and reconstructions, so that, while the appearance of the ruins today becomes familiar, a vision of what they once were takes shape. By the time the book is finished, Bogazköy is no longer a dead town. The historical background has been supplied with the help of the most up-to-date researches into Hittite documents, a process which involves clarifying the vagueness and confusion that had

made many previous accounts of the Hittite empire unsatisfactory. A more individual, personal background is also suggested by the skilfully chosen extracts from texts referring to religion, law and private life. What wisdom the ancient lawgiver showed when he ordained that whosoever inflicted bodily injury on another should give his services free to the victim as long as the latter was incapacitated, besides paying a fine and the doctor's bill.

Finally, there is a short and inspiring review of the progress of work at Bogazköy, beginning with the explorations of early travellers, passing through the momentous discovery of the archives and the elucidation of the Hittite language, putting us in touch with the literature on the site in its various aspects, and ending with a summary of the position at the present day.

Here, in short, is a little book on a great subject which is not only a model of professional exactitude, but also a thing of definite literary value.

Those who wish for a more intimate acquaintance with the products of the Hittite capital will welcome the larger of the two volumes, *Bogazköy, die Kleinfunde*. Until its appearance, almost the only published objects from the pre-war excavations had been the buildings, the archives, the Yazilikaya reliefs, and a few of the more outstanding inscriptions and sculptures. To present numerous finds after the lapse of more than thirty years can have been far from easy, since much had been stored away, and few records existed of the locations and levels of the various items. Dr. Bittel has explored every possible source of information which may throw light on stratigraphy, and has fortunately been able to use the evidence from his own carefully recorded excavations, which is also available to ourselves in his earlier book, *Bogazköy, Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*. Additional help is given by comparisons with other sites such as Alişar, which had been dug since the early Bogazköy campaigns; while the classification of the pottery owes something to the pictures, already noted by De Genouillac, on Cappadocian seals. In consequence of these investigations, it has been possible to determine to a large extent the sequence of types which were current during the earlier and later Hittite empires, and to give approximate dates to the sculptures and to many of the statuettes, seals, seal impressions, vases and utensils of metal, stone and bone. All these are adequately described, and whatever points of interest they raise are duly considered:

mythology, foreign contacts and parallels nearer home.

The illustrations, handsome and numerous, range from fine 'close-ups' of the sculptures to those drawings of potsherds so useful to other field-workers. One could have wished, however, that line-blocks had been given of the spindle whorls and of two or three of the seals which are reproduced only in collotype. A plan of the site spares us the necessity of referring to other publications for questions of topography.

How the archaeological data can be reconciled with the historical allusions to the various races in Asia Minor is discussed in the last chapter. On the one hand, we have an element of continuity, most conspicuous in the pottery, but not absent elsewhere; on the other, the gradually increasing supremacy of the Indo-European ingredient in the population, which should have left tangible traces, and may, indeed, be responsible for the individual characteristics in the major forms of art at Bogazköy.

Anatolia in the second millennium is one of those countries where history has outstripped archaeology: the author of our books, at home in both provinces, is amongst those who are leading the way in redressing the balance.

W. L.

Corolla Ludwig Curtius, zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht. Text, pp. 224; volume of plates, 72. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1937. 75m.

Nearly half of the thirty-seven contributors to this handsome memorial volume deal with Greek sculpture or painting. In sculpture G. Rodenwaldt's study of the archaic metope from Mycenae comes first in point of time; he reaffirms that the slab is a metope and emphasises its artistic merit. R. Heidenreich deals with the proportions of Archaic Apollos. E. Schmidt sets together a seated female type ('Sappho'), the Mattei Amazon, the Medici Athena, and a male bronze in New York under the heading, 'Zur Erzplastik des Pheidias.' H. Schrader studies further the reliefs dredged up from the Peiraeus harbour, and their relation to the Strangford and Vatican shield and to the shield of the Parthenos. R. Horn publishes a bearded head from Chios in Vienna, of the late fourth century B.C.—perhaps Poseidon; and two bronze statuettes of Poseidon are linked to this, the one published by the Crown Prince of Bavaria from his own collection, the other from a Roman collection by P. Arndt. Arndt also publishes a marble statue of a seated woman with a sword, identified as Hypermetra. F.

Muthmann discusses the 'hanging Marsyas'; the 'white' type is Pergamene of the early second century B.C., the 'red' type is a century later.

Among the papers dealing with ancient painting we have a valuable study by W. Hahland of the significance of the scenes on Geometric vases ('Zu den Anfängen der attischen Malerei'). W. Technau illustrates for the first time the oft-cited Andokides-amphora in the Faina Collection at Orvieto. R. Hampe interprets the scenes on a Brygos-cup in Tarquinia as derived from the Trojan cycle. W. Kraiker publishes a fourth-century Attic pyxis representing the marriage of Herakles; H. Bulle a fragmentary Tarentine krater depicting the victory of a tragic chorus. A. von Salis argues that the origin of the scenes on 'Homeric bowls' and similar vases is to be sought in book illustrations. B. Schweitzer publishes a Roman mosaic depicting an artist and his model.

The remaining papers are of varied character. A. von Gerkan's 'Die Entwicklung des grossen Tempels von Baalbek' is the only architectural study. E. Langlotz, 'Eine Eteokretische Sphinx,' makes the interesting suggestion that Minoan art lingered in Crete down into Iron Age times. J. Sieveking, 'Eine Koroplasteneinfalt,' and P. Wolters, 'Banausos,' discuss oddities in terracotta. E. Boehringer publishes a bronze ring with a portrait of Philetairos. L. Deubner examines the origins of the ithyphallic herm. R. Herbig traces the degeneration of Herakles in art. The list of Hellenic subjects closes with G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg's essay, 'Zur Struktur der griechischen Kunst,' and with F. Klinger's 'Über Pindars drittes Pythisches Gedicht,' the remaining contributions falling outside the scope of this *Journal*.

Profiles of Greek Mouldings. By LUCY T. SHOE. Text, pp. xvi + 187; Plates, loose, in folding flap case: A to F, photographic, and I to LXXIX, in line block. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

This is a very important work, as Miss Shoe has made the first serious attempt to register with accuracy a large assortment of Greek mouldings from the sixth to the second centuries B.C. on a comprehensive scale. The magnitude of the subject can be realised from the facts that though the present work has (apart from photographic ones) 79 plates, including over 1500 profiles, there are none of Doric capitals within its geographical scope, nor any profiles whatever from Sicily and South Italy; and we

are therefore glad to learn that the author, who has already devoted five years to the subject, intends to continue her labours. The material now dealt with in Greece and the Greek Islands may be summarised as follows:—Sima; Geison Crown; Geison soffit (moulding only); Frieze and Epistyle Crowns; Ionic Abacus and Necking; Epicranitis; Anta Capital; Ceiling Beam and Coffers; Lintels and Jambs; Balustrade, etc. Crowns; Ionic Column, Anta and other Bases.

The aids afforded to archaeology by the accurate presentation of architectural facts are now being widely recognised, and the book is primarily intended for that kind of study, but architects will be glad to consult it, if only for its criteria for style. The development of style in Greek mouldings here becomes vivid, and it is noticeable how the mouldings of the more famous buildings are arresting at a glance: from the sixth century—Samos (Hera); from the fifth century—the Parthenon, Propylaea, Erechtheum, Bassae; from the fourth century—Tegea, the Tholos at Epidauros, Sardis, Ephesus, and the Mausoleum; from the third century—the earlier Pergamene work; and from the second century—Magnesia (Artemis). We see the normal tendency of the later third and second centuries to over-refine and to merge prime types of moulding, as, for example, in Pl. XV, 23, where an anta cap moulding consisting of an ovolo and a cavetto, becomes, in fact, a cyma recta with a nick in it. The true refinement of the fifth century can be seen in the splendid collection of hawksbeaks of that period, e.g. on Pl. LIII. It is impossible to mention more than a few specific examples that are a joy for ever—the amazing boldness and beauty of the hawksbeak from Aegina (Pl. LX, 15), and, in contrast, the greater subtlety but increased functional strength of the one from Olympia (LX, 19), executed (also in marble) some 30 years later; the simae from the Propylaea and Bassae (Pl. XLI, 1 and 2); the bases from the Lycian sarcophagus and Pergamum (Pl. XXXVIII, 13 and 14); the Priene pedestal (Pl. XXXVI, 14), the Samos epicranitis (Pl. VII, 1); the Epidauros (Tholos) frieze (Pl. XIV, 1); the Erechtheum anta (Pl. XVI, 2).

It is a delight to see all the mouldings in full size, though occasionally this carries its penalty—the necessity of splitting the largest mouldings in two, which may have prevented the inclusion of Doric capitals and geison soffit curves. The vital question arises, are Miss Shoe's results to be trusted? A method has been adopted

which claims to be quite reliable for all open mouldings that have no undercuts, but it must be recollected that the *drawn line* constitutes the final record, and that no two executants will ever draw the same moulding in the same way; it is the spirit of a moulding that gives it life. From intimate knowledge, the present writer is able to refer to two examples—(1) the toe-chabate moulding of the inside cella wall at Tegea (Pl. XXXVII, 7), where the scotia is really complete,¹ (2) the famous door jamb moulding in the north porch of the Erechtheum (Pl. XXXV, 2), which hardly appears convincing throughout; but from the writer's personal acquaintance with Miss Shoe's methods (apart from the blessing of such a high authority as Gorham P. Stevens, who writes a Preface), the very high standard of her work, taken as a whole, need not be questioned.

The main arrangement of the major part of the text under type headings—*ovolo*, *cyma reversa*, *cyma recta*, *hawksbeak*, etc.—may have been adopted under archaeological advice, but (at any rate, architecturally) it has grave disadvantages, as it leads to the arbitrary inclusion of a large number of complex mouldings which may even be primarily of different character (e.g., those on Pl. XVI, 10 and 11), and to the various recorded mouldings of one building being distributed over several (often widely separated) plates, discoverable only by a search through the index tables. Though all the information is recorded in Text and Plates combined (to the writer, XXVI, 26, remained unsolved), one has to dart about in a disconcerting manner. In themselves, Miss Shoe's own conclusions in the Text and Tables have considerable research value, but it might surely be questioned if the 'cyma recta is essentially Doric originally' (p. 91, table, first note), and it is certainly incorrect to attribute no mouldings to Minoan architecture (p. 5).² Any full consideration of this material, however, would demand a separate review. Some minor matters may be mentioned. On p. 146 of Text, there is no reference to the important pitching-up principle in the torus of later Asian bases (see Pl. LXVII, 4 and 7). The term 'frieze crown' is used frequently, but,

in Doric usage, this member, as illustrated on Pl. XXVI, 16 and 17, goes structurally with the cornice, of which (when projecting) it is the bed-moulding.³ On p. 6, the undercut of a hawksbeak is correctly so called; on p. 91 the non-architectural term 'underswung' for a similar function does not tend to clarity. Why should the German word 'Perserschutt' (p. 91) be used? The gradual curve of a cavetto should not be called a 'long vertical' (p. 92). On p. 8, place and date of publication of Prof. Robertson's book are not stated. In the Index, '(Theseum)' might have been inserted after 'Athens, Temple of Hephaistos.'

The treatment of carved mouldings (*vide* the remarks on pp. 4 and 5 of Text) is not free from defects. The epistyle crown shown in 6, photographic plate E, for example, could not be understood from the profile of the same moulding shown in Pl. XXVI, 6. But, when all is said, Miss Shoe has produced a work which is of the greatest value both to archaeological and architectural research. That it has been so sumptuously produced by the Harvard Press does her honour which is well deserved.

T. F.

Hellenistic Architecture: an Introductory Study. By THEODORE FYFE. Pp. xxxi + 247; 29 plates and 58 illustrations in the text. Cambridge University Press, 1936. 21s.

The author must not be held to blame if the perusal of this book leaves the reader wondering whether the architecture of the Hellenistic age possessed any clear-cut distinctive feature. For there was nothing clear-cut about that age. Greek culture followed in the footsteps of Alexander, but the further it spread the more mixed it became, and it is not surprising that a sketch that covers the development of building style over a wide geographical area through some eight centuries should present only blurred outlines of the architectural aspects of this much diluted Hellenism. We say Hellenism advisedly, for language is shocked by the acceptance by Dr. Tarn (and after him by Prof. Fyfe) of this word as the substantive of Hellenistic, when common-sense and the Oxford Dictionary alike declare it to be the substantive of Hellenic.

¹ The museum fragment may be unfinished, but there is a completed one lying about outside; cf. also, Dugas. There is no indication in text or plate that the torus is carved with a guilloche.

² See Evans, *Palace of Minos*; (outstandingly, Vol. II, Part II, Supplementary Plate XXII). Further material has come to light since this was published.

³ There is repetition here, and also confusion. The so-called frieze crowns (really cornice bed-moulds) of the Parthenon and Propylaea are dealt with both on pp. 50 and 57; on p. 169 the true frieze crowns are dealt with, but why is one from the Propylaea on Pl. XXIII, and another from that building and also the Parthenon example on Pl. LXXI?

Yet this rather vague impression that the lay reader gets is perhaps due to the fact that the book has not been written for him but for the expert. It is less an exposition than a series of comments.

We learn indeed that there is a vast amount of extant material bearing witness to a great vitality in architecture in the Hellenistic age, but showing too the effect of two opposed forces, one 'the Greek mentality, the spirit of clarity and orderliness which underlay all Greek expression in art and life, the other was the more unsettling element—and one of vast range—of the cults of Eastern religions that were being absorbed by the Greek world from the end of the fourth century B.C. onwards.' But we hardly learn to distinguish the effects of these two forces. We should have been helped by more and better illustrations. Here the drawings are more illuminating than the half-tone plates, which, though well reproduced from good photographs, are in general too much reduced quite to succeed in making their point.

Two passages are of particular interest. One (p. 8) in which emphasis is laid on the importance of considering ancient buildings together with their surroundings, and of appreciating the Greeks' use of colour, applied colour and naturally coloured materials, together with their use of reflected light. It is presumably to the treatment of these elements in the Church at Monreale that we owe the rather puzzling pronouncement that that church gives 'the best impression that exists to-day of completely finished Greek and Hellenistic treatments.' In the other passage (p. 83) the author points to the development of baroque (defined as 'an absorption of the less into the greater in an architectural composition') in late Hellenistic buildings such as the entrance front of the Miletus market and the west end of the basilica at Pompeii. 'Advanced Hellenistic work in fact anticipated the Baroque architecture of some fourteen centuries later. There was in all probability no direct connection between the two developments. They were both logical results produced by long familiarity with classical elements.' The same cause must underlie the Hellenistic tendencies to which the author points in much work of the Renaissance and after.

J. P. D.

Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien. By ULF JANTZEN. (*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 13.*) Pp. 84; plates 40. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1937. 22 m.

In various periodicals and other publications,

there exists a considerable body of literature on South Italian bronzes; yet, when attributing specimens to this part of the world, we proceed with more than usual caution, and often have no better motive than inability to find an alternative origin. Thanks to Dr. Jantzen, we shall now be better equipped for making a definite decision, since he has not only collected and described certain material which has a reasonable claim to be South Italian or Sicilian, but has also given us lists and illustrations of kindred objects which are Mainland or East Greek, so that, by comparison, we can appreciate the contrasting styles.

The products of South Italy are divided into three groups, Lokroi, Tarentum and Kroton; those of Sicily, less homogeneous, form a fourth group; and there is, of course, a residue of isolated figures. The foundations on which rest the reconstructions of the groups are as follows:—Lokroi is the find spot of numerous bronzes to which others can be linked by style. For a bronze industry at Tarentum there is the evidence of literature, provenance and probability, supplemented by the fact that some members of this family have peculiarities which reappear at Sparta, whence Tarentum was colonised. A compact and individual series, including a large proportion of mirrors with stands, is easy to detach; it is assigned to Calabria (in the modern sense of the term) because four items out of sixteen were found there, to Kroton because that was the chief town of the district. Here we are on less firm ground; perhaps our museum labels should bear a question-mark; and we are tempted to criticise, though not necessarily to condemn, the modern tendency to bestow a name that implies too much on each newly discovered class of antiquities. In contrast with Kroton, Sicily has yielded much bronze-work of varying style and merit; nevertheless, to postulate local workshops there seems justifiable. I should add that the terracottas from Medma and Lokroi are cited in connection with the bronzes, though their contacts are not exploited.

Each of the three South Italian groups contain a nucleus of examples which clearly belong together; round these are assembled others, some of which are fairly close, some less so. This is the usual method of research for scholars engaged in defining the art-centres of the past, though it involves a subjective element which cannot be eliminated. Every person looks with different eyes, and experts on statues and statuettes are in particular notorious for their

disagreements. It is, therefore, reassuring to note the points wherein Dr. Jantzen finds himself in sympathy with his colleagues (as with Neugebauer on the importance of Tarentum in the archaic period); moreover, the care with which he draws our attention to doubtful conclusions earns our respect even if we do not always follow him.

A reviewer's opinions on individual attributions are, however, apt to be arbitrary owing to lack of space, and he should, perhaps, abstain from confusing the issue by expressing them too freely. I will, therefore, only record those of the author's verdicts which seem to me of especial interest and which may provoke discussion. (1) First in the Tarentine catalogue come three oxen, followed almost immediately by the horse and rider from Grumentum which Neugebauer had already recognised as the companion of two of them. Most of us have regarded the horse as too provincial to have been made in a Greek city, but Dr. Jantzen, less rigid, does not hesitate to insert even an Etruscan mirror-support into one of his lists (pp. 47, 50), on the grounds that it can be fitted into his sequence. The resemblances which he notices between the horse and drawings on certain Corinthian vases are decidedly suggestive, but are they not superficial? (2) The Noicattaro girdle is thought to be Tarentine because the horses which decorate it have points in common with the animals mentioned above. (3) The Tübingen armed runner is assigned, though tentatively, to a later phase of the same school. (4) The mirror dedicated by Phillo, now in Berlin, is associated with Lokroi, where it seems definitely at home.

In deciding where bronzes were made, the circumstances of their discovery naturally play a part. A fairly large part for most of us, though some authorities, like Langlotz, treat it as almost negligible, while Dr. Jantzen represents the other extreme. For him, provenance is the chief guide, so that he is prepared on occasion to let it outweigh the evidences of style, as in the case of the herm from Gela (pp. 55, 61). His statement that, whereas western bronzes have been found in Sicily and Italy, no undoubtedly mainland ones have been found in Greece is strictly true, but we must remember that there are several doubtful specimens that he has dissociated from the Peloponnesian contexts where other scholars had placed them.

Such matter for controversy, inevitable wherever original work is done, provides a desirable stimulus. In its more general aspect, the book is a remarkable achievement. The

amount of information conveyed, the careful analyses of style, the attention paid to chronology—all these combine to give the branch of archaeology under consideration the coherence and definition which are its due. Constant use will be made of the appendices, to which I have already alluded, wherein are gathered the representatives from all regions of types dealt with in the text.

The time and trouble involved in writing a book of this kind are so considerable that the author is justified in using labour-saving devices such as referring to his subjects by their catalogue numbers. But this results in much turning of pages on the part of the reader, who may be excused for suggesting that these numbers might have been quoted, possibly in place of the names of museums, under the illustrations. He has, I think, a right to complain that there is no real index, for the museum indices and the list of illustrations do not quote all places in the text where the items are discussed. For a summary of abbreviations, he must turn to the *Jahrbuch*, of which the book is one of the supplementary volumes. That it should find a place in that honourable series is in itself a guarantee of the high quality of its contents which is, of course, quite unaffected by the small practical defects in its arrangement.

W. L.

Attic Black-figured Lekythoi. By C. H. EMILIE HASPELS. Pp. x + 407; 54 plates. (*École Française d'Athènes: Travaux et Mémoires*, Fascicule IV.) Paris: E. de Boccard, 1936. 400 fr.

In this book we have an important contribution to the study of black-figured pottery. It is the direct outcome of the work done on Attic black figure by Beazley and others during the last ten years or so. To the big amphora painters whom we already know are now added a number of lesser brethren. But though Miss Haspels' material is humbler than most of that hitherto dealt with, it has the merit of being exceptionally plentiful. The whole field of Attic black-figured lekythoi is surveyed, from the early 'Deianeira' type down to the rather unattractive products of the workshop of the Beldam Painter with which the black-figured lekythos expired. Lekythoi with outline drawing, with silhouettes in Six's technique, with pattern decoration, and with plain black bodies all come within the purview of the book, and a number of red-figured lekythoi are dealt with in passing. There are many pleasant digressions from the main theme, dealing with

such varied subjects as hair-dressing, perfume pots, 'black incisions,' and these form not the least interesting portions of the book. Miss Haspels' lively descriptions are illustrated by fifty-four excellent plates made up mainly from her own admirable photographs. Very useful appendices, which form one-fifth of the book, give lists of vases, not confined to lekythoi, by the various painters and groups dealt with. The indices are copious, and there is a very useful List of Plates giving particulars of the vases illustrated with references to relevant pages of the text, a practice which one could wish more widely adopted. Though the language is foreign to both writer and printer, misprints are remarkably few.

For the earlier period Miss Haspels divides her lekythoi into two broad divisions based on shape, the shoulderless 'Deianeira' type of Corinthian origin with its later 'sub-Deianeira' developments, and the shoulder lekythos with more or less egg-shaped body. These early varieties do not easily lend themselves to classification. One or two individual painters are distinguished, but the vases are dealt with mainly as separate items or quite small groups, only two kinds attaining what might be called popularity, the 'Dolphin' class of shoulder lekythoi and the 'Little Black-necks' of a modified Deianeira shape. With the beginning of the red-figure period we get the cylindrical lekythos which becomes canonical for black figure as well as for red, though there is found side by side with it another shape, derived from the cylinder but sloping more sharply to the foot in a manner reminiscent of an earlier type and with an earlier type of foot. This Miss Haspels calls a 'compromise' shape, and traces its progress down to a little after 500 B.C., after which cylinders, growing ever slenderer, prevail. In the Leagros period comes the beginning of a continuous stream of prolific painters, most of them new to us, whom Miss Haspels has provided with neat and picturesque names. There is the Gela Painter, who turned out lekythoi more numerous than good for some years both before and after 500; the Sappho and the Diosphos Painters, who worked together about the turn of the century; the Marathon Painter, for whom we have a welcome date in the Marathon *soros*; the Theseus Painter, whose skyphoi, hitherto disguised under the generic term 'White Heron' skyphoi, are perhaps better known than his lekythoi; the Athena Painter, who is shown to have collaborated with, and even perhaps to be identical with, the Bowdoin Painter; and the Beldam

Painter, who invented the false-bottomed lekythos and shares with the Emporion Painter the responsibility for popularising the unlovely 'chimney' mouth that disfigures so many of the lekythoi of the second quarter of the fifth century.

The styles of these painters are analysed and discussed at some length, and Miss Haspels' attributions in the main carry conviction. The treatment of groups of lesser merit (but of no less interest to the museum curator and the historian) is more summary, and leaves much to be taken on trust. On the other hand, black figure shapes, types and painters are brought into line with their contemporaries in red figure in a most illuminating way. Yet, in spite of the new light thus gained, questions of absolute dating remain very problematical. Much of Miss Haspels' dating, both absolute and relative, is later than one would expect. She is herself very frank about the difficulties that this sometimes gives rise to. We are warned more than once that certain vases look old-fashioned in the period to which she has assigned them. There is also the difficulty, discussed at length on pp. 93, 139 f., caused by finding in the Marathon burial two lekythoi in the manner of the Haimon Painter. They were buried at a date when Miss Haspels would expect him to be a beginner, yet they do not look like the work of a beginner, nor would a beginner be likely to have imitators.

One remarkable fact stands out from Miss Haspels' presentation of the development of the lekythos for which she offers no explanation: there is a strange dearth of material for the years following 530. The decade 540-30 is represented by a good number of lekythoi, which are given a chapter to themselves. But in the chapter called 'The Beginning of the Red Figure Period' only four lekythoi are assigned to the earlier years (pp. 41-3), and the rest of the chapter (with the possible exception of the last paragraph) is devoted to the Leagros period, where the numbers run into hundreds. Search in subsequent pages does not reveal anything to fill up the gap. One can assume, of course, that there were still on the market late examples of the 'fat runner' series which we are told (p. 16) continued for some decades, but more than these are needed unless we are to assume a very unaccountable falling off in the lekythos industry. Should we not put into these empty years the earlier examples of the Phanyllis shape which was surely slow in maturing if it did not reach its prime till 500 (p. 68)? The 'hoplite leaving home' type in

particular cannot be very far removed in date from the Trebenishte lekythos of 530 (p. 67). The earlier examples of the very numerous 'cock' lekythoi, which Miss Haspels does not allow to begin till about 510, have, among other early features, the mouth 'rounded at the top, painted black all over with added red at the upper edge over the black' that we are told in another connexion (p. 51) is the regular lekythos-mouth before the red-figure period. An earlier date seems to be indicated for these also and for some other common types which are here relegated to the end of the century.

It is interesting to compare conclusions arrived at by Miss Haspels' methods with those of excavators who approach the question of dating from another point of view, with whom the evidence of associated finds counts for more, while their acquaintance with the lekythos *per se* is immeasurably less. As Miss Haspels has dealt in detail with the dating of some of the Rhitsona graves, perhaps I may be allowed a word about them. When the first graves were dug thirty years ago there was found to be a gap between the mid-sixth century graves (called group A) and those of the late sixth century (group B). The subsequent discovery of other graves such as 85, 126, 102 did much to fill this gap, and the graves, arranged in order on the basis of the aryballoi, black glaze ware and vases of the Boeotian Kylix style found in them, now form a reasonably coherent sequence. By dating right at the end of the century or later the lekythoi found in the group B graves Miss Haspels has put them all from gr. 31 onward into the fifth century, thus reopening and considerably widening the gap. There seems to be no satisfactory explanation why they should stop having funerals for about thirty years at Mykalessos or stop making lekythoi for about fifteen years in Athens. Miss Haspels discusses in detail the black-figure contents of four graves, 31, 26, 80 and 18, and dates them all within the decade 500-490. But these four are representative of a series of a dozen single interment graves, gr. 31 being the earliest and gr. 18 the latest, containing some eighteen hundred vases of many different sorts, most of them showing considerable modifications of shape, proportion, and decoration between the gr. 31 examples and those from gr. 18, while types that are abundant in some are obsolete in others. It seems unlikely that so much change should have taken place in the short space of ten years. One may also point out that the view is scarcely tenable that the black-figured vases in gr. 31

are much later than the other contents of the grave, i.e. that at the funeral over three hundred of the vases offered were old-fashioned and only some fifty odd were up to date. The only grave which has a large proportion of old-fashioned vases is the difficult grave 113, where the total number of vases is much smaller and the number of potential heirlooms or offerings of aged mourners not so impossible. This is not the place to argue in detail the reasons given by Miss Haspels for her late dating of the graves, but I may perhaps be allowed to quote one instance. The arguments for putting the 'little-lion-shaped' black lekythoi after 500 are not convincing. They rest on the assumption that the Sappho Painter invented the shape (p. 98), that he painted black-figure scenes on this shape earlier than pictures in Six's technique (p. 108), and (presumably) that the plain black examples are as late as those in Six's technique. (Incidentally the white outside petals of the lotuses on the shoulder of most of the plain black little lions have nothing to do with Six's technique, but carry on a type well known in the third quarter of the sixth century). It is also a fact (not noticed by Miss Haspels) that a plain black 'little-lion' was found at Megara Hyblaea in the same grave (Sep. 43) as the lekythos Syracuse 7407, runner between onlookers, which Miss Haspels dates in the decade 540-30 (p. 36). This in itself is no proof of early date, since the runner lekythos might conceivably have been more than thirty years old when buried, but unless some quite decisive evidence for a later date comes to light, such contexts (and this is not an isolated example) have to be borne in mind.

This is not to say that we defend all the Rhitsona datings that Miss Haspels attacks. Some of them indeed we had already retracted long ago. Thus our earliest group B grave (31) is dated in our latest report *Aryballoi and Figurines* not 530 but about 520, and the very late gr. 46 not 500 but 490 (see already *Sixth and Fifth* p. 39), and we should not be prepared in either case to maintain that they could not be put a few years later still. But to follow Miss Haspels and date the whole group in the fifth century still seems to me to create more problems than it solves. While fixed points remain so lamentably few, no final word can be said on this vexed question of dating. If I have stressed it here, it is simply because it seems to me to be the only major issue that calls for question or discussion in this admirable book.

A. D. U.

Bilder Griechischer Vasen. Edited by J. D. BEAZLEY and PAUL JACOBSTHAL. **Volume 10: Der Penthesilea-Maler.** By HANS DIEPOLDER. Pp. 28; 32 plates. 28 m. **Volume 11: Sakonides.** By ANDREAS RUMPF. Pp. 30; 32 plates. 28 m. Leipzig: H. Keller, 1936 and 1937.

The two latest volumes of this series illustrate a new tendency in the study of Attic vase-painting. For many years Beazley and others have been sorting the material into groups of closely linked works, and it is perhaps natural that now, in red-figure at least where a large proportion of the material has been so sorted, people should begin trying to unite different groups, and to see as phases of one man's work what have hitherto been regarded as separate personalities. Dr. Diepolder makes this attempt for red-figure of the second quarter of the fifth century, Prof. Rumpf more rashly for black-figure of the third quarter of the sixth. Dr. Diepolder's thesis is not actually a new one. Hartwig first and after him Furtwängler and Buschor ascribed to the Penthesilea Painter various vases which Beazley preferred to separate and group with others under the name of the Pistoxenos Painter. Dr. Diepolder follows the older view and gives a reasoned account of the artist's development, the vases of the 'Pistoxenos Painter' being the earlier. The two groups are obviously intimately linked, and the opinion that they are the work of one man is perfectly tenable. I see no essential difficulty in supposing that the master of calligraphy and finesse who painted the London Aphrodite should later develop the looser, broader skill of the Penthesilea cup; I see that at times they come much closer than this, but there are points where the chain seems to me broken. The Aphrodite cup and the New York pyxis with the Judgment of Paris are both careful works, in the same technique, on similar subjects, and painted within a few years of each other, and I cannot persuade myself that they are the work of the same artist. The author of the sublime Aphrodite could see a joke—witness the Schwerin skyphos—and the exterior of the Hamburg cup, attractively interpreted by Dr. Diepolder, shows the Penthesilea Painter as a humorist, but the New York pyxis seems to me unintentionally comic; an attempt at a serene idyll like the Aphrodite by an artist with no gift for the theme—one whose natural subjects were the stable and the camp, a good teller of folk-stories as in the Boston Anodos skyphos, and one who could see an epic grandeur in the rough-house of war, but not one capable of the calculated simplicity of

the Aphrodite. She is all divine; the figures on the pyxis might be the boys of the Hamburg cup dressed up for a charade. That two artists are sometimes nearly indistinguishable is no proof that they are one, and I incline to regard the Pistoxenos and Penthesilea Painters as two personalities with styles as linked and souls as different as Masolino and Masaccio. However, Dr. Diepolder has worked on these vases long, and his opinion is not to be rejected lightly. Moreover, he puts his view convincingly, only I wish he included a list, so that we could see what exactly he regards as the painter's *œuvre*—whether the whole of Beazley's two lists or only parts of them. In any case, these vases are all part of one tradition, so that it is possible to believe them the work of two hands and yet have little quarrel with the book, which is in fact an interesting and enjoyable one. Dr. Diepolder's interpretations and appreciations of individual vases are apt and illuminating—though surely Iphikles is more than 'Milchbruder' to Herakles—and his understanding of the general development of the art at this period and its relation to other arts is deep and well conveyed. I do not agree with him that the Tityos picture is purer decoration than the Penthesilea; the former seems to me a splendid composition ill adapted to a circle—I can imagine it looking well, for instance, on a calyx-crater—while the distortions by which the Death of Penthesilea is compelled into its ring seem as inevitable as those of a scene reflected in a convex mirror. In general, however, Dr. Diepolder's picture of the Penthesilea Painter turning away from major painting to simple decoration is convincing and interesting, as is the story of his final degeneration—a sad process paralleled strangely often among the greatest late archaic vase-painters: Oltos, Epiktetos, the Berlin Painter, the Kleophrades Painter. It is not, I think, common in other spheres of art for the leader of one generation to become the hack of the next, and it is perhaps due to the very swift, steady development of Greek art at this time, when each fashion was abandoned quickly and utterly, and an artist who could not assimilate the new style could keep no following for the old.

Prof. Rumpf has undertaken a larger and more difficult task. If one begins *Sakonides* by looking at the plates, one gets rather a shock, finding three groups which one's preconceptions do not easily accept as the work of one man: a group of amphorae, etc., not 'Tyrrhenian' but similar; a group of big works by a master of the black-figure *Blütezeit*, whom we have got to

know as Lydos; and a group of Little Master cups centring round the signatures of Sakonides. Prof. Rumpf, however, compels one to observe real resemblances. The Epitimos cup in New York (10), for instance, and the fascinating orgy fragment from the Acropolis (17) are notable links between 'Lydos' and the Sakonides signatures, while 'Lydos' and the group of rougher vases are cleverly bound together, e.g. by the animal types, especially the lions, and by a convincing series of hydriae. The lion type is paralleled again on the Cambridge Sakonides (18), while the Louvre pyxis (43) affords a real link between the Sakonides band-cup (16) and some of the rougher vases. Prof. Rumpf gives reason for the inclusion of every vase in his list, and they might all be by one hand, but that is a very different thing from saying, as he does, that they must be. First there is the question of signatures; we have learnt to think of Lydos as a painter, and Prof. Rumpf's surmise that he was a potter is only half convincing. The signature on the Athens lebes is certainly interpretable either way, but that on the Louvre hydria fragment is absolutely, if rather illiterately, explicit that it was painted by Lydos— ho Lydos: eypoev followed by a space and the border of the picture can mean nothing else. The inscriptions on the Xenokles-Kleisophos jug cited by Prof. Rumpf are no parallel at all. This fragment is early, and one could salvage part of Prof. Rumpf's theory by supposing that Lydos, like Euphronios, was a painter before he was a potter, the Louvre fragment and some of the rougher vases being painted by Lydos, and the much larger group that centres round the Athens lebes by Sakonides; but I do not think that such drastic assumptions are justified without more evidence. 'Lydos' and Sakonides certainly approach each other very closely, but so, as Prof. Rumpf observes, do Nearchos and 'Lydos.' The whole scheme suffers from too little use of contrasting material. Prof. Rumpf remarks, no doubt truly, that Sakonides must have painted large vases, but so must the Phrynos and Hermogenes Painters, with whom, as Prof. Rumpf says, Sakonides is closely connected, while Nearchos and the painter of Acropolis 606 must have painted rougher vases, and very likely Little Master cups as well; the building up of a large group of vases round Sakonides and 'Lydos' carries little conviction unless associated with similar work on these other centres. The classification of works of art in ateliers rather than in the narrower groups which alone can be safely assigned to single hands is a legitimate and valuable method, but

it can only be properly done working from several centres at once, and is better employed on a field that has already been sorted into small groups more exhaustively than has yet been done for the vases of this period. However, Prof. Rumpf has a keen eye and a convincing pen; only one vase in his list I cannot see as a work of his possible Sakonides—the odious cup, plate 32, which I should take for a late effort by the otherwise quite pleasant incompetent who worked for Tabides, and whose Hope amphora, as Prof. Rumpf remarks, shows the influence of Lydan vases.

The illustrations of these two volumes are chosen on rather different principles—Dr. Diepolder's to illustrate clearly his artist's development, Prof. Rumpf's to supplement the already accessible material. One cannot judge the development of Prof. Rumpf's Sakonides from his plates alone, but he illustrates much that is not to be found elsewhere, with the result that there is now scarcely a piece of any importance in his list of which one cannot find a picture. The photographs of the fragments of the signed Athens lebes are also a particularly welcome supplement to the published drawings. It is a pity that some of the plates have come out so black—notably 13a and 16, but it is a tendency throughout. The standard of Dr. Diepolder's illustrations is high.

The allotment of works of art to hands and dates is not an end in itself, but a way to deeper appreciation of individual pieces and of the nature and development of the art in question. It is, however, a way that cannot safely be avoided. Beazley's *Attische Vasenmaler* and the work that went to it are a necessary foundation to such essays in this series as his own and Dr. Diepolder's, while those of Dr. Scheffold and Dr. Hahland are in themselves in the nature of such a foundation. Prof. Rumpf's work suffers from trying to be both things at once. In Sakonides, he says in his last paragraph, we have not only a master of the Peisistratan epoch, 'sondern auch das Bindeglied zwischen den Werken der solonischen Zeit . . . und denen der kleisthenischen Periode.' In fact we see neither clearly, and shall not till the material has been more finely sifted. Then we shall find our master or masters, our link or links, which will be none the less secure if they are several, as Euthymides, the Berlin Painter, Hermonax, the Achilles Painter make a chain between the ages of Kleisthenes and Perikles.

M. R.

La Faune Marine dans la décoration des Plats à Poissons. Étude sur la céramique grecque d'Italie Méridionale. By LÉON LACROIX. Pp. 69; 40 plates. Verviers: Lacroix, 1937. 50 frs. belg.

This short study is a welcome contribution to our rather scanty knowledge on the subject of Italiote fish-plates. A short introductory section deals with the representations of various forms of marine life on vases from Minoan times to the end of the fourth century B.C. and the rest of the book falls into two main sections, one dealing with the fish-plates themselves, the other with the actual fish depicted upon them. This latter section is of particular value and most of the author's identifications are convincing; where doubt is felt, it is candidly expressed and, as the fish on many of the plates are very stylised, it is sometimes difficult to go beyond identifying the genus. As a basis for identification, the magnificent Attic plate from the Taman peninsula is taken and the five big fish there shown fully discussed. Then follows a discussion of the principal fish to appear on Italiote plates, references being given to the excellent illustrations at the end of the book, many of which are published here for the first time. Significant is the fact that only the more common fish are found; most popular are the sea-perch, the sargus, the mullet, the labrus (rock-fish), the cephalopods, and especially the torpedo, which is a great favourite with the Campanian artist.

A short list is given of the fish-plates to be found in the principal museums. The author admits it is not complete, but something more like a descriptive catalogue would have been very useful, and mention should certainly have been made of the collection of fish-plates in the Museo Campano in Capua—29 in number, well published by Mingazzini (*CVA*, Capua I, pls. 1–6). Fish-plates will also be found in the museums of Bremen (Schaal, pl. 26e), Heidelberg, Munich, Sèvres (*CVA*, Sèvres, pl. 43), Toronto (*Cat. No.* 465, pl. 83, p. 229—where there is also a useful bibliography) and several very important pieces of Attic manufacture in the Museo di Spina at Ferrara (Aurigemma², pp. 30, 147–8, pl. 72).

The section dealing with the actual fish-plates is less satisfactory and though admittedly many of the problems raised are difficult, only the most non-committal conclusions are reached on the questions of their use and places of manufacture, while the dating given for them is very misleading. Lacroix follows Morin-Jean, who in his turn followed Macchioro, in dating the earliest Italiote fish-plates to about 300 and the latest to a

century later. A comparison between the fish which figure on the large Apulian vases of ca. 330–20 illustrated on pls. 3–11 and those on the ordinary Apulian fish-plates will show these to be contemporary and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the manufacture of this type of vase continued for any length of time after the end of the red-figure technique in South Italy—that is to say, early in the third century. All the stylistic evidence (confirmed by the Attic plates from Spina) would date Italiote fish-plates to the last few decades of the fourth century and the early years of the third. Further confirmation of the dating is afforded by the recently discovered Oscan tomb near Caserta in which were found several Campanian vases of about 330 and an excellent fish-plate (*NdS*, 1936, p. 357, fig. 4), now in the Villa Giulia.

The problem of to what fabrics these plates should be assigned is not easy, but it is possible to go much further than Lacroix has ventured and even to attribute some plates to their painters. Working from the fish which appear on vases known to be Apulian (pls. 3–11), we shall see that on grounds of style a number of plates are of similar make, and distinctions may gradually be drawn between these and those of Campanian origin. Proveniences may be taken into account and so must the decorations on the outer rim or round the depression in the centre of the plate. It will be noted that on plates of Campanian provenience there is a preference for the wave pattern on the outer rim, while sometimes an ivy-wreath is used, whereas on those from Apulia the preference is for the laurel wreath, and often for a more elaborate central decoration. Further, a greater use of white and yellow is made on Campanian plates, sometimes decorations are added in red, and the fish are generally more natural and more carefully drawn than those on Apulian. The fish-plates illustrated on pls. 14, 20, 22, 28, 33, 35, 39, and 40 are almost certainly Apulian, the remaining Italiote pieces Campanian, though Naples 2550 and 2553 (pls. 38 & 31), which were found at Paestum, probably belong to the local fabric.

In his text to the Capua *Corpus* Mingazzini points out that certain of the plates there discussed may be grouped together on stylistic grounds and with the new material which Lacroix puts before us it is possible to enlarge the list of attributions. To the painter of four plates in Capua (*CVA*, pls. 3, 6; 4, 1 & 4; 5, 2) may be attributed B.M. F259 (pl. 30), Villa Giulia 25.022 (pl. 36) and the Hoppin plate (pl. 13)—very near in style are B.M. F268,

Bremen (Schaal, pl. 26e), Berlin F3616 (pl. 29) and Michigan 1084. From his fondness for painting the torpedo, he might perhaps be called the Torpedo Painter. Another important group is comprised by two plates in Capua (CVA, pls. 2, 5; and 5, 4), B.M. F261, and Cambridge X 14; a third by B.M. F262 (pl. 37), Madrid 11369 (Ossorio, pl. 41, 2) and Berlin F3612 (pl. 32), with Louvre K579 (pl. 27), B.M. F267 (pl. 26) and a Capuan plate (CVA, pl. 2, 1) very close in style. Four vases from Ruvo in Lecce (808-811; CVA Lecce IV Dr, pl. 59) enable us to form an Apulian group comprising in addition B.M. F266 (from Fasano), Brussels R 410 (pl. 22) and Sèvres 268 (CVA, pl. 43, from the Basilicata). These plates are more colourful than usual in Apulia, but a decided difference in style from those of Campanian origin may be observed. A fuller study of the subject than the scope of a review allows might well result in a complete classification of the fish-plates of South Italy and the material collected by Lacroix, especially his excellent illustrations, will be of considerable value to that end. A. D. T.

Inventaire archéologique de la Région au nord-est de Hama. By J. LASSUE. (*Documents d'études orientales*, iv.) Vol. I, text, pp. xvii + 248, with map and 216 plans and sketches: Vol. II, pp. 19 and plates 50. Institut Français de Damas; Paris: Leroux, 1936. 100 fr.

This is a scholarly production of the French Institute. In it the author has exhaustively surveyed a small district some forty by eighty kilometres which other students of Syria have tended to ignore. It is a pity that it is not richer soil. The author is able to record very few facts which bear on the history of the region before the Roman period except for two new stelae, which he publishes, of the 1st millen. B.C., crude and damaged but interesting additions to Syrian art about which we know all too little. He publishes numerous Greek inscriptions of the Christian period, and several reliefs which will be useful to students of early Christian iconography. R. D. B.

The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt. By IBRAHIM NOSHY. Pp. 153; plates 18. Oxford University Press, 1937. 15s.

A critical study of Ptolemaic art in Egypt along the lines followed in this book has long been overdue, and if it is only for his attempt to supply that need the author deserves congratulation. The book, however, calls for the highest praise on its own merits, for it will undoubtedly do much to remove the many

misconceptions commonly held concerning Egyptian art in this period. The main thesis is to show that the art of the Greek population in Egypt and that of the Egyptians themselves remained essentially unmixed. When mixture occurred, it was to the detriment of both styles and should be attributed to individual caprice rather than to any special school. In their burial customs the two races maintained their individuality, the Egyptians still constructing their tombs in the pattern of the Pharaonic times with the regular, though somewhat debased, funerary accoutrements and the Greeks following the style of tombs found at Athens, in Phoenicia and in Macedonia.

The absence of any considerable amount of material for studying domestic architecture, not only in this period but in the earlier history of Egypt, makes comparison extremely difficult. It seems clear, however, that when Greeks went to reside in densely-inhabited Egyptian towns they took over Egyptian houses and occasionally decorated them in Greek style. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suppose that a fusion of styles was more prevalent here than in any other direction.

Ptolemaic Egyptian temples are directly descended from their Pharaonic prototypes. The view that the iris decoration was influenced by the Corinthian capital is shown to be fallacious, for it is evidently merely an archaism derived from the Middle Kingdom and XVIIIth Dynasty. There are so few examples of Greek temple architecture in Egypt as to make conclusions extremely hazardous, but the available evidence points to its being as uncontaminated by Egyptian influence as their tombs or houses.

The author's arrangement of the chapters in three subdivisions, namely, Greek, Egyptian and Conclusions, adds greatly to the ease with which the book can be read and to its utility.

I. E.

Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia. Specimen fascicules: *Le pitture di natura morta*; *Le pitture della Casa del Poeta Tragico. Sezione III.* (Roma): fasc. 1, *Le pitture della Casa dei Grifi (Palatino)*; 2, *Le pitture dell' Aula Isiaca di Caligola (Palatino)*; 3, *Le pitture della Casa di Livia (Palatino)*. By GIULIO EMANUELE RIZZO. Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1935-1937.

These are the first-fruits of the great corpus of ancient painting in Italy planned ten years ago by the Istituto Italiano di Archeologia e di Storia dell' Arte; and it is now possible to

welcome this great undertaking in the only practical way, by reviewing the results already achieved. In his general preface the editor and sponsor of this series, Professor Rizzo, exposes the necessity for this enterprise; apart from the theoretical desirability of making this priceless material accessible to students of ancient art, there is an urgent practical reason for carrying out the task as rapidly as possible. In a number of instances, unfortunately typical of many more, Professor Rizzo is able to publish side by side photographs taken in the sixties and seventies of last century with photographs of the same monument taken today, thereby demonstrating the catastrophic deterioration which has taken place in this short time. This confrontation proves that in the course of a few years his publication will be the only record of the many works of ancient painting which, because still *in situ* and exposed to atmospheric influences, are inevitably condemned to destruction. It is therefore a matter for congratulation that the task of rescuing what is rescuable of these precious and fragile remains of ancient art should have fallen to one whose energy, pertinacity, and enthusiasm are the best guarantee of success. The quality, both of text and illustrations, of the first fascicules now under review amply demonstrates the competence of Professor Rizzo for this high responsibility.

The first two specimen fascicules are only a foretaste of what is to come. That dealing with still-life compositions is concerned only with *xenia*, or *nature morte* in the narrower sense, and only with certain select specimens of the second and fourth styles. That devoted to the paintings from the Casa del Poeta Tragico at Pompeii confines itself to the decorations of the triclinium which are still in position, passing over for the time being the pictures and other ornaments which were removed to the Naples Museum. As these publications are only provisional, it is unnecessary to do more than call attention, once and for all, to the admirable quality of the collotype reproduction and the beautiful presswork of the Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato and to the comprehensive, yet economical, style of Professor Rizzo's descriptions and discussions. This is equally true of the first three standard fascicules: those dealing with the Casa dei Grifi (hitherto known as the 'Republican' house on the Palatine), the Aula Isiaca, and the Casa di Livia.

The Casa dei Grifi, excavated some twenty-five years ago by Giacomo Boni, has never been properly published till now. With the

exception of a single photograph included in Professor Rizzo's *La pittura ellenistico-romana*, and repeated in Wirth's *Römische Wandmalerei*, no illustrations of these highly important documents of the architectural style have so far been available for comparison. They are now seen to represent the relatively early phase of the architectural style, when the imitation of architecture in perspective had already been superposed upon the original Hellenistic panelling, but before the wall-surface was broken through by imaginary vistas. The presumption is, therefore, that the decoration of the Casa dei Grifi is earlier than that of the Casa del Laberinto, the Villa dei Misteri, and naturally of the Boscoreale villa, where the vista-style is already firmly established. These buildings date from about 60-40 B.C., and the Casa dei Grifi may be tentatively placed about 80-70. Rizzo wishes to bring it back to the beginning of the century, on the grounds that the decorative elements may be found in Hellenistic work of the second century B.C. This is quite true, but that would rather presuppose a slow development during the first half of the first century B.C., whereas it seems to have been fairly rapid and continuous down to the end of the Republic. Absolute chronology is, however, impossible at present; we must content ourselves by remarking that the decoration of the Casa dei Grifi belongs to the earlier rather than the later stages of the architectural style.

The Aula Isiaca and the Casa di Livia are each the subject of a separate fascicule, and there is no indication that Professor Rizzo considers that they might be examined in relation to each other. The Aula Isiaca appears to be dated by its brickwork to the period of Tiberius or Caligula. Professor Rizzo remarks that it is extremely improbable that a hall painted with Isiac ritual and symbols would have been permitted on the Palatine under Augustus or Tiberius, who were by no means well disposed to the cult of the Egyptian goddess; he is therefore inclined to date these paintings to the four years of the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41), observing that it is very satisfactory to obtain a dated monument of Roman painting for this period. But here a difficulty arises: what of the Casa di Livia? The conventionally-accepted date for these paintings is 40-30 B.C., and Professor Rizzo appears to accept this also. Yet in that case it is hard to explain why there is so close a resemblance between the aedicula-systems in the Sala del Polifemo (Rizzo's plan II) and the Sala dei Paesaggi (plan IV) of the Casa di Livia and that of the long wall of

the Aula Isiaca, if they are separated by an interval of seventy years. The period of Caligula seems, on the face of it, an improbably late date for decorations which seem to stand on the threshold of the third style, rather than at the very end of it; and it is tempting to date the Aula Isiaca as well to the decade immediately before the beginning of the Augustan period, hard as it then becomes to explain why its decoration survived through the sixty years during which the Isiac cult was in disfavour. The alternative—to redote the paintings of the Sala del Polifemo and the Sala dei Paesaggi of the Casa di Livia to the period of Caligula—is unacceptable, because it is difficult to separate the decoration of the Casa di Livia from other work of the end of the Republic. On the whole, it seems easier, on internal grounds, to suppose that the Aula Isiaca somehow survived the disapproval of the Augustan and Tiberian authorities than to imagine that it post-dates works of the third style like the house of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii. The only real alternative is to suppose that the third style was a Campanian speciality and did not find favour in Rome. But whether we decide to move the Casa di Livia forward or the Aula Isiaca back, it is well-nigh impossible to believe that they are separated by three-quarters of a century in time when they are separated by so few yards in space.

These remarks are not intended as a criticism of Professor Rizzo's method of approach to the vexed problem of the relationship of the second to the third style. Professor Rizzo explicitly dissociates himself from recent attempts to frame absolute chronologies for the various phases of Roman decorative painting. But the relative sequence is important; and it would be interesting to know how he himself would account for the difficulty which any synthetic treatment of the subject must attempt to explain. The most satisfactory procedure is perhaps to abandon Mau's classification altogether, with its latent assumption that the second, third, and fourth styles are successive, and to adopt a scheme which recognizes that the vista-principle and the screen-principle are dialectically opposed. It is only by these means that the paradoxes of Roman decoration can be resolved.

R. H.

Papyri Osloenses, Fasc. III. Edited by S. EITREM and LEIV AMUNDSEN. Pp. xi + 326; 12 plates (bound separately). Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1936. 50 kr.

This instalment of the Oslo University papyri, containing numbers 65 to 200, provides material

for most departments of papyrology. There are only a dozen literary texts, but among them are considerable fragments from the opening sections of the *Panegyricus* of Isocrates, and interesting bits of medical and astronomical writings. The first of the official documents, though only a few lines from a calendar giving the festivals for the Imperial house, may be accepted as a sample of the yearly programme of worship which was prescribed for Egypt by the Roman authorities: if so, there does not appear to have been any special consideration of Egyptian religious ideas imported into it. The edict of Hadrian which comes next is very useful: the Oslo text is combined with two fragmentary copies at Cairo to make a practically complete version, from which we get a definite statement of policy for dealing with the collection of taxes on land and produce in years of Nile-failure: permission was given for the payments for the bad year to be made in instalments spread over three to five years, the periods varying in different districts according to the degree of the local scarcity. The most novel in form, and perhaps the most enlightening, of the documents is no. 111, a house to house survey of Oxyrhynchus giving details of all free men and freedmen living in each house: only parts of the lists for two quarters are preserved, but these, if analysed, should provide valuable evidence concerning the social and economical conditions in the town. The commentaries are very full, and the collection of parallels makes them useful for reference: some of the hypotheses advanced seem rather bold, but cannot be discussed here in detail: and this in no way detracts from the solid merit of the book.

J. G. M.

Les Aitoliens à Delphes ; contribution à l'histoire de la Grèce centrale au III^e siècle av. J.-C. By ROBERT FLACELIÈRE. Pp. xviii + 564: one folding map. Paris: de Boccard, 1937. 80 fr.

The Aetolian usurpation at Delphi claims attention, not merely as an incident in the life of the town and shrine, but also because through the medium of Amphictyonic inscriptions it reflects the general rise and decline of Aetolian power in the third century. M. Flacelière's book is therefore primarily a study of Aetolian history from the standpoint of Delphian epigraphy. Its value is twofold: first as a compendium of relevant documents, current theories and the present state of knowledge in the subject and, secondly, as providing a new hypothesis on the vexed problem of the Soteria.

The Aetolian reorganisation of this festival was

recognised by the Athenians in the archonship of Polyeuctus, and it is the date assigned to this archon that provides a pivot for the whole system. In 1928 M. Flacelière favoured 255-4, so that, on the usual assumption that the Soteria were penteteric, it was possible to account for the eleven extant victor lists and the other Amphictyonic catalogues within the bounds of the century. But since then the author has been convinced by the arguments of Robert and Segre (based on *FD* III, 1, 483 and *OGIS* 229) that the recognition of the Soteria by Smyrna, at any rate, was subsequent to 246; and having rejected Ferguson's solution, which assumed a ten years' interval between the Athenian recognition and that by Smyrna, he is led logically to reject also the general view that the festival was penteteric. Hence his solution, adopted with great hesitation, of annual Soteria, celebrated on a large scale every fourth year, but always under Aetolian control, so that any list of *hieromnemes* may refer to either a 'big' or 'little' festival.

Flacelière's new scheme gains in adaptability to the literary evidence; but it still tries to prove too much, particularly in its assumption that the Aetolians always 'played the game' in reducing their votes immediately, in proportion to their losses. If, for instance, Philip in 201 recaptured certain towns in Phthiotic Achaea, the Aetolians, it is claimed, at once recognised their loss by abandoning one (but only one) of their Achaean votes. The later Aetolian claim to these towns militates strongly against this theory, which would match neither ancient nor modern diplomatic practice. Moreover, because his chronology gives an increase in Aetolian votes at Delphi from 229 onwards, the author assumes that the Aetolian seizure of Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis lasted until 206, and even that Perrhaebia was won and lost between 227 and 225. It is unfortunate that he does not consider Fine's strong arguments (*TAPhA*, 1932, 126 *seq.*) from Polybius against such a view; for until it can be stated with some greater degree of certainty what valid conclusions may be deduced from the Soteria lists, it is an exceedingly dangerous principle to reject Polybius for any findings based on an admittedly experimental chronology. And the main criticism of Flacelière's book is that it builds up too elaborate a series of hypotheses on the basis of the lists, without always giving its full weight to the literary evidence. Actual mistakes are few, and those mainly inadvertent or perhaps due to printer's errors, as when, for instance, Phigaleia is included among the Arcadian towns that

joined the Spartan alliance in 229 or Dr. Tarn is said to date the battle of Cos in 268.

In general the book is excellent. Its investigation of the changing relations between the League, the Amphictyonic Council and the city of Delphi, and its lists of Amphictyonic catalogues and Delphian inscriptions, both provided with indices, furnish an indispensable instrument for future study. Both as an exposition and as a reference book M. Flacelière's history will undoubtedly take its place among the standard works on third-century Greece.

F. W. W.

Apollon: Studien über antike Religion und Humanität. By KARL KERÉNYI. Pp. 281; 6 plates. Vienna, Amsterdam and Leipzig; Leo & Co., 1937. 15s. 6d.

This is a series of essays, or meditations as the author calls them (p. 7), on various matters more or less closely connected with classical philology. The first deals with ancient religion in relation to the psychology of religion generally; the second with Apollo (especially his Pythagorean cult), and the idea of immortality; the third discusses Hippolytos, the fourth 'Ergriffenheit und Wissenschaft,' the fifth the effects of landscape on the mind, the sixth ancient poetry, the seventh Corfu, considered as the home of Homer's Phaiakians, the eighth Sophron, in particular the new fragment, the ninth is a distinctly interesting examination, starting from the importance of the papyrus book for Alexandria and Egypt generally, of the attitude of various cultures towards writing, the tenth deals with Roman literature generally, the eleventh with Horace and the twelfth and last with humanism and Hellenism. They are not new works, but reissues with some revision of what has already been given to the public, and in some cases translations into German of what had been previously published in Magyar.

All alike are plainly the fruits of thinking around the subject, and since they come from a man of active mind, much interested in a number of modern lines of thought, sound or otherwise, they are not always easy to follow unless the reader is familiar with various intellectual preoccupations of the author's part of the Continent. The subjective and largely aesthetic criticism with which ancient works are treated sometimes results in a well-expressed truth (as on p. 127; it is perfectly correct to say, as he does, that the imagined Achilleis of some separatists which ended in the death of the hero would be far less effective than the actual Iliad,

in which the foreknowledge of that event provides a dark background for his splendid figure), sometimes is less happy; on p. 145 *sqq.* the simple explanation of Plato's fondness for Sophron, that he liked his style and dramatic vividness, is rejected in favour of one spuriously profound. Elsewhere good and ingenious suggestions, as that in the tenth essay regarding the constituents of Roman literary culture, are to be weighed against quite untenable ideas, such as the notion (p. 68) that Hippolytos was once a somewhat satyr-like daimon, the acceptance in many passages of highly dubious theories of the Frankfurt school and the recrudescence (p. 49) of the often exploded explanation of Admetos as a god of the underworld,—this after Farnell and Lesky! Perhaps the most laudable feature of the work on its more theoretical and philosophic side is the insistence on the necessity, if a religion is to exist at all, of a *seelische Realität*, a something which, although subjective, is yet for the subject an absolute reality, upon which it may be founded. This is a favourite doctrine of Professor Kerényi, and one apt at times to be overlooked.

H. J. R.

Nouvelles études de mythologie et d'histoire des religions antiques. By J. TOUTAIN. Pp. 294. Paris; Jouve & Cie., 1935. 15 fr.

This, like a former volume published by the same author in 1909, is a collection of short studies, mostly issued already in various periodicals. None is of great importance, though all are pleasant reading enough and show, on the whole, both good sense and good scholarship, as indeed was to be expected of the author of *Les cultes païens*. The most important point is the repeated statement of principle. The author is a strict follower of the purely 'historical' method, which insists in studying each culture in and for itself, denying any relevant importance to facts or events when separated from their sociological background. 'Il est indifférent à l'historien de la religion grecque de déterminer ce que le mythe de Prométhée ou le rite du sparagmos pourrait signifier chez des populations organisées et vivant comme les Aruntas de l'Australie' (p. 37). 'Il n'y a point, au regard de l'historien, de dieu, de mythe, de rite sans fidèles pour adorer le dieu, pour ajouter foi au mythe, pour pratiquer le rite' (p. 51). Generally (there are exceptions, as on p. 291) he keeps rigidly to this rule; where he departs from it, it is, curiously enough, in the direction of such neglect of chronology as one would not look for

in a historian, as on pp. 206–222, where he sees in the story of Phaethon a reminiscence of climatic changes much too early for any recollection of them to have survived into Greece, or p. 196, where he imagines that Πατρόκλης ἥρωϊ in Ψ 151 can mean 'à Patrocle devenu un héros,' a sense which ἥρωϊς could not have had at Homer's date.

All this keeps him from many foolish errors into which less reasonable and cool-headed researchers have fallen; he gives several ridiculous instances of the blunders resulting from too eager comparison and might have given many more. Yet the book gives at times a certain impression of sterility, as many books do which will not look beyond the specific background of the particular social group under study to the general one of common human characteristics.

The first two essays in the book are respectively an historical review of the state of the science in the early twentieth century and a statement of the principles which a researcher should follow. The third is a friendly critique of Sir J. G. Frazer's *Garnered Sheaves*. The fourth and the tenth (it is a pity they are not numbered) deal from different angles with cave-sanctuaries. The fifth treats of *Dieux nationaux*, the sixth of what may be called substitution-victims (scape-goats, human and other, and the idea of redemption connected therewith), the seventh of vows, the eighth of sacrifices (this is one of the best, and makes a protest hardly less timely now than when it was originally uttered against attempts to reduce to premature simplicity so complex a phenomenon), the ninth of Phaethon, the eleventh of the locality of the Diktaian cave, the twelfth and last of the cult of water.

Apart from the questions of principle, a few slips mar the work and should have been corrected for this republication. On p. 80, the reason for worshipping Zeus in hill-caves does not apply to the so-called Zeus of Crete. On pp. 81 and 93, the Hellenistic rationalising theory about the alleged vapour at Delphoi is treated as if it were popular belief. On p. 92, the absurd statement that the Flamen Dialis was present at the dog-sacrifice of the Luperci is accepted apparently without hesitation. On p. 211, the familiar confusion between Hyginus the librarian and Hyginus the author of the *Fabulae* is made once again. Some Greek accents have gone wrong, and it is hard to say why Kavvadhias is called Cawadiaz on p. 236 and elsewhere.

H. J. R.

Mélanges Franz Cumont. (*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, Vol. IV.) Two Vols.: I, pp. xxxvi + 500; II, pp. 548; portrait and 13 plates. Brussels: Secrétariat de l'Institut, 121 Rue Vanderkindere, 1936. 300 fr. belg.

These two heavy volumes contain portrait, bibliography, and some fifty-seven contributions, of which the following will directly interest readers of this *Journal*: Vol. I, A. Aymard, *Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achéen*, estimates the influence upon Achaean policy of the pan-Achaean shrine of Zeus Hamarios near Aigion. J. Bayet, *Présages figuratifs déterminants dans l'antiquité gr.-rom.*, discusses omens and portents. E. Bickermann, *Sur la version vieux-russe de Flavius-Josèphe*, denies the historicity of the variant passages in this version, upon which a few years ago Eisler founded a sensational theory. J. Bidez, *Proclus περί τῆς ἱερατικῆς τέχνης*, edits a series of passages from Proclus extracted from Michael Psellus. P. Chantraine, *Homérique μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*, discusses the possible relations between the *Μέρονες* of Cos and the bird *μέροψ*. E. des Places, *Platon et l'astronomie chaldéenne*, claims the *Epinomis* as Platonic and as a proof of Eastern influence during Plato's later years. R. Dussaud, *Sur le chemin de Suse*, locates the Agraioi, known from coins with Himyarite legends. L. Gernet, *Dolon le loup*, traces a primitive ritual in the Dolon legend. G. Heuten, *Le 'soleil' de Porphyre*, discusses the growth of solar-syncretism. H. Janne, *La lettre du Claude aux Alexandrins*, examines the phrasing and historical background of this document. V. Magnien, *Le mariage chez les Grecs*, examines various points of ancient marriage ritual. M. P. Nilsson, *Reflexe von dem Durchbruch des Individualismus in der griechischen Religion*, cites the change in artistic representations of Eleusinian scenes and the growth of the Asklepios cult during the latter fifth century in evidence of a growing sense of personal religion. H. Seyrig, *Inscription relative au commerce maritime de Palmyre*, gives evidence of Palmyrene trade with India from Red Sea ports. S. Srebrny, *Kult der thrakischen Göttin Korymbos in Korinth und Sicilien*, discusses the evidence for the cult at length and finds an identification, in Doric lands, with Artemis. J. Toutain, *L'évolution de la conception des Erinyes*, points out that for Aeschylus the Erinyes are mythological creatures, for Euripides merely mental hallucinations. V. Ussani, *Studi su Flavio Giuseppe*, examines the Slav version discussed previously by Bickermann with similar damaging results.

Volume II has a larger proportion of Asiatic

material; here we may note N. Adontz, *Les vestiges d'un ancien culte en Arménie*, a summary of various legends, especially the Platonic story of Er. A. Delatte and L. Delatte, *Un traité byzantin de Geomancie, codex Parisinus 2419*, give a full edition of a lengthy text with introduction and critical apparatus. A. M. Desrousseaux, *Le fragment 74 B. d'Alcman*, restores a corrupt passage. F. de Ruyt, *A propos de l'interprétation du groupe étrusque Hercle-Mlacukh*, supports the view that Mlacukh is the Greek word *μαλακία*. H. Grégoire, *L'amazone Maximo*, explains the origin of this creature of Byzantine legend. J. Hubaux and M. Leroy, *Le talisman de Phaon*, identify this as the mandragora. M. Leroy, *La traduction arménienne d'Euclide*, edits the surviving fragments, which are found in a MS. of the fifteenth century at Pavia. I. Lévy, *Autour d'un roman mythologique égyptien*, discusses some incidents from the Hymn to Demeter. P. Perdrizet, *Atargatis*, sees a representation of this goddess in a curiously draped limestone statue at Cairo. J. Przyluski, *Les trois hypostases*, suggests possible links between Buddhism, Gnosticism, and Neoplatonism.

Klassische griechische Poesie. By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. (*Kleine Schriften, I.*) Pp. xii + 549. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1935. 40 m.

The author had for many years before his death been concerned to see that his minor writings should be duly collected and published; and with the help of his daughter, and the support of the Prussian Academy, the editors are able to give to the world all that he desired to have preserved, in the form which he would have approved. There are to be six volumes in all, each with its own index, and a list of minor pieces not republished. The entire *opus* of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf will thus be made available to students.

The first volume contains his writings on Classical Greek Poetry. They open with a *disputatiuncula* on the scholia of the Rhesus dated 1877 (in the complete bibliography it is already numbered 21), and end with a paper on the *Καθαρμοί* of Empedocles, dated 1929, no. 764. The majority (nineteen in all) deal with the Drama, including three essays on Menander; there is one paper on the Hagesichora chorus, and one, dated 1914, on the latest Oxyrynchus fragments of the Lesbian Lyric. The editors have reprinted certain short reviews also: wisely, because these brief pieces often contain some of the author's best-matured views. Nothing, for example, as a profession of faith

could be better than his notice of Dr. Gilbert Murray's 1909 Inaugural and its advice—to England, go deeper: to Germany, not too many dissertations. Trenchant and outspoken, whether he is administering praise or censure, W.-M. is always worth listening to, and, whether it be Scaliger or Jebb, no man ever praised good work more generously.

Different readers will turn to different papers first, according as their special interests lead them. Perhaps the most striking is the reconstruction of Empedocles, his life, his doctrine, and his status as physician, poet, and preacher of a new faith, in the essay on the *Καθαρμοί*. I never understood before why Lucretius speaks of him with such marked reverence, and there are several things in the essay which students of Lucretius will find worth reflecting on. Next, perhaps, in general interest, comes the paper on the Lesbian fragments, with its acute characterisation of the style of Sappho and the 'too Horatian' Alcaeus. But, if (page 405) the Digamma is 'simply not there, weder geschrieben, noch durch die Metrik gefordert,' how is the reading (page 388)

τὰν ἀρατῶν Ἄτρ[εΐδαι ἰδὼν πρῶτοι βασιλῆες

to be justified? Something of the sort is required, but should it not be Ἄτρειδαι ἐσίδων, with Crasis? Third, perhaps, a fine and charming essay on the *Phaethon*, which is treated as an experiment in the tragic handling of myth to which Euripides did not recur. Of course, much of W.-M.'s work has by now been absorbed into the common stock of classical lore. But it is of abiding interest to see a great scholar actually at work: to watch his methods and see his conclusions in the making. And that is exactly what this collection enables us to do.

G. M. Y.

Eschyle et la Trilogie. By GEORGES MÉAUTIS. Pp. 284. Paris: Grasset, 1936.

The author's approach to his subject hardly inspires confidence in his method. It is based on such subjective and impalpable abstractions as 'Eschyle est avant tout une âme religieuse' and 'l'idéal de Pindare, comme celui d'Eschyle, est viril avant tout.' Later on, we are told that 'l'inspiration des *Suppliantes* est avant tout religieuse' and that the doctrine *πάθει μάθος* expresses 'ce viril optimisme qui est le trait caractéristique de la race aryenne.' The first statement has little meaning until we have analysed the social content of Aeschylean religion, which Méautis does not do, and the second is so unscientific as to make one feel that

there is little prospect of advance in Aeschylean studies until we have reached some agreement on the first principles of literary criticism.

Méautis shows good taste and a good understanding of Aeschylean technique. He is therefore saved from the egregious misconceptions of Wilamowitz and Schmid, against which he repeatedly protests; and he points out (though without explaining) the inadequacy in regard to Aeschylus of Aristotle's *Poetics*. The best part of his book is the chapter on the *Agamemnon*, where the action is sufficiently internal to be enjoyable without reference to the wider issues which dominate the latter part of the trilogy. But in general his thought moves within a narrow circle, and he does not get to grips with his subject.

For example, the dispute between Apollo and the Furies, and Athena's decision to grant precedence to the male—what does it mean? 'Il prend donc nettement le parti du père contre la mère, du mari contre la femme; il suit en cela les antiques traditions aryennes, qui, comme l'a montré Ch. Picard, accordent sans cesse la prééminence aux divinités masculines sur le matriarcat de l'époque minoenne.' The problem is not correctly formulated, but surely in any case it cannot be left there. What is matriarchy? The answer to this question leads to the conclusion that in the dispute between Apollo and the Furies, solved by Athena, the poet has crystallised the history of the Attic law of homicide and inheritance and the evolution out of the primitive tribe of the democratic state.

Hardly more satisfying is his account of the *Prometheus* and the *Suppliants*—plays which cannot be understood without reconstructing their lost sequels in the light of the one complete trilogy we possess. Méautis does not deal with the fragments of the *Λυόμενος*. He deals briefly with the sequel to the *Suppliants*, but is unable to make much of it, because he has not grappled with certain very concrete problems posed in the *Suppliants* itself. Why do the Danaids refuse to marry their cousins? 'C'est l'horreur du mâle, de son étreinte, de sa brutalité.' Why is the action of *Hypermnestra* justified? 'Si l'on étudie l'œuvre du grand tragique, on est frappé du rôle que jouent la mère et la maternité dans les tragédies: il semble que cette fonction divine, par laquelle se perpétue la race, préoccupe plus que toute autre le poète qui attachait une telle importance aux problèmes de la race.' These abstractions leave out of account some very pertinent indications in the play itself. The Danaids insist on exogamy—the rule of tribal

society. The sons of Aegyptus want to abrogate that rule for the sake of the wealth which these women will inherit from their father. Exogamy had broken down in Egypt, and its breakdown in Greece can be traced in the laws of Gortyn and in the Attic law of inheritance. In the sequel, the liberty of the woman will be sacrificed to the interest of the man in the development of property—hence Athena's decision on the fate of Orestes; and the women will be conciliated by the foundation of the Thesmophoria—just as the Furies are conciliated by the foundation of the Court of the Areopagus. These trilogies were all concerned with nothing less than the evolution of human society to what the poet regarded as its culminating-point—the democracy of contemporary Athens. If we want to understand Aeschylus, we must discard the assumption that great art is necessarily concerned with 'eternal verities' rather than with concrete social realities.

Méautis has little light to throw on the form of the Aeschylean trilogy. 'Nous avons vu que la trilogie fut l'instrument forgé par Eschyle qui lui permit d'exprimer ses vues sur les dieux et le destin.' Wisdom through suffering—that is the law of evolution. The offence, the counter-offence, and the reconciliation—that is the form of the trilogy. The conception on which it is based is the fusion of opposites in the mean. *Non poeta solum sed etiam Pythagoreus.*

G. T.

Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Euripideischen Lyrik. By WILHELM BREITENBACH. Pp. xviii + 293. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934.

The author begins by counting the words in the lyrics of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar and Bacchylides. Then he distinguishes the substantives common to Euripidean lyric and Attic prose, Ionic prose, epic, choral lyric, Aeschylean and Sophoclean lyric, and those found in Euripides for the first time. These results are then tabulated and co-ordinated in percentages. Then the same process is applied to adjectives, verbs, adverbs and conjunctions. Next follows a catalogue of figures of speech—metaphor, simile, synecdoche, metonymy, antonomasia, periphrasis, anadiplosis, paregmenon, polypoton, and the figura etymologica. Finally the author draws his conclusions. The lyric diction of Euripides, as compared with that of other poets, is deficient in originality but lucid.

The value of statistics in literary criticism depends on the principle on which they are compiled. If designed to test carefully defined

hypotheses, they may yield decisive evidence on problems of great importance. If, however, they are compiled without a definite objective, the labour is likely to be wasted.

The industry devoted to the present work must have been prodigious, but the method is mechanical. Many of the categories are purely artificial, others are too indeterminate to be suitable for statistical treatment. Some of the lists will prove useful for reference, but on the whole the value of the book is small and disproportionate to the labour expended on its compilation. If only the author had devoted his industry to giving us a good dictionary of Euripides! Then, with a firm ground on which to construct our own statistics, we should have blessed him.

G. T.

Plato's Cosmology: the *Timaeus* translated, with a Running Commentary, by F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xviii + 376. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1937. 16s.

In his masterly exposition of the *Timaeus* Professor Cornford repeats with success the method he has already used for the *Theaetetus* and *Sophist*. In a work so full of intricate problems and specialised lore, the loss of continuity entailed by the 'running commentary' breaking into the translation is more than compensated by the satisfaction of having Plato's meaning thoroughly examined on each point as it arises. The dignified and lucid style of the translation itself achieves a mean between the poetics of Archer-Hind and the blunt though racy plainness of Taylor. In interpretation likewise Professor Cornford steers his own course, indebted to both his predecessors, but at pains to deal with Plato at first hand and to avoid both the Hegelianism of the one and the now Christian, now Whiteheadian predilections of the other. He brings to his exposition a mass of lore, and is equally helpful on mathematics, physics, physiology and whatever else may arise.

It is beyond the scope of a brief notice to do justice to this great work. As mere samples of its quality, one may cite the admirable note on *ἄγαμα* (37 C); the conjecture *ἀναον* for *αἰώνιον* (37 D); the clear treatment (in the Appendix) of the *θεῶν θεῶν* phrase (41 A), and the whole of the discussion on the primary triangle-forms (53 C ff.). Professor Cornford's lucid account of the problem of Time (explaining its circular motion by reference to the revolving course of the year), while not altogether satisfying in terms

of metaphysic, is a signal instance of his policy of expounding Plato in terms of Plato's own period and knowledge.

As regards the philosophical interpretation, Professor Cornford reads εἰκὼν τοῦ νοητοῦ in the closing sentence, and holds to the theory embodied in those words as 'the cardinal doctrine of Platonism.' The fact of γένεσις is one of the things he is willing to leave unexplained. In his most important discussion of ἀνάγκη (p. 159 ff.) he insists that the irrational element in the universe is fundamental. The World-Soul itself is not completely rational; the δημιουργός is tentatively identified with the element of Reason within it. In a brief but striking epilogue he clinches his argument by comparing Plato's drama of creation with the *Eumenides*, finding in both 'the reconciliation of . . . Reason and Necessity, not by force but by persuasion.'

It is impossible to over-estimate the contribution which this volume makes to Platonic studies.

D. T.

A Study of Plato. By W. F. R. HARDIE. Pp. 171. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 8s. 6d.

This valuable book discusses a number of Platonic problems from the philosophic point of view. On the doctrine of knowledge, Mr. Hardie supports the theory that Plato distinguishes τὰ μεθυστικά as 'intermediates' between sensibles and Forms; dealing thoroughly with the simile of the Line, he supplements Adam's arguments for this interpretation by reference to later work on the passage.

The chief topics discussed are the 'separateness' of the Form and (arising from it) the interpretation of the One in the *Parmenides*; Mr. Hardie takes this dialogue seriously, and finds the key to it in the 'transcendental' view which identifies the One with the Good of the *Republic*. He urges the importance of Proclus as a commentator on Plato, and finds in Neoplatonism the true line of interpretation. The doctrine of soul is more briefly examined, to the conclusion that in the *Timaeus* and *Laws* both Soul and God are subordinate principles, and Plato is to the end a monist. He is the father of 'negative metaphysic,' which ought to be seriously studied as having a philosophic and not merely a poetic value.

The book is very closely reasoned throughout, and a brief notice cannot do it justice. A misprinted passage in the middle of page 11 calls for correction.

D. T.

Epicurus Kritik der platonischen Elementenlehre. By WOLFGANG SCHMID. Pp. 64. Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1936. 4m.

This is a study of those fragments of Epicurus which embody his criticisms on Plato's material ἀρχαί as set forth in the *Timaeus*. The author follows in the main Vogliano's treatment; he interprets the text carefully and offers some critical suggestions of his own. His chief point is that Epicurus is largely influenced by Aristotle (*de caelo*) both in interpreting and in criticising the Platonic theory of elements as implying the existence of atoms. Several brief notes are appended dealing with other matters of the texts and of the physical doctrine of Epicurus.

D. T.

Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism. By R. E. WITT. Pp. xii + 147. Cambridge University Press, 1937. 7s. 6d.

This scholarly treatise keeps up the standard of the new series, *Cambridge Classical Studies*. Mr. Witt has made a detailed examination of the Platonic epitome known as *Didaskalikos* and attributed to 'Alcinous' or Albinus; he establishes the latter form as correct. It is a pity that the emended text, apparatus and translation which formed part of his original dissertation could not be printed along with this valuable essay on problems arising from the work.

To unravel the threads of influence and tradition in the later stages of Hellenistic philosophy is a difficult and delicate task. Mr. Witt distinguishes in the Platonism of Albinus (influenced somewhat by Xenocrates) elements of Peripatetic and Stoic origin. He makes a longer study of the tradition of the Sceptic Antiochus, whose teachings, so far as they are ascertainable, he compares in detail with the contents of the *Didaskalikos*. The evidences in the latter work of dependence both on Antiochus and on Posidonius are explained by the suggestion that the author is especially indebted to the Eclectic epitomist Arius Didymus, friend of Augustus. The description of Albinus as a typical 'Middle' Platonist is justified in a final chapter examining his relation to Plotinus. Albinus illustrates the entry of Aristotelian elements into the Platonist system; he illustrates also the eclecticism, and the scholastic dryness, which are alike superseded by the constructive genius and the religious attitude of Plotinus. Albinus probably did not influence Plotinus to any extent, but he is important as representing that transitional type of Platonism which preceded the revival.

D. T.

L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin. By A. GRABAR. Pp. 293; plates 40. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936.

Byzantine figurative art as opposed to that of the classical period is always tendentious. The picture, however perfect in itself, is a vehicle for a definite idea, which the artist wishes to make so obvious and lucid to the beholder that he cannot help being impressed by it and learns to accept it as unquestionable truth. The two main trends of ideas which the arts are called upon to serve, are the power and glory of Christ and the power and glory of the emperor. While the religious art of Byzantium has been the subject of many general and detailed studies, imperial art has hardly ever received attention as an independent and equally important phenomenon. The objects are known from Lampros', Ebersolt's, and many other publications, but they have never been studied comprehensively as manifestations of a single idea, although they have a continuity of tradition and development comparable to that of religious iconography. Professor Grabar has laid a permanent foundation for research on this field by his excellent and thorough analysis, which covers not only the widely-scattered extant specimens of imperial imagery, but also the numerous literary sources so far as they serve to give an idea of the monuments now lost and to throw light on the meaning of the elaborate symbolism of the emperor-pictures. It is difficult to do justice in a short review to a book so learned and so full of information.

To avoid misunderstandings it should be made clear at the outset that this is not a corpus of emperor-portraits, but an analysis of the forms in which the emperor-cult found its artistic expressions. The first and fundamental section of the book contains a survey of the various forms of imperial imagery, classified according to their external characteristics, while the second part deals with their historical development and the third with their relation to religious art.

The classification is based on very comprehensive material, but the objects are naturally treated chiefly with regard to their iconography. The author refrains from entering into archaeological controversies about single monuments. Nevertheless, the comparative study of iconography enables him to put forward valuable new arguments as to the date of certain works (e.g. the Bargello ivory, p. 13). But where such new evidence is not forthcoming he does not try to settle open disputes, such as that about the Barletta statue or the Barberini diptych.

In analysing the various attitudes which the

emperor assumes on his portraits, as well as the different groups and scenes in which he is represented, Professor Grabar's purpose is not solely to establish order in the vast material. Since he finds in all these pictures some expression of the imperial majesty, power, or piety his systematic survey of these types amounts to a reconstruction of an actually existing system of iconic emperor-worship.

One aspect of Byzantine imperial art has perhaps been a little neglected in this analysis, namely, its sometimes purely descriptive character. Battle- and hunting-scenes are classified along with allegorical representations of the emperor treading on a serpent as parts of one and the same 'cycle triumphal.' Historical pictures like those of Skylitzes' Chronicle in Madrid are hardly even mentioned. Illustrations of a purely narrative kind may not be very numerous, but it is important to note that the imperial, like the religious, art of Byzantium has two fundamentally different methods of expression, the abstract and the realistic.

In stressing this point it is not intended to question the truth of the book's fundamental thesis, namely, that all imperial images serve as an expression of a definite politico-religious creed. For the narrative scenes in Byzantine art are but another vehicle for this 'propaganda of faith' and in most cases the 'moral' of the story is made very obvious (cf. Professor Grabar's remarks on battle-scenes, p. 41). This is probably the reason why the author does not regard them as a separate species. And yet they should be distinguished from the abstract subjects, for they are freer, they leave more room for accidental details and if they are analysed in the same way as the abstract pictures there is a danger of seeing a 'system' even in things which are merely descriptive.

Professor Grabar admits, for instance, that the reliefs on the plinth of Theodosius' Obelisk are more realistic than those on the base of Arcadius' Column. Yet he discovers in two of the Theodosius-reliefs the same abstract system as on two of the compositions on the Column. But it is difficult to see a stronger symbolic element on any two scenes of the Obelisk than on the other two, the whole cycle being apparently based on a sequence of realistic hippodrome pictures in 'continuous style.' It is equally difficult to follow the author when he later on calls one of the three Arcadius-reliefs more narrative than the other two, this being precisely the scene which he himself had previously—and more justly—called the most abstract of all. The truth is that the two sets of plinth-reliefs are

conceived in a fundamentally different way and demand different methods of interpretation.

In Christian art the distinction between narrative and abstract representation is familiar to everybody. The fact that it exists in imperial art too, is but one more link between the imperial and the religious iconography of Byzantium in addition to the numerous relations between both, which Professor Grabar has pointed out. The deeper reason for this intimate connexion is found in the fact that emperor-worship is not a merely profane matter but has itself become a kind of religion (p. 191).

Now this mystic conception of imperial power is not a Byzantine invention, but has been taken over by the Christian emperors from their pagan predecessors. Likewise the iconography which serves to give expression to this creed is a Roman creation and was imitated by the Byzantine emperors. The historic part of the book is mainly concerned with this relationship. It contains a thorough analysis of the origin of the various iconographic types and makes an important contribution to the question of the origin of Byzantine art, by showing that in almost every case there is sufficient evidence for their having been taken over from Roman imperial art, even if some of these types are originally oriental inventions. Undoubtedly the importance of oriental influence has formerly been very much exaggerated. There is, however, one group of pictures which can hardly be accounted for by Roman models alone and it is found among those which show the emperor worshipping Christ, offering gifts to him, or receiving honours from him. Especially during the later centuries Christ in these scenes is always represented in his human shape. Professor Grabar is certainly right in saying that those pictures which show the relation of the emperor to Christ were modelled on the pattern of the corresponding scenes which represent the relation of the subjects to the emperor; one wonders, however, whether the idea of exhibiting the ruler so clearly as the humble servant of a higher ruler above him, would have been conceived without oriental precedent.

In following the development of Byzantine imperial art through the centuries Professor Grabar finds that it does not exactly parallel that of religious art. For instance, as regards the creation of new iconographic subjects the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries are almost sterile, although this is exactly the period when for many religious subjects artistic forms have first been found. Being itself of pagan origin, the emperor-cult clung to its inherited modes of

expression. It is not until after the iconoclastic period that imperial imagery is more and more fused with that of the church and ceases to be an independent profane art. But apart from the fact that Christ is now much more frequently represented *in persona* on emperor-scenes, no new types are invented. This is an important fact in view of the creative power which has often been assigned to the Macedonian period in matters of iconography.

As regards stylistic evolution there is more similarity between imperial and religious art. Nevertheless, the author believes that between 400 and 600 A.D. the former is more conservative, less open to oriental influence than the latter. To see how problematic a statement this is, it suffices to think of the 'hellenistic' Bible scenes on Maximian's Chair and to confront them with the rigid and hieratic figures on some of the consular diptychs. Hellenistic and oriental tendencies existed side by side both in imperial and religious art. From the early seventh century until after the iconoclastic period the author finds elements of hellenistic style to be entirely absent from imperial imagery. But we know that even in the seventh century the classical tradition did not altogether die out in Byzantine art (cf. Matzulevich's silver plates), and it was still alive in the early eighth. It is in fact very likely that the mosaics of Damascus reflect not only the iconography but also the style of those pictures of plants, birds, and animals which took the place of religious representations in Constantinople during the iconoclastic struggles. Professor Grabar is certainly right in saying that in no field of Byzantine art was there a renaissance during that period. But the hellenistic tradition still lingered on and perhaps examples of this survival would also be found in imperial art if more emperor-images of that date were known. In any case, however, the reassertion of a classical style after the iconoclastic period is apparent in imperial no less than in religious representations.

Perhaps the most illuminating part of the book is the third one. The author here follows the track of Cumont, Weigand and others, who have shown certain types of Early Christian and Byzantine religious iconography to be derived from imperial art. Having carried out such a comprehensive survey of imperial iconography he is able to point to a large number of cases where Christian art borrowed from imperial art and even now he does not pretend to have exhausted this subject. There is hardly any hieratic representation of the triumphant Christ and his Saints in Early Christian art for which a

model from imperial triumphal art cannot be named and the importance of this fact for the question of origin of Christian iconography needs no emphasis. Naturally there is more independence in Christian narrative art, but even here Professor Grabar's researches have resulted in most interesting finds. It is enough to mention his analysis of the scenes on the triumphal arch of Sta. Maria Maggiore, which has at last given a convincing explanation for the uniqueness of their iconography.

E. K.

La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins.

By LOUIS BRÉHIER. Pp. 112; 96 plates.
Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire,
1936. 180 fr.

M. Bréhier has no difficulty in justifying his decision to class sculpture with what are called the 'minor' arts of metalwork, the carving of ivory and precious stones, enamel, pottery, and textiles. What does need a word of explanation is his omission of book-painting and mosaic from his survey of Byzantine decorative art. He would probably argue that it is impossible to separate book-painting from panel-painting and fresco, portable from architectural mosaic; moreover, these subjects are dealt with in other volumes of the series in which M. Bréhier's book appears. These excuses must be accepted for practical reasons: nevertheless, the picture of Byzantine decoration presented by M. Bréhier inevitably looks a little lopsided. A more serious objection is that his choice of illustrations covers so closely that of MM. Volbach, Salles, and Duthuit in a collection of plates illustrating the exhibition of 1931 and published only three years before that of M. Bréhier, and also that of the monumental picture-book of Messrs. Peirce and Tyler. After years of neglect, the more celebrated objects of Byzantine art are now in danger of being over-publicised. It would have been more laborious to find unpublished material or new views of published material to illustrate his text, but the extra labour would have been well worth while. As it is, M. Bréhier's plates, though large and beautifully reproduced, do not contain many surprises for those familiar with the publications just mentioned.

However, each new book on Byzantine art is compelled to deal in some way with the notorious cruxes of this difficult subject; and one turns with curiosity to M. Bréhier's text for enlightenment in such matters as the identification of the colossus at Barletta, the empresses on the ivory panels in the Bargello and Vienna, the basileus on the tondo in the Campo Angaran in Venice. But in vain: with a disappointing prudence he

refuses to commit himself regarding the bold assertion of Delbrueck that the emperor is Marcian; he rejects the identification of the Bargello-Vienna empress as Ariadne, preferring the name of Irene, although neither the costume nor the architectural surround is appropriate to the end of the eighth century, and he makes the additional mistake of supposing that the Bargello and Vienna panels are the two leaves of a single diptych, although the Bargello panel is more than 4 cms. taller than its relation in Vienna and clearly by a different hand; as for that familiar puzzle, the tondo in the Campo Angaran, it is not surprising, perhaps, that M. Bréhier has been baulked by the same obstacles as those which have held up Schlumberger, Schramm, and now M. Grabar.

The dating of most Byzantine objects is precarious, and will probably always remain so; differences of opinion are bound to occur, but at least it is possible to give reasons for one's guesses. M. Bréhier is more reticent in this respect than one could wish. He says, for example, that the porphyry figures at the corner of St. Mark's may represent the tetrarchy of Diocletian but are 'certainement d'une époque postérieure.' Why? Apparently on account of 'l'absence d'expression des figures, la maladresse de la composition, le modelé sommaire.' But why should anyone bother to make groups of the tetrarchs, especially in the material which was the prerogative of the imperial house, except in their lifetime? A more notable example of M. Bréhier's uneasiness about dates may be found in his treatment of what it is unscientific but convenient to call the Veroli casket group. Entirely ignoring the labours of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, whose work he does not even mention in his bibliography, M. Bréhier puts all the 'classicising' pieces in the tenth century, along with the Romanos and Eudokia panel, the Harbaville triptych, and the Troyes box, which doubtless belong there: Goldschmidt and Weitzmann would ascribe most of them to the eleventh, or even the twelfth, and the majority of scholars would agree with them. At all events, it is difficult to believe that the curious decagonal box at Sens can be as early as the tenth century; it reached Sens from Constantinople during the twelfth century, and was probably new when it started. The same argument applies to the Cosenza cross, known to have been given to the cathedral of that town by Frederick II in 1222: why, then, date it to the twelfth century? So also the Bamberg emperor-textile, found in the tomb of Bishop Günther, who died in Hungary on his return from the Holy Land in 1065: why date the silk tapestry,

which he must have acquired on one of his two visits to Constantinople, to the tenth century? Medieval travellers demanded the latest thing: they were not out for antiques, unless they were very antique indeed, and miraculous into the bargain.

Similar difficulties arise over the dating of those silks with figure-subjects in medallions, which are sometimes called Byzantine and sometimes Sasanian and are ascribed to very different periods by different authorities. Several of the pieces illustrated by M. Bréhier are dealt with also in an article by Messrs. Peirce and Tyler in the *Burlington Magazine* (lxviii, 1936, pp. 213 ff.). Agreeing that the charioteer-silk in the Musée de Cluny is of the sixth century, they diverge almost at once and reach widely different conclusions. The fragment from Mozat in the Musée des Tissus at Lyon, traditionally supposed to have given to the abbey by Pépin le Bref, is accepted as a work of the seventh or eighth centuries by Peirce and Tyler, who see no reason to disbelieve the tradition; M. Bréhier, on the other hand, wishes to give it to the tenth century because, he says, the costume worn by the emperor (the *skaramangion*) was not introduced into the imperial wardrobe until that period. Peirce and Tyler, however, regard the textiles of this group as *persaneries*, and the Persian costume of the mounted emperor might well be explained on these grounds without assuming that it was the actual costume of the Byzantine court at the moment when the stuff was made. The early dating suggested by Peirce and Tyler also holds good for the textile with the sacrifice to the Dioscuri (?) from Saint-Servais at Maestricht now at Crefeld (there is another fragment in the Musée des Tissus at Lyon), which M. Bréhier gives to the eleventh century, as well as to the so-called Bahram stuff in the Schlossmuseum in Berlin, dated to the tenth by him, to the seventh by Peirce and Tyler. When we consider what the known textiles of the tenth and eleventh centuries look like—the eagles at Auxerre and the elephants at Aachen are characteristic specimens—we find it difficult to accept M. Bréhier's dating of the Mozat stuff and, generally speaking, what Peirce and Tyler call *persaneries byzantines*. The shroud of St. Victor at Sens, which enveloped the relics brought thither in 769 and which (as M. Bréhier observes) is not much earlier than that event, marks the transition from the earlier to the later group.

Among the less-known pieces of which M. Bréhier publishes welcome photographs are details of architectural ornament from Kalat Seman, the slab from Athens in the Louvre

with animals devouring one another, an eleventh-century relief of the Baptism of Christ at Rouen, a carved icon of the Pantokrator in the museum of Mistra, a greatly enlarged detail of the enamelled centrepiece of the onyx paten in the Stoclet collection, and some fifteenth-century embroideries in the treasury of the monastery of Putna in Roumania.

The text is divided into a general essay on the various techniques and detailed notes on the plates: an admirable arrangement which, if it involves some repetition and much retracing of steps through the course of time, makes the book very manageable as a work of reference. The plates are large; and being in many cases reproduced from the excellent photographs of Giraudon, they convey most successfully the surface-quality upon which the effect of Byzantine applied art so largely depends.

R. H.

L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph. By S. DER NERSESSIAN. Pp. iv + 250; 102 plates. Paris: de Boccard, 1937.

During recent years, scholars have become interested in the secular iconography of Byzantine art. It is true that most surviving monuments of East Christian art are of a religious character. But there existed also an extensive secular art which was inspired on the one hand by the relics of illustrations of antique science and poetry, and by the official activity of the Emperor and the Imperial Court on the other. The representation of the ruler, of his activities and historical achievements, was one of the principal subjects of the art of late antiquity; and the Christian artists of Byzantium followed that tradition, which was given at the same time a new meaning and a new symbolism. Most of this art, which never enjoyed the protection of the Church, has now perished; and this may be one of the reasons why it was only comparatively recently that we realized the rôle played by non-religious subjects in Byzantine art. Prof. Millet's admirable book on the *Iconographie de l'Évangile* has now a counterpart of similar importance in M. André Grabar's most fascinating researches about *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*.

Byzantine book-illustration is known to us especially in connection with biblical and other holy texts, and to a certain extent also in copies of works of classical authors. Only very few illustrated manuscripts of contemporary secular writers, such as historical chronicles and the like, have survived; and these examples are too isolated to allow us to draw conclusions as

to the pictorial tradition from which they emanated. The Barlaam and Joasaph legend seems to be the only example of a secular post-classical text of which a series of illustrated manuscripts has been preserved. It seemed therefore interesting to investigate whether a consistent pictorial tradition such as is characteristic of Byzantine religious painting, could be discovered in these secular illustrations. By making all surviving miniatures of the legend the subject of a comparative study, Mlle. der Nersessian thus boldly enters upon a field hitherto almost unknown to Byzantine scholars.

The story of Barlaam and Joasaph is a Christianized version of the Buddha legend, with very few though significant alterations which were necessary to adapt it to the taste of Christian readers. It has been traditionally ascribed to St. John Damascenus. But philologists have now definitely proved that the Greek version as known to us is a translation from the Georgian, dating from the early eleventh century. To those illustrated manuscripts of the story which were already known, Mlle. der Nersessian was able to add three others, among them the earliest surviving example, illustrated as early as the eleventh century and preserved in Jerusalem. Its artistic quality is rather poor—a fact which applies to some extent to all illustrations dealt with in the present publication. They therefore do not add anything to our knowledge of the development of Byzantine style. They are mainly interesting for their iconographic relations. And for this reason the author discusses not only Greek manuscripts, but also some Arabic and Slavonic copies for the most part originated after genuine Byzantine art had collapsed. Especially a Russian manuscript of the seventeenth century preserved in Leningrad proved to be of great value in this respect.

The author's chief task was to compare the widely differing illustrations of all these manuscripts with each other and, where possible, with other Byzantine works of art. This is done with irreproachable accuracy and an admirable knowledge of the whole iconographic repertoire of Byzantine and Slavonic art. At first sight these several hundred miniatures seem to be nothing but an inconsistent mass of illustrations which can scarcely be brought into any order. It is only after a very careful examination that certain definite similarities and differences emerge.

The text of the story is divided into two distinct parts, a merely narrative and a theological one. This division is also apparent in

the manner of its illustration. The earliest manuscripts contain only miniatures referring to the narrative part, and only the more recent ones exhibit a complete religious cycle as well.

The investigation is made of the two parts of the illustration separately. The narrative part of all manuscripts proves to be derived from the same comprehensive prototype, which appears in all these manuscripts contracted and abridged in one way or another. The relation of each manuscript to this ultimate prototype is established in detail, and it is seen that in spite of some alterations which appear in the more recent manuscripts, a single pictorial tradition is present to which all illustrations adhere. This is not the case, however, with the theological part. These miniatures are different in each manuscript, are derived from the most varied sources of religious iconography, and seem to be combined for each manuscript afresh.

The most interesting part of the book is the chapter devoted to the originality of the ultimate prototype. The primitive cycle originated in the eleventh century, soon after the text had been translated into Greek, and bears all the marks of the art of that time when the true Middle Byzantine style emerged. The illustrations chiefly depend on secular art: in some cases, it is still possible to point out the direct models from which they were drawn. A new cycle is created analogous to existing illustrations of other subjects, and combined for this special purpose in a rather original way. The theological part, on the other hand, was not contained in this cycle, and the illustrations in the more recent manuscripts seem to have been added to each manuscript individually. A complete theological cycle is not found before the thirteenth century.

Our conception of the whole development of Byzantine art is verified in an interesting way by a careful study of this series of illustrations; and many theories of a more general character are confirmed by the detailed investigations of the Barlaam and Joasaph miniatures. We cannot enter here into a discussion of the many and sometimes very relevant parallels between the development of these illustrations and that of the religious art of Byzantium. The most interesting point resulting from this publication is the way in which secular Byzantine art emanated from the religious tradition and developed its own pictorial types. But the result after all is only of a very general nature and not particularly striking—the reason being partly that in these manuscripts Byzantine art is not seen at its best, and that from a wider point of

view the illustrations are not very interesting in themselves. Thus, the considerable effort of Mlle. der Nersessian does not add to our conception of Byzantine art important features hitherto unknown. It is an arduous task even for the specialist to read through these many pages of detailed iconographical comparisons and to pick out the few points of general interest which otherwise would remain completely submerged in hundreds of statements of a very limited scope. Nevertheless, this work will certainly prove to be most valuable for the study of Middle and late Byzantine art; and we are grateful to the author who has undertaken this task in such a competent way. H. B.

Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Χίου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1700 μ.Χ. By KONSTANTINOS A. SGOUROS. Edited by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. xvi + 613. Athens: 'Pyrsos,' 1937.

Χίος ἦτοι ἔμμετρος ἀφήγησις τῶν κυριωτέρων μυθολογικῶν καὶ ἱστορικῶν ἐπεισοδίων τῆς νήσου Χίου. Ποίημα ἐπικόν. By SKARLATOS D. MAGKANAS. Edited by PHILIP P. ARGENTI. Pp. xvi + 160. Athens: 'Pyrsos,' 1937.

Mr. Argenti has written five books on Chiote history, and thanks to him these hitherto unknown manuscripts see the light. Sgouros, a Chiote who studied at Oxford, died in 1913, leaving this history unpublished. Subsequent publications, such as the big work of Zolotas¹ and Hofmann's monograph on the Catholic see of Chios,² have superseded his narrative, the chief merit of which is, as the editor says, that it was written on the spot. Beginning with Mithridates' raid in 86 B.C., the author saw in the Roman *decuriones* the progenitors of the Turkish primates, discovered Jews in Chios before the Christian era, summed up social life in Byzantine Chios as *le servage sans la chevalerie*, but found nothing to record during the brief domination of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. His account of the Zaccaria is largely taken from the reviewer's article in this *Journal*,³ that of the *Maona* is incomplete because his chief object was 'the purely Greek history of Chios,' but he considered Genoese taxes lighter than Byzantine and compared that Genoese association with the British East India Company, showing that it left permanent marks on Chiote culture. The description of Chios in the seventeenth century,

when many Chiotes emigrated to London, is largely based on the Venetian consul Lupazzolo's description, published by Hasluck. But the Florentine expedition and the Venetian occupation, to which Mr. Argenti has devoted a volume apiece, are barely mentioned except for the cry of the Chiote mothers to frighten their children: 'The Florentines are coming,' and a few sentences about the Venetians. What most interested the author was ecclesiastical biography, and a chapter, republished from *Χιακά Χρονικά*, describes the golden bulls of Nēa Monē, illustrating the Byzantine period. From *Παγγιακή* are reprinted as an appendix two papers, one on *Chios in the fourth century before Christ*, the other on the *Character and policy of the Chiotes* from the earliest times to 1866. He considered their character to have been the same in all periods, modified somewhat by Genoese marriages, when one member of a family was Orthodox, another Catholic. He thought that the *Maona* treated labourers better than their Cypriote contemporaries, that under the Genoese Chios was 'Europe in the midst of the Orient,' and that Chiotesailors accompanied Columbus to America, while Chiote influence through the Phanariotes, notably Mavrokordatos the Exaporite, extended to the Danubian principalities, and a Petrokokinos was Governor of the Portuguese Indies. The massacre is omitted; the seal of the *δημογέροντες* in 1835 is described as a copy of the Roman *fascēs*, but in 1866 Chiote autonomy ended. The editor justly criticises the book as relying too often upon the statements of 'Prince' Rodokanakes and as too sensitive to foreign judgments. He has made a few corrections in the footnotes.

The poem, which the editor discovered last year, but which was composed in 1895 by the saviour of Koraes' library during the earthquake of 1881, covers Chiote history from the earliest times to that event, describing the massacre at length. It is rather historical than poetic, its language the 'purist.'

W. M.

Οἱ Φιλικοί. Κατάλογος τῶν μελῶν τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἑταιρείας ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχείου Σεκέρη. By VALERIOS G. MEXAS. Pp. xiii + 96. Athens, 1937.

Three persons, Philemon, Xanthose (whose bust adorns the Square of the Friendly Society at Athens because he was a native of Patmos), and Kandeloros, have written about that secret body which prepared from 1814 onward the War of Independence. But it was reserved for this young Corfiote, who was Assistant-Secretary

¹ *JHS* xlv, 116; xlv, 144; xlv, 286; xlvii, 281.

² *JHS* liv, 236.

³ *JHS* xxxi, 42-55.

of the Historical and Ethnological Society, to publish from the archives of Sekeres preserved in a manuscript of that institution a more accurate list of the members from 1814 to 1821, beginning with Sekeres himself, who was the first to be enrolled and the chief of the Society in Constantinople during the latter years of that period. Consequently his list is official. The editor, whom an untimely death has removed from further research, added an introduction and explanatory notes, a copious index and plates containing the secret emblems whereby the members were designated.

W. M.

Συμβολή εις τὴν βιβλιογραφίαν τῆς νήσου Εὐβοίας καὶ τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν Σποράδων 1471-1937. By DIONYSIOS P. KALOGEROPOULOS. Pp. 349. Athens, 1937.

The author, son of the late well-known librarian of Parliament, has followed up his contributions to Albanian and Corfiote bibliography with this similar study of literature about Euboea and the Northern Sporades. He begins chronologically with the Latin letter of Rodericus, bishop of Zamora, about the capture of Euboea by the Turks in 1470, supposed to have been published next year, of which there is a copy in the 'Gennadeion,' and of which the first page is reproduced here, and ends with René Puaux, *Nouveau Guide de la Grèce* and an official publication of this year about the waters of Aidipsos. Baedeker is, however, cited in the German edition of 1888, even more antiquated than the last English edition of 1909. Otherwise this work, though modestly styled a 'contribution' to the bibliography of the historic island, which was the theatre of important events in medieval history, is very comprehensive, including not only books but articles about everything connected with it. Some English works containing allusions to Achmetaga and the Noel family,

its owners for a century, have escaped the compiler's notice. But he cites two publications about Rupert Brooke at Skyros. Three indexes, one topographical, one chronological, complete this useful volume, the forerunner, let us hope, of similar works on other Greek islands.

W. M.

Παῦλος Καλλιγᾶς. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον του. By KOSTAS KAIROPHYLAS. Pp. 143. Athens, 1937.

The subject of this biography was a many-sided man, Rector of the University, Minister of Justice, Foreign Affairs, Education and Finance, Speaker of the Chamber and Governor of the National Bank, besides writing historical and economic essays. A prominent figure in the reigns of Otho and George I, he accompanied the latter to the Ionian Islands on the occasion of their union with Greece, and opposed the Ionian proposal to place the Greek Church under the Oecumenical Patriarch, as the Ionian Church had been. Special notice should be taken here of his four essays on Byzantine history, which won the approval of so competent a critic as Lampros. They dealt with the Synod of Florence in 1439, the Nika riot, the etiquette of the Byzantine court, and Byzantine history from the Latin to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. But since his death in 1896 much fresh material has been used for Byzantine studies. The biographer, whose work is well-known to readers of this *Journal*,¹ has consulted numerous authorities and prints a bibliography of Kalligas' writings. The tone is eulogistic, the arrangement of his hero's various activities methodical, and there are considerable extracts from his speeches, showing his irony and ready repartee.

W. M.

¹ *JHS* liv, 235.

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 06761 " Colossi: castle of the Knights Templars.
 06766 " Galata: exterior of church (*JHS*, 1933, p. 105, fig. 1).
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 B976 " " East entrance showing prehistoric roadway.

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- 06757 **Troy**, prehistoric vases ('Buckelkeramik'). Berlin: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.
 06733 **Berbati**, amphora in 'Palace' style (*JHS*, 1936, p. 146, fig. 7b).
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 06835 EM II lid in green steatite from Mochlos; a native dog in high relief.
 06734 Gold ornament from Mallia; two hornets supporting disc: MMIIb.
 06735 **Ras Shamra**, bronze weight (1 mina) in form of couchant bull.
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- 06821 Archaic horseman of Acropolis Museum, with the 'Rampin Head' attached, from casts.
 B 964 **Column of Marcus Aurelius**, reliefs: decapitation of German prisoners (Petersen, *Markussäule*, pl. 70a & b).
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 B 972 **Maximinus Thrax**, portrait head. Berlin, Altes Museum (Rodenwaldt, *Kunst. d. Antike*, pl. 600).
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 06769 **Cyprus**, Church at Asinou, painting on E. wall of Narthex; the Virgin in prayer (cf. *Archaeologia*, 83, pl. 95. 2).
 06770 " " " " Christ (cf. *ibid.* pl. 95. 2).
 06771 " " " " on S. wall of Narthex; (above) Nicephoros Magistros presents the Church to Christ; (below, left) the Virgin between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel; (below, right) S. George (*ibid.* pl. 99. 2).
 06772 " " " " on N. wall of Naos; (left to right, top to bottom) the Crucifixion; the Entombment; the Empty Tomb; the Descent into Hell; S. Nikolaos; two SS. Theodore (*ibid.* pl. 98, fig. 2).

- 06776 **Cyprus**, Church at Asinou, painting on W. wall of Narthex; (above) the Judgment; (below, left) S. Anna; (below, right) SS. Timotheos and Maura.
- 06777 " " " " on N. apse of Narthex; (above) the Earth; the Sea; (below) S. Peter admitting the Elect to Paradise (*ibid.* pl. 95. 1).
- 06779 " " " Bema vault; (above) the Ascension; (below) the Virgin between the Archangels Michael and Gabriel (*ibid.* pl. 102. 2).
- 06781 " Church at Galata; paintings over N. door (*JHS.* 1933, pl. 7).
- 06782 " " " " on W. wall (*ibid.* pl. 9).
- 06783 " " " " on N. wall, W. end; S. George and the Dragon (*ibid.* p. 109).
- B 977 Bronze votive plaque with figure of Minerva, from the Roman temple, Maiden Castle.
- 06809 Bone figure of Hera, probably Spartan, from Perachora.

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- 06300 **Cyprus**, *Æ*, Roman period: rev. only, temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (B.M.C. *Cyprus*, pl. 17¹⁰).
- B1001 **Roman**, *Aes Signatum*: elephant and pig. (After battle of Asculum, 279 B.C.)
- B1002 " denarii: Luna in biga, ca. 160 B.C.; Faustulus, wolf and twins, ca. 150-125 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 19⁸, 26⁸).
- B1003 " " column of Augurinus, ca. 150-125 B.C.; corn-law of Saturninus, 100 B.C. (*ibid.* pl. 26¹², No. 1127).
- B1051 " quadrigatus, half-quadrigatus; Capua, *Æ*: rev. victory and trophy (*N. Chron.* 1932, pl. 5¹, 2, 10).
- B1054 " quinarius (L) and victorates (L, L-T, T) (*ibid.* pl. 5¹¹, 6¹, 3, 4).
- B1055 " victorates (CROT., VIB, MP, Q), half-victoriate (VIB) (*ibid.* pl. 5¹², 13, 14, 6⁵, 7).
- B1056 " " (C-M) and semis (*ibid.* pl. 6², 8, 8, 9).
- B1057 " " symbols: club, knife, pig, helmet (*ibid.* pl. 6¹¹, 12, 15, 20).
- B1058 " denarius (sceptre), victorates (sceptre, thunderbolt) (*ibid.* pl. 6¹⁷⁻¹⁹).
- B1059 " denarii and victorates (TAMP, crescent) (*ibid.* 1932, pl. 6¹², 14, 18).
- B1052 " victorates, for comparison with. Greek issues of Thessaly, Achaea and Magnetes, with head of Zeus (*ibid.* pl. 5²⁻⁵, 7).
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- B1114 **Aemilian** (Cohen, 5, 17, 23, 26, 33, 52, 59).
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- B1077 " " commemorating 900th year of Rome (id. No. 632, 1¹⁹, 6¹¹⁹).
- B1016 " " medallion; rev. Diana and stag (Gnecchi, pl. 43⁷).
- B1020 " " medallion; rev. Cybele in lion-car (id. pl. 51²).
- B1110 **Antonius**, Marcus, and Octavian on coins of P. Clodius and C. Vibius Varus (B.M.C. No. *4276, pl. 58⁴, 103⁷, 10, 12).
- B1006 **Augustus**, aurei with heifer reverses (B.M.C. *Empire*, pl. 16⁵, 7).
- B1072 " " types of secular games (cf. B.M.C. *Empire*, pl. 1¹⁷, 2¹⁹, 3⁸, 7¹, 10⁴).
- B1087 **Aurelian**, Tacitus and Florian: rev. religious types.
- B1019 **Aurelius**, Marcus, medallion; rev. Minerva and Victory (id. pl. 62¹⁰).
- B1007 **Caracalla**, aureus; rev. SECVRITATI PERPETVAE (Matt. & Syd. pl. 13³).
- B1083 **Carausius**: rev. SAECVLI FELICITAS, SAECVLARES A(VG), EXPECTATE VENI, SAECVLI FELICIT, ROMANO RENOV.
- B1099 " rev. PRINCIPI IVVENT, ROMANO RENOV, FORTVNA AVG (bust), TVTELA.
- B1100 " *AR*: rev. CONCORDIA MILITUM, FELICITA AVG., EXPECTATE VENI, VOTO PUBLICO (all RSR.).
- B1101 " legionary reverses: IIII Flavia (2), VII Claudia, XX Valeria Victrix, XXX Ulpia.
- B1102 " " FIDES MILIT, LIBERALITAS AVG., PM TR (P...) COS PP.
- B1103 " " RESTIT ORB (?), PACATOR ORBIS, SOLI INVICTO.
- B1104 **Claudius I**, *As* with reverse of Minerva and imitations (B.M.C. pl. 35⁴, 2, 10).
- B1105 " rev. quadriga: DE BRITANNIS.
- B1138 **Claudius II**: mint of Antioch (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 10¹², 14, 11¹, 2).
- B1139 " " (ibid. pl. 11²⁻⁴).
- B1018 **Commodus**, medallion. TELLVS STABIL.: reverse only (Gnecchi, pl. 86⁸).

- B1024 **Constans I**, *N* medallion: Thessalonica. Rev. SALVS ET SPES REIPUBLICAE (Gnecchi, pl. 9¹⁴).
- B1026 " medallion; rev. FELICITAS PERPETVA (Bernhardt, *Handbuch*, pl. 62¹¹).
- B1010 **Constans II** and Constantine IV, *N*: obverses only (B.M.C. pl. 30¹⁴⁻¹⁷).
- B1009 **Constantine** and Licinius I, solidi; rev. GLORIA CONSTANTINI AVG.; IOVI CONS LICINI AVG. (Cohen, 237; 128).
- B1030 **Constantius II** and Constans: six reverses, *Æ*, showing FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO types (*N. Chron.* 1933, pl. 17¹⁹, 18², 12, 15).
- B1036 " Reverses showing development from FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO to Scaet animal type.
- B1028 **Diocletian**, *N*: rev. PIETAS AVGG ET CAESS NN; (Cohen, 381) Maximian, *Æ*, medallion; rev. MONETA AVG. (Gnecchi, pl. 127¹).
- B1090 " and Constantine: rev. PERPETVA FELICITAS AVGG, IOV ET HERC CONSER AVGG, IOVI AVGG, IOVI CONSERVATOR, CONSERVATORES AVGG ET CAESS NN.
- B1075 **Domitian**, and Domitia and Titus (B.M.C. pl. 44¹¹, 61⁶, 9, 6²).
- B1073 **Galba** and the Civil Wars. A.D. 68-69.
- B1091 **Gallienus**: rev. animal types.
- B1092 " and Claudius Gothicus: rev. VBIQVE PAX, AETERNITAS AVGG, GENIVS AVG, GENIVS EXERC.
- B1135 " mint of Antioch (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 107⁻⁸).
- B1136 " (*ibid.* pl. 108⁻¹¹).
- B1137 " Salonina and Saloninus: mint of Antioch (*ibid.* pl. 10³, 12).
- B1076 **Hadrian**: the Golden Age (B.M.C. pl. 47⁹, 52¹⁰, 53⁴).
- B1122 " cistophori: Diana Ephesia, temple of Diana, Fortuna Ephesia, Jupiter Olympius (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 31⁻²).
- B1123 " Diana Ephesia (2) Nemesis, Asklepios (*ibid.* pl. 41⁻⁴).
- B1124 " Zeus Olympius, Pax standing, Minerva in temple, Minerva standing (*ibid.* pl. 47⁻¹⁰).
- B1125 " Venus of Aphrodisias, Apollo with double-axe, Poseidon, Herakles (*ibid.* pl. 1⁸, 6³, 10, 7¹).
- B1126 " Zeus Laodiceus, Apollo Citharoedus, Dionysos, seated Roma (*ibid.* pl. 51¹, 2, 61⁻²).
- B1127 " River-god, Mên, Minerva, Zeus (? Labrandeus) (*ibid.* pl. 54⁻⁷).
- B1128 " Legionary eagle between standards (3), eagle on thunderbolt (*ibid.* pl. 5⁸, 7¹⁰).
- B1129 " Zeus Labrandeus, Osogoa, & Karios (*ibid.* pl. 11⁻³).
- B1130 " Apollo with raven, Apollo Didymaios, temple of Apollo, Diana Miletia (*ibid.* pl. 14⁻⁷).
- B1131 " Proserpina of Sardis (3) (*ibid.* pl. 18⁻¹¹).
- B1132 " Temple of Smyranean Nemesis, two Nemesis, seated Cybele, Zeus with statuette of Diana (*ibid.* pl. 21⁻², 4⁻⁵).
- B1113 **Hostilian** (Cohen, 20) Trebonianus Gallus (Cohen, 11, 46, 66) Volusian (Cohen, 25) and Cornelia Supera (Cohen, 3, 5).
- B1116 " (Cohen, 44) Trebonianus Gallus (Cohen, 96) and Volusian (Cohen, 99).
- B1005 **Julius Caesar**, denarii (B.M.C. pl. 54¹¹, 21, 110²⁰).
- B1112 " coins of M. Mettius and L. Aemilius Buca (B.M.C. pl. 54⁴, 5, 10, 11, 14).
- B1109 " coins of P. Sepullius Macer and C. Cossutius Maridianus (B.M.C. pl. 54¹⁸, 21-22, 55², 4).
- B1111 " coins of L. Flaminius Chilo, L. Servius Rufus, M. Arrius Secundus, P. Accoleius Lariscolus, C. Numonius Vaala (B.M.C. pl. 55¹²⁻¹⁵, 18, 19, 56²).
- B1071 " Octavian and Marcus Antonius: coins of P. Clodius and L. Mussidius Longus (B.M.C. pl. 56¹², 19, 58³ and p. 582).
- B1108 " and the triumphs on coins of L. Mussidius Longus, T. Sempronius Gracchus and L. Livineius Regulus: religious and mythological reverses (B.M.C. pl. 56¹⁸, 57¹, 4, 6, 8, 11, 58²⁰).
- B1027 **Justinian I** and Phocas, *Æ*: obverses only.
- B1011 **Justinian II** & Tiberius; Michael III, *N*. (B.M.C. pl. 41², 49¹⁶).
- B1084 **Leo V** and Constantine, *R* (B.M.C. pl. 47¹¹), with contemporary Mohammedan dinar.
- B1085 **Licinius I** and Constantine: rev. religious types (Cohen, 128; 17, 515).
- B1134 **Macrian II** & Quietus: mint of Antioch (?) (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 104⁻⁶).
- B1089 **Maximian**, Severus and Maxentius: rev. religious types.
- B1023 **Nero**, *Æ*, sestertii; rev. DECVRIO; CONGIARIUM; port of Ostia (B.M.C. pl. 41⁷, 42¹, 3).
- B1014 " dupondius; SECVRITAS AVGVSTI: reverse only (B.M.C. pl. 44¹).
- B1022 **Nerva**, *Æ*: remission of postal charges: VEHICVLATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA (Matt. & Syd. pl. 81²⁶).
- B1079 **Pertinax** and Didia Clara; Septimius Severus: types of secular games (Matt. & Syd. No. 4^(a), pl. 1¹⁸, 7⁴, 10⁹).

- B1078 **Pescennius Niger**, *AR*, the Golden Age (Matt. & Syd. No. 73a, pl. 1²², 2¹, 3).
- B1080 **Philip I**: commemorating 1000th year of Rome (Cohen, 173, 178, 191, 198) and Otacilia (Cohen, 62).
- B1004 **Pompeius Rufus**, denarius of Q. Pompeius Rufus, ca. 57 B.C.: portraits of Rufus and Sulla, consuls, 88 B.C. (B.M.C. pl. 48¹²).
- B1008 **Postumus**, *A*. Obv. Head of Postumus, facing; rev. Emperor seated: INDVLG PIA POSTVMI AVG. (Matt. & Syd. pl. 13¹²).
- B1086 " and Tetricus: rev. religious types.
- B1088 **Probus** and Carus: rev. religious types.
- B1025 **Romanus IV** and Alexius I, *A* (B.M.C. pl. 62², 64³).
- B1107 **Septimius Severus**: denarii and sesterii celebrating British victories.
- B1082 **Tacitus**, Probus and Carus: rev. religious types.
- B1015 **Tiberius**, sesterii; DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER: reverse only (B.M.C. *Empire*, pl. 23¹⁷).
- B1017 **Titus**, *A*, sesterii; rev. 'Spes' (B.M.C. No. 184).
- B1093 **Trajan**: coins illustrating events and policy of his reign (B.M.C. pl. 10¹⁴, 11⁵, 11, 12³, 13¹⁴, 15, 15).
- B1094 " " " " " (B.M.C. pl. 13¹¹, 14⁶, 8, 15, 20, 15³, 4).
- B1095 " " " " " (B.M.C. pl. 9¹⁻⁷, 10⁹).
- B1096 " " " " " (B.M.C. pl. 15¹², 16, 18, 19, 16¹, 17¹³).
- B1097 " " " " " (B.M.C. No. 169, & pl. 12⁵, 8, 15, 13², 4, 8, 7).
- B1098 " " " " " (B.M.C. pl. 28⁹, 30⁵, 7).
- B1118 **Trajan Decius** (Cohen, 20) Divus Vespasianus (Cohen, 652) Divus Augustus (Cohen, 579) Herennius Etruscus (Cohen, 41) Hostilian (Cohen, 57) Trebonianus Gallus (Cohen, 47) Volusian (Cohen, 32) and Valerian I (Cohen, 71).
- B1119 " " (Cohen, 98) Herennia Etruscilla (Cohen, 28) Herennius Etruscus (rev. Victory) Hostilian (Cohen, 2) Trebonianus Gallus (Cohen, 108) and Volusian (Cohen, 5).
- B1120 " " Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilian and Valerian I: mint of Alexandria.
- B1121 **Trebonianus Gallus**, Volusian and Aemilian: mints of Dacia & Viminacium.
- B1140 **Vaballathus** and Aurelian: mint of Antioch (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 11⁷⁻⁸).
- B1141 " " " " mint of Alexandria (*ibid.* pl. 11¹¹, 12).
- B1142 " " " " Zenobia: mint of Alexandria (*ibid.* pl. 11¹², 14).
- B1062 **Valens**, *AR*: rev. 'Urbs Roma' type.
- B1061 " and Gratian, *AR*: rev. 'Urbs Roma' type.
- B1064 " " " " "
- B1067 " " " " "
- B1065 " " " " obverses only.
- B1066 " " " " "
- B1069 " " " 'Vota' types.
- B1068 " Gratian and Valentinian II, *AR*: rev. 'Urbs Roma' type.
- B1063 **Valentinian I** and Gratian, *AR*: rev. 'Urbs Roma' type.
- B1133 **Valerian I**, Claudius II and Aurelian: mint of Antioch (*N. Chron.* 1936, pl. 10¹⁻², 11⁹⁻¹⁰).
- B1081 " Gallienus and Tacitus: rev. religious types.
- B1021 **Vespasian** and Titus, *A*: rev. IVDAEA CAPTA; IVD CAP. (B.M.C. pl. 33¹, 48⁹).
- B1074 " " rev. 'Roma' types (B.M.C. pl. 6¹⁸, 18¹⁸, 21⁹).
- B1035 **Foundation of Rome** types: coins of Antoninus Pius: 3 reverses only (Troia, sow and litter, wolf and twins).
- B1031 **Ludi Saeculares** types: coins of Augustus, Domitian and Severus: 5 reverses only.
- B1032 " " " Domitian, *A*: 4 reverses only (B.M.C. pl. 78³, 5, 6, 9).
- B1033 " " " " 3 reverses only (B.M.C. pl. 78⁷, 11 and No. 434⁴).
- B1034 " " " Philip I, *A*: 3 reverses only.
- B1041-B1046 **Republican Types**. Obverses illustrating mints and styles of earliest denarii.

SETS OF SLIDES

THE main collection of some 12,000 lantern slides can be drawn on in any quantity, large or small, for lecturing on practically any branch of classical archaeology. For those who have opportunity, no method is so satisfactory as to come in person to the Library, and choose the slides from the pictures there arranged in a subject order.

But the following sets of slides, complete with texts, will be found useful to those lecturers who have not facilities for choosing their own slides. The idea of these sets originated with the late Mr. G. H. Hallam. The thanks of the Society are also accorded those who have been at the pains of undertaking the not easy task of telling a plain tale on the subjects with which they are most familiar to a general audience.

Suitable handbooks dealing with the different subjects can also be lent from the library to lecturers in advance of their lectures.

LIST OF SETS.

The Prehellenic Age (classified list of slides only).

Early Malta (N. S. Clogstoun).

The Geography of Greece (A. J. Toynbee).

Ancient Athens: historical sketch (S. Casson).

Ancient Athens: topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).

The Acropolis (A. H. Smith).

Ancient Architecture (D. S. Robertson).

Greek Sculpture (J. Penoyre).

The Parthenon (A. H. Smith).

Greek Vases (M. A. B. Braunscholtz).

Greek Painting (T. B. L. Webster. This has been so arranged that it can be given either as two lectures or, by the omission of all slides bearing even numbers, as one).

A Survey of early Greek Coins: 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).

Some Coins of Sicily (G. F. Hill).

Greek Papyri (H. I. Bell).

Olympia and Greek Athletics (E. N. Gardiner).

Xenophon: the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).

Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).

The Travels of St. Paul (no text).

The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).

Ancient Life, Greek (annotated list of slides only).

Some Ancient Handicrafts (annotated list of slides, A. W. Lawrence and W. T. Purdon).

Greek Scenery (classified list of slides only).

The Greek Church (classified list of slides only).

Modern Greek Country Life (classified list of slides only).

Life in the Roman World (H. H. Symonds).

Ancient Life, Roman (annotated list of slides).

Rome (H. M. Last).

The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).

The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).

The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).

Trajan's Market-Buildings (A. H. Smith).

The Via Appia (R. Gardner).

The Roman Campagna (T. Ashby).

Roman Portraiture (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).

Romans in Portraiture (H. H. Symonds).

Horace (G. H. Hallam).

Virgil (H. R. Fairclough).

Pompeii (A. van Buren).

Ostia (T. Ashby).

Ostia (R. Meiggs).

Sicily (H. E. Butler).

The Roman Rhone (S. E. Winbolt).

Timgad (H. E. Butler).

Roman Britain (Mortimer Wheeler).

The Roman Wall (R. G. Collingwood).

The Roman Soldier (H. H. Symonds).

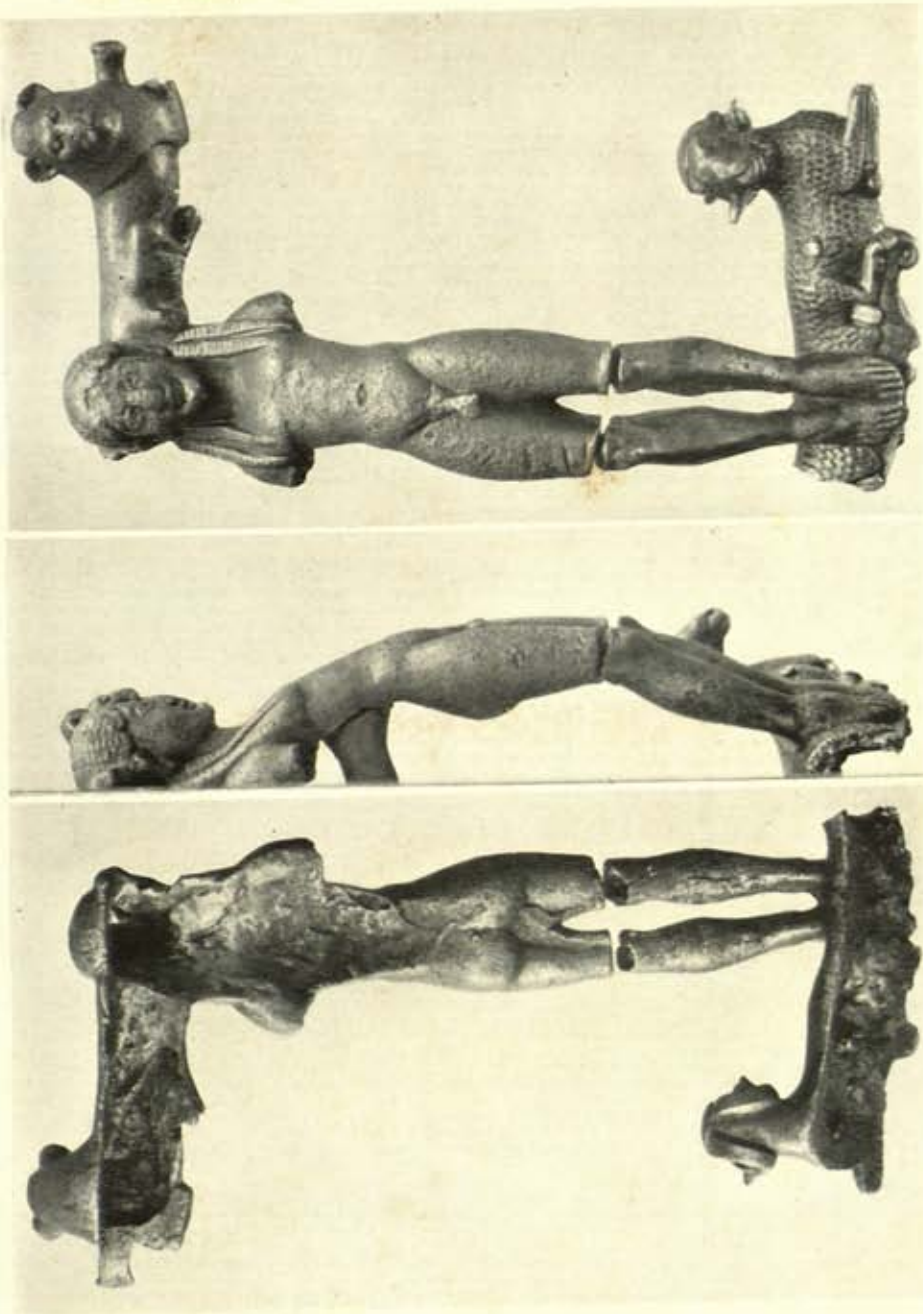
The Religion of Roman Britain (Miss N. C. Jolliffe).

The Byzantine Civilisation: unillustrated (J. B. Bury).

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides, and the cost of hire including the text and postage to members is 7s. 6d.

Application should be made to

The Assistant Librarian,
Hellenic Society,
50, Bedford Square, W.C.1.



RECONSTRUCTED BRONZE HANDLE IN THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS.



1



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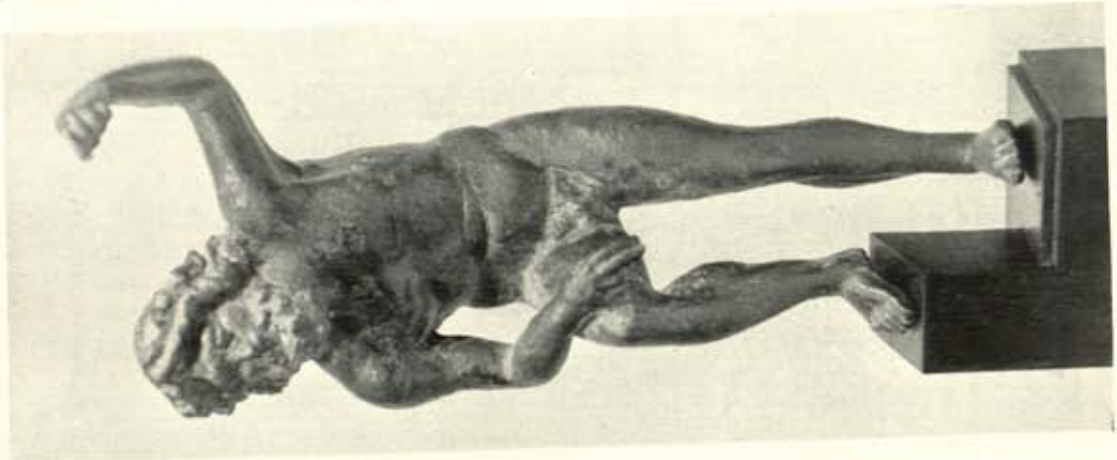


4

BLACK-FIGURED VASES FROM VARI: 1, PLATE: GORGON. 2, JUG: LION AND BULL.
3, LEKYTHOS: HUNTERS. 4, KANTHAROS: CHARIOT.



ETRUSCAN MIRROR IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON.
SATYR AND MAENAD.



BRONZE STATUETTE OF POSEIDON IN HOLLAND.

Address :—

THE SECRETARY,
Hellenic Society,
50, Bedford Square,
London, W.C.1.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1936-37.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded :—

Loyal Address to His Majesty the King.

The Society had the honour of presenting, through the Home Secretary, an Address of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King on the occasion of His Accession. His Majesty's gracious acknowledgement has been received from Sir John Simon.

Finance.

Thanks to the maintenance of the various economies decided upon four years ago, the financial position of the Society continues to improve. The income and expenditure account, despite the temporary increase in salaries and the special donation of £50 to the British School at Athens on the occasion of its Jubilee, shows a credit balance of £235, which being transferred to the balance sheet brings the surplus up to £312. On the revenue side, the increase in the sales of back numbers of the *Journal* is particularly noticeable, owing, no doubt, to gaps in sets being made good, and it cannot therefore be expected to continue for more than a year or so. Life Compositions transferred to revenue account show an increase of over £40; this is due to the increasing mortality rate among members, and indicates how much the Society still depends upon a generation that is now rapidly passing away.

A bequest of £500 from the late Dr. G. A. Macmillan was received during the year.

There is again a satisfactory increase in the number of Student Associates; a large proportion eventually become Full-Members, and thus help to compensate for the extremely liberal terms which they enjoyed previously. The Council looks with confidence to the Student Associate movement for increasing support in the future. On the other hand, the number of ordinary members continues to decline, and it is therefore all the more urgently necessary to obtain new members outside the

Student Associate class. This has become a much more difficult problem now than it used to be when a classical education was the rule and not the exception. But it should be the aim of everyone to secure at least one new member during the year, and to this end a proposal form is being included with each copy of the report which is circulated to Members.

The following figures show the membership at June 1st for the last three years :—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1935	1,094	150	194	305	1,743
1936	1,088	150	202	310	1,750
1937	1,052	150	230	307	1,739

Obituary.

Paul Wolters died in Munich on 21st October, 1936. For many years he had retired from teaching and had devoted himself to private work. Since 1912 he had been an Honorary Member of the Society, a recognition of the value for English archaeology of his work and personal influence. A pupil of the Bonn school of Kekulé, Usener and Bücheler, he was one of the last of that generation which still combined archaeology with a full mastery of philology and history. To his early years belongs the new edition of Friederich's catalogue of the Berlin Casts, which was for long the most used and best handbook to ancient sculpture. In his later years he prepared several editions of Springer's *Handbuch der antiken Kunst*, a remarkable combination of pious self-effacement with individual judgment, which remained an indispensable tool for an entire generation of scholars. His years as secretary of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens from 1887 to 1890, when he was summoned to the professorial chair in Würzburg, were most fortunate for the Institute and for its organ, the *Athenische Mitteilungen*. Here he was the unobtrusive helper and counsellor of archaeologists of all nations; his papers in that Journal, his publication of the tholostomb of Menidi and of the inscriptions in the Epigraphic



Museum show the wide scope of his interests and of his knowledge. To the years when he taught, first at Würzburg and later in Munich as Furtwängler's successor, belong his numerous publications in *Academy Journals* and *Festschriften*. They provide unfailingly the answers to the problems they pose; common to them all is the modesty, the depth of learning, and the charm which were characteristic of the man and his work.

Theodor Wiegand, an Honorary Member of the Society since 1910, died on 19th December, 1936. Wolters and Wiegand represent opposite poles of archaeological work and character. Wiegand it was who enriched knowledge to the greatest extent by his wide explorations and excavations and by his significant acquisitions and organisation while Director of the Berlin Museums. Furthermore, his impulse determined the character of German archaeology for a generation. His earliest work, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, marks the beginning of modern architectural research. What Humann and Conze began in Pergamon and Magnesia, Wiegand continued in Priene, Miletus, Didyma, Samos, and finally in Pergamon again, the starting-point. By skilful choice of many collaborators and by an extraordinary gift of organisation he succeeded in completing these colossal tasks and in bringing their results to publication. Since Newton no one has done more to extend our knowledge of nearer Asia Minor. During the war he won distinction by his care for and publication of the antiquities of Syria, Palestine, and Western Arabia. The Berlin Museums, of which he was director from 1912 to 1930, owe to him the acquisition of the Seated and the Standing Goddesses, and the arrangement of the Pergamon Museum. In his sixty-eighth year he undertook the direction of the German Archaeological Institute, and managed its affairs with great discretion and authority up to his death.

The Council have also to deplore the loss of one of their own number, Alan Blakeway, who died last October, while acting as Director of the British School at Athens in order to complete the work at Perachora, left unfinished by the death of his close friend Humfry Payne a few months earlier. This second calamity to the Society, to the School and to Greek studies demands particular mention in this Report, but this is not the time or the place for attempting an intimate portrait.

The facts of his life may be summarised briefly. He was the son of the late Archdeacon of Stafford, came to Christ Church from Shrewsbury, got a First in Greats in 1924 despite one of

his constantly recurring illnesses, proved himself a remarkable teacher of boys of all ages and grades at Winchester from 1925 to 1931, and found his true niche as Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi, Oxford. His lectures at once became crowded: he was early made a University Lecturer: he began to produce original and highly important work: and his career was crowned by a happy marriage a few months before he died at the age of 38.

His published work deals mainly with early Greek History—the date of Archilochos, early trade with the West, and early contacts of Greece with Etruria and Latium. It is especially notable for the way in which he was able to enrich and illuminate the scanty literary records with the minute knowledge of pottery which he had acquired from Beazley and Payne.

When Payne died, one felt that at least there existed in Blakeway the ideal friend and confidant to carry on his work, which they had begun together at Christ Church. But when Blakeway died long before Payne's material could be sorted and published, and left to others a mass of equally important material of his own, it was difficult to refrain from sheer despair: for it is not too much to say that there existed in their chosen period no third contemporary scholar, in England or outside it, of quite their rank and promise. But the work of learning and interpretation goes ever on. The School has been fortunate in finding its present Officers to direct it: and in Athens and Oxford a little band of friends and colleagues and pupils are working on the rich stores of Perachora and of Blakeway's notes to save for scholarship all that it is possible to save. Much must inevitably fail of fruition: for these were already masters and artists in their subject, and no other but its author can complete a half-finished masterpiece. Yet even in his few years of maturity, Blakeway, like Payne, has left behind enough published work to show only too clearly of how rich a harvest death has deprived us.

His ashes were buried a few weeks ago under the floor of the Chapel at Corpus.

John Knight Fotheringham, Reader in Ancient Astronomy and Chronology at Oxford since 1925, was best known by his work on Eusebius (*The Bodleian Manuscript of the Chronicle* 1905, *Eusebii Chronici Canones* 1923) and on *Historical Eclipses* (1921). In collaboration with Professor Langdon and Dr. C. Schoch, he elicited from the *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (1928) important corrections of ancient dates; and his recalculation of the eclipse of 585 B.C., showing that the 'path of totality' traversed not Cappadocia (as had been supposed), but the region south of

the Halys, put the war between Lydia and Media in its true strategical perspective, in relation with Croesus' invasion of Cappadocia. Fotheringham, who graduated from Merton College in 1896, held lectureships first in Classical Literature and then in Ancient History at King's College, London (1904-12), and a Readership in Ancient History in the University of London (1912-20), but was enabled to devote himself almost wholly to research in Oxford first by a Fellowship of Magdalen College and later by an Oxford Readership, which was created for him.

The Society has also to record with regret the loss of the following:—Miss A. Acutt, Mr. W. Arkwright (a Life Member and an authority on the languages of South-West Asia Minor), Mrs. W. H. Banks (a Life Member), Mr. D. H. Boulton, Mr. F. Brewster (a Life Member), Mrs. Brooksbank, Hon. W. Napier Bruce, Rev. R. M. Clark, Mr. F. Granger, Prof. W. W. Grundy, Canon W. Harnett, Mr. C. R. A. Howden, Miss J. Lindley, Mr. H. Pegram, Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. G. F. Scott, Rev. C. E. Seaman, Mr. L. R. Strangways, Mr. J. Thompson, Mr. M. P. Vlasto, Bishop Welldon (a Life Member) and Sir William H. A. Worsley.

Administrative Changes.

The Council have recently had the pleasure of electing the following as Honorary Members of the Society: Prof. J. Bidez of Ghent, Prof. C. W. Blegen of Cincinnati, Monsieur René Dussaud of Paris and Prof. G. P. Oikonomos of Athens.

The Council have pleasure in announcing the election of Prof. F. H. Marshall to the Standing Committee in place of Prof. B. Ashmole, who retires by rotation.

The resignation from the Council of Mr. C. W. M. Cox, owing to an appointment abroad, has been accepted with regret.

The Council have nominated as new members of their body Mr. R. P. Austin, Mr. R. P. Hinks, and Mr. L. P. Wilkinson; and Prof. H. A. Ormerod to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. A. A. Blakeway. The following members, retiring by rotation, have been nominated for re-election:—Miss M. Alford, Miss J. R. Bacon, Mr. C. M. Bowra, Prof. F. R. Earp, Mr. N. G. L. Hammond, Mr. B. L. Hallward, Prof. H. M. Last and Prof. F. H. Marshall.

The Council regret to report that Mr. George Garnett, who by the courtesy of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., has hitherto acted as Assistant Treasurer to the Society, has been compelled by a serious illness to give up all his duties. In wishing Mr. Garnett complete recovery, the

Council desire to put on record the valuable aid he has given to the Society for the past 34 years. In consequence of Mr. Garnett's illness, the accountancy of the Society hitherto done at the offices of Messrs. Macmillan & Co. has been transferred to 50 Bedford Square, to which address all communications should in future be sent.

The Council again thank Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan for giving their services as Auditors for the past year and have nominated them for re-election.

An informal gathering was held on December 17th at 50 Bedford Square, when the presentation of a collection of books, a cheque and an inscribed scroll was made by Sir Frederic Kenyon on behalf of the donors as a small token of their friendship and esteem to Mr. John Penoyre, who retired last July after 34 years as Secretary and Librarian.

Meetings.

The following communications have been made during the session:—

Nov. 3rd, 1936. Sir Leonard Woolley on 'Excavations near Antioch in 1936.'

Feb. 2nd, 1937. Mr. J. M. Cook on 'Proto-Attic Pottery.'

May 4th, 1937. Mr. Anthony Steel on 'The Painted Churches of Cyprus.'

June 29th, 1937. Prof. J. L. Myres (Presidential Address) on 'Visual Aids in Classical Teaching.'

Summaries of the above communications, where available, will appear in the Society's *Journal*.

The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	Library.		
	1934-5	1935-6	1936-7
Books added	522	516	579
Books borrowed ...	4,919	4,706	4,853
Borrowers	673	683	685
Slide Collections, etc.			
Slides added	165	170	178
Slides borrowed ...	7,995	7,015	4,714
Slides sold	346	459	512
Photographs sold...	245	143	182

The following are among the interesting accessions made during the year:—Blinkenberg and Kinch's *Lindos, Fouilles et Recherches*, the index volume of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, Marshall's *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Pernier's *Palazzo Minoico di Festòs*, the report of

the sixth season of *The excavations at Dura-Europos*, Gsell and Joly's *Khamissa, Mdaourouch, Announa*, Krencker and Schede's *Der Tempel in Ankara*, Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben's *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Stadtrand von Pompeji*, a photographic reproduction of Bufalini's *Map of Rome* (1551), Rostovtzeff's *Skythien und der Bosporus*, the second edition of the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, vol. 2, the eleventh volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Gadd's *The Stones of Assyria*, Payne and Young's *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, Haspels' *Attic black-figured lekythoi*, Richter and Hall's *Red-figured Athenian vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, the third volume of Mattingly's *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, Millet and Talbot Rice's *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, Strzygowski's *L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie*, further parts of the *Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera*, the photographic facsimile of the Euripides Codex Venetus Marcianus 471 (the munificent gift of the Editor, Mr. J. A. Spranger, and one of the fifteen copies printed), and further volumes of the rare *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* (the gift of Dr. St. Clair Baddeley) which make our set very nearly complete. Dr. St. Clair Baddeley has also enriched the library by the donation of over 100 books and pamphlets on Italian archaeology and history.

The following periodicals have been added to the Library: *L'année philologique*, *Berytus*, *British Museum Quarterly*, *Bulletin photographique des sommaires et compte-rendus bibliographiques*, *Commentationes Vindobonenses*, *Hermes Einzelschriften*, *Reports of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus*, and the *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*. After a lapse of many years, the Library's set of *Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice* (Bucharest) has been brought up to date.

During the year a number of volumes of the *Fouilles de Delphes* have been bound, thus lessening the labour of consulting this work, and as only two 'Lieferungen' of the German *Limes* publication now remain to be issued, a start has been made in binding this monumental work into volumes; it is to be hoped that the change will be of considerable assistance to all who use it.

The arrangement for the interchange of books with the National Central Library continues to give satisfaction and to grow in usefulness, 54 volumes having been borrowed from the National Central Library during the year as against 84 supplied to them. The Joint Library is also co-operating in their scheme for the disposal of duplicate books and periodicals, which has already proved beneficial.

The two Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books from the following:—

Authors: Dr. L. Amundsen, Prof. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Prof. G. Behrens, Mr. E. Bielefeld, Dr. O. Brendel, Mr. H. Bouchery, H.E. Mr. D. Caclamanos, Dr. V. C. B. Coutant, Prof. F. Cumont, Prof. A. Delatte, Prof. E. Diehl, Prof. S. Eitrem, Prof. M. Faggella, Prof. S. Ferri, Mr. R. J. Forbes, Dr. E. H. Freshfield, Prof. P. Georgiadis, Dr. G. M. A. Hanfmann, Dr. B. Häslér, Miss C. H. E. Haspels, Dr. H. M. Hornsby, Dr. E. D. Kolokotsas, Mr. L. Laffranchi, Dr. P. Lambrechts, Sir Philip Macdonell, Prof. A. Maddalena, Prof. A. Momigliano, Prof. A. D. Nock, Dr. A. Nordh, Dr. R. A. Pack, Prof. E. Panaitescu, Dr. A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaos, Dr. J. Papastavru, Prof. H. Philippart, Mr. L. Philippou, Dr. F. Poulsen, Dr. P. Raingeard, Prof. D. M. Robinson, Prof. G. Rodenwaldt, Mr. H. Rolland, Mr. F. de Ruyt, Mr. C. H. O. Scaife, Mr. F. W. Shipley, Mrs. S. A. Strong, Mr. U. Täckholm, Miss M. V. Taylor, Mr. C. Vellay, Dr. W. B. Westermann, Dr. W. E. Weter, Miss J. H. L. Wetmore, Dr. P. Wolters, Mr. T. Woody, Dr. L. Zancan, Dr. H. Ziegler.

Donors of miscellaneous works: Dr. St. Clair Baddeley, Dr. W. H. Buckler, Sir Augustus Daniel, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Dr. W. R. Halliday, Mr. F. C. Hiley, Mr. W. R. LeFanu, Capt. J. C. F. Lister, Sir George Macdonald, Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, Lord Mersey, Dr. W. Miller, Dr. J. G. Milne, Mr. D. P. Petrocochino, Mr. J. E. Powell, Mr. W. H. Pigg, Mr. T. C. Skeat, Mr. J. A. Spranger, Dr. R. S. Weir, Dr. U. Zanotti-Bianco.

The Presses of the following Universities: Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Harvard, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Oxford, Les Presses Universitaires de France, Yale.

Institutions and Associations: Académie d'Athènes, Académie polonaise des sciences et des lettres, R. Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, American Philological Association, American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Association Guillaume Budé, Athens Archaeological Society, British Broadcasting Corporation, British Museum, British School of Archaeology at Athens, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, British School at Rome, Congress of Archaeological Societies, Cyprus Committee, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, athenische und istanbulische Abteilungen, Egyptian University Library, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres (Brussels), Göteborgs Stadsbibliotek, Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves (Brussels), Institut français de Damas, Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität Greifswald, Institut für Münzkunde und Archäologie der P. Pazmany-Universität

(Budapest), Institut Kondakov, R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte, Istituto di Studi Romani, London Museum, Mediaeval Academy of America, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), Münzhandlung Basel, Museums of Istanbul, North of England Excavation Committee, Queen's University (Belfast), Royal Society of Letters (Lund), Scarborough Public Library, Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Society of Antiquaries, Städtisches Verkehrsamt (Trier), State Academy for the History of Material Culture (Leningrad), H.M. Stationery Office, Université Joseph Pilsudski (Warsaw), University of Athens, University of Salonika, Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore).

The following Publishing Houses: Akademische Buchhandlung (Helsingfors), Allen & Unwin, C. H. Beck, 'Les Belles Lettres,' G. Bell & Sons, A. & C. Black, Basil Blackwell, Bloud & Gay, E. de Boccard, J. G. Calve, Jonathan Cape, G. Carabba, H. Champion, Chatto & Windus, Christophers, Constable & Co., Cresset Press, 'Dante Alighieri' (Milan), Éditions d'art et d'histoire, Gerold & Co., C. W. K. Gleerup, G. Fock, B. Grasset, W. de Gruyter, O. Harrassowitz, Heinemann, E. Himeran, F. Hirt, Hölder-Pickler-Tempsky, Junker & Dünhaupt, Kegan Paul Trench & Trubner, H. Keller, W. Kohlhammer, E. Leroux, Levin & Munksgaard, Lovat Dickson & Thompson, F. Leo & Co., Libreria dello Stato (Rome), Macmillan & Co., The Macmillan Co. (New York), Gebr. Mann, F. Meiner, Methuen & Co., H. Milford, Nijgh & van Ditmar, A. Picard, Rembrandt-Verlag, R. M. Rohrer, G. Routledge, G. Schulte-Bulmke, Sidgwick & Jackson, A. Signorelli, A. W. Sijthoff, H. Speyer, Spink & Son, G. E. Stechert & Co., B. G. Teubner, Trimarchi, C. Winter, N. Zanichelli.

As before, the Councils have to record their grateful appreciation of the help given by Mrs. Culley in dealing with the accessions of books, by Miss Alford in recording the inflow of periodicals and by Mrs. Barge in both the library and the photographic department.

As a result of a recent adjustment, the Office

remains open between 1 and 2 p.m. except on Saturdays; it is hoped that this will be a help to those who have difficulty in coming at other times.

The thanks of the Councils are due to the following donors to the photographic department:—Dr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. J. M. Cook, Mrs. Culley, Mr. O. Davies, the executors of the late Mr. L. C. Dyer, Mr. J. Penoyre, and the Royal Numismatic Society.

The use made of the slide collection during the past year has been disappointingly small. In some measure this may be due to competition by the epidiascope and other means of illustrating lectures, but in the main it would seem that the economies forced upon so many by the depression have been allowed to become permanent. The decline in borrowing is also aggravated by the lack of an up-to-date printed catalogue on sale to members, but in the present circumstances the printing of a new catalogue, unless the cost (about £350) is reduced by an outside benefaction, seems to be out of the question. It is possible to extend and improve the collection only if adequate use is made of it.

By an arrangement with the British School at Athens, many of the mounted prints and drawings which were displayed at their Jubilee Exhibition at Burlington House last year are housed in the basement and are available for inspection. The Managing Committee of the School has recorded their obligation to the Society's staff for help given in the preparation of the exhibits.

The Council has been investigating the suggestion made recently that a handbook to the sites in the Eastern Mediterranean visited by cruises would be generally welcomed; the cooperation of the Roman Society and of the British Schools at Athens and Rome is assured, and it is hoped that the scheme will materialise.

The Library has just received an interesting donation from Mrs. F. Folliott in the form of Mrs. Theodore Bent's journals which chronicle her travels with her husband in Greece and the Near East during the years 1885-1898.

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1936.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable.....	971 3 0	By Cash in Hand—Bank	158 6 11
" Subscriptions paid in advance	53 10 6	Assistant Treasurer	1 1
" Endowment Fund	1859 12 0	Petty Cash	158 7 0 1
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar, £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer, and £500 from the late Mr. G. A. Macmillan)		Debts Receivable	125 13 2
" Life Compositions and Donations—		Investments	2725 0 0
Total at Jan. 1, 1936	2303 14 0	Library Premises Capital Account—	
Received during year	47 5 0	Amount spent to date	584 13 10
		Less Donations received	469 11 4
			885 2 6
Less carried to Income and Expenditure	2350 19 0	Transferred to Income and Expenditure	
Account—Members deceased	78 15 0	Account during past years	566 0 0
			319 2 6
Surplus at January 1, 1936	77 5 11 1	Now transferred	23 0 0
Add Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	735 7 3		
Surplus at December 31, 1936	312 13 2 1	Valuation of Stocks of Publications	296 2 6
		Library	450 0 0
		" Photographic Department ..	1500 0 0
		" Paper in hand for printing Journal	200 0 0
			14 0 0
			£5469 2 8 1

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
To Salaries.....	674 4 2	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Insurance	22 2 8	Arrears	15 4 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses	81 11 9	1936	1205 3 1
" Stationery	33 2 2½		1220 7 7
" Postage	63 19 5	" Members' Entrance Fees	24 3 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.....	52 10 11	" Student Associates' Subscriptions	112 7 0
" Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises, &c.	343 3 4½	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	
Grants—		Arrears	8 7 0
British School at Athens	75 0 0	1936	318 1 11
" " Rome	5 5 0		326 8 11
" Donation—British School at Athens, Jubilee Pension Insurance.....	80 5 0	" Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account	78 15 0
" Balance from ' Journal of Hellenic Studies ' Account	50 0 0	" Dividends on Investments	116 16 1
" Balance from Library Account	13 10 6	" Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies	275 0 0
		" Sale of 'Excavations at Phylakopi'	7 16 0
		" Sale of 'Ante Oculos',	8 0 0
		" Sale of 'Artemis Orthia,' less cost of binding Miscellaneous Receipts	10 6 8
		" Donations towards current expenses	10 1 0
		" Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account	28 16 6
		" Balance from Library Premises Account ...	48 1 2
" Balance	235 7 3		113 12 3
	<u>£2372 19 2</u>		<u>£2372 19 2</u>

Dr. ' JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper, Vol. LVI.....	453	15	4			
" Plates	43	3	0			
" Drawing and Engraving	75	10	8			
" Editing and Reviews	90	0	0			
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	143	8	4			
	£805	17	4			
By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.				172	7	5
" Hellenic Society				14	13	0
" Receipts from Advertisements						187 0 5
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...						24 8 2
						594 8 9
	£805	17	4			

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale.....	35	4	0			
" Slides for Hire	5	10	8			
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	48	1	2			
	£89	2	7			
By Receipts from Sales and Hire.....						88 10 7
" " Sale of Catalogues, &c.....						12 0
						£89 2 7

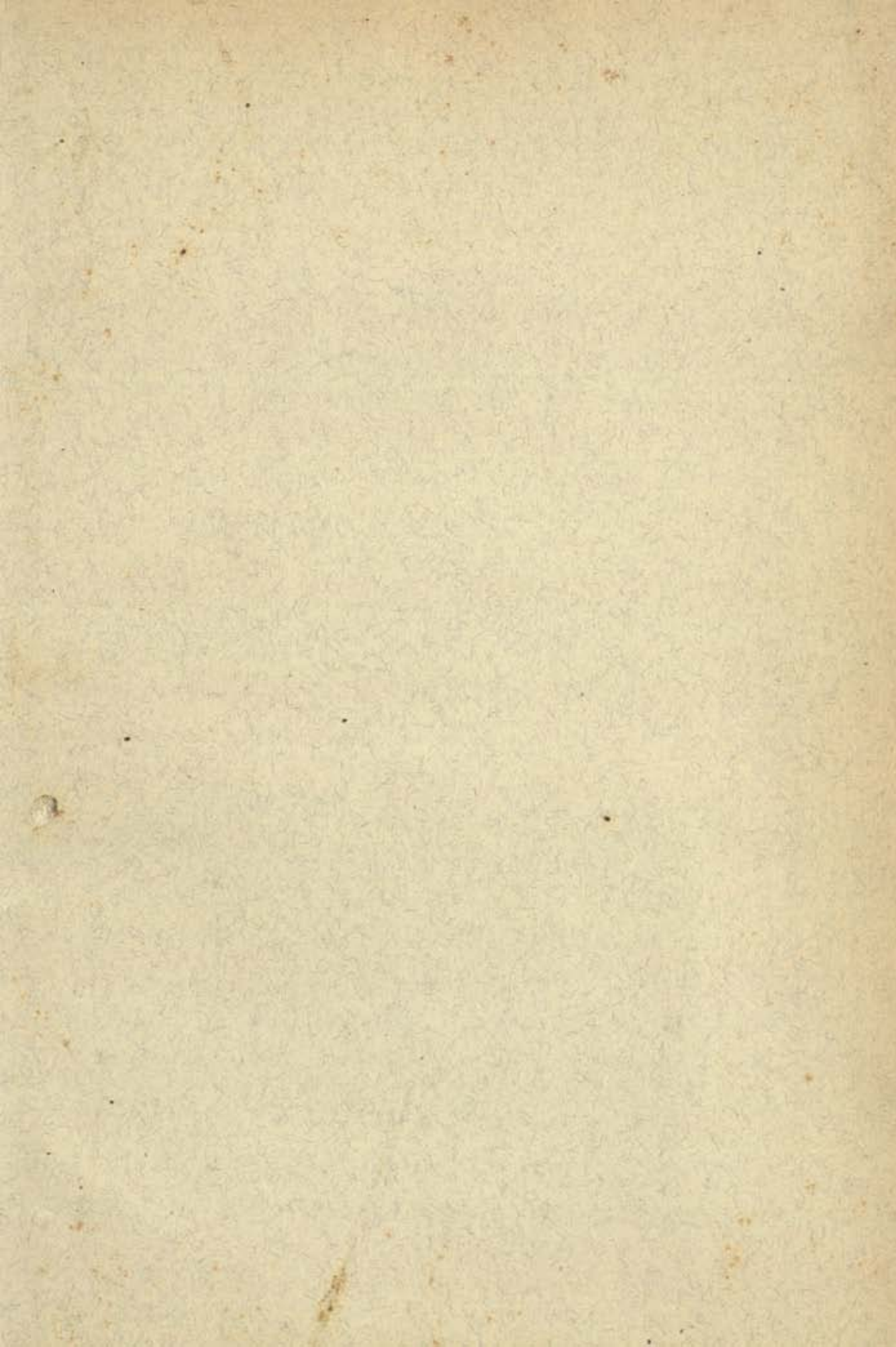
LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1936, TO DECEMBER 31, 1936.

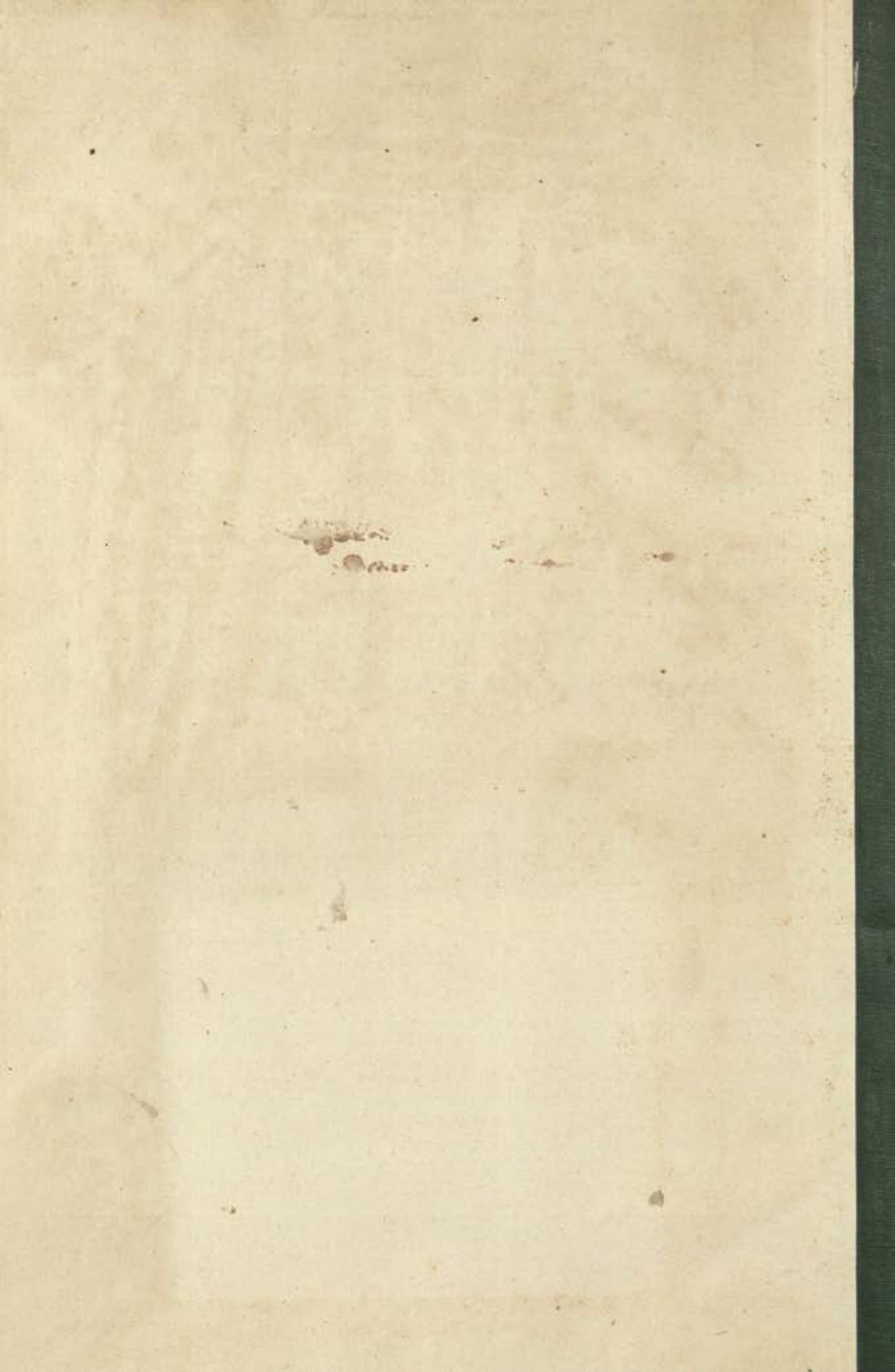
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases	67	2	2			
" Binding	43	9	9			
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library and Slides Departments less contributed by the Roman Society	24	15	0			
	£135	6	11			
By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.						6 13 9
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						128 13 2
						£135 6 11

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1936.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent	405	5	0			
Rates	125	8	3			
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expendi- ture for Year	23	0	0			
Interest on Debt on Library	2	14	6			
	556	7	9			
	113	12	3			
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account						20 0 0
	£670	0	0			650 0 0
						£670 0 0







"A book that is shut is but a block"

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